DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME

PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE, 1936.

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME

THIS VOLUME

OF ESSAYS AND PAPERS

Written by his Friends, Pupils and Admirers

is presented to

Rajasevasakta RAO BAHADUR

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B.

ON HIS SIXTY-SIXTH BIRTHDAY

15th April, 1936.



Rajasevasakta Rao Bahadur
Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India.

ஷாஜிபரண் சார்க்ருஷ்ண சாமியபிதானமஃதே
பூஜிதமாம் பொருளைப் பூப்பதினால்—ஊர்ஜிதமாம்
தேங்கமலை வெண்கமலை தேங்கமலை போனிலைமை
தேங்கமலை வெண்ணாத சீர்

(Pandit T. G. Narayanaswami Pillai's *Māṇakkarmālai* 1902.)

Foreword

The idea of commemorating the services of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in the field of historical research by presenting a volume of Commemorative essays to him on the completion of his 65th year and on the occasion of his 66th birthday, 15th April, 1936, led to the issue of the following appeal early in 1935.

* We, the undersigned, bring to your kind notice that *R&jasevasakta* RAO BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B., formerly Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, completes his sixty-fifth year on the 15th April, 1936 ; and we propose to present him on the occasion a Commemoration Volume of Papers contributed by scholars both in India and abroad, engaged in the field of Indian historical and archaeological learning and research. We need hardly dwell upon the appropriateness of the memorial, having regard to the long and excellent record of original work and direction of research which the Professor has to his credit, and to the pioneer character of his labours in the field of South Indian historical research.

* We invite you to extend your hearty co-operation in this work and request you to contribute a paper on a topic connected with Indian History and Culture, before the end of 1935.'

Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt.,
Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.
Mr. Syama Prasad Mukherji,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.
Dr. Surendranalh Sen,
Calcutta University.
Dr. P. K. Acharya,
Allahabad University.
Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji,
Lueknow University.
Dr. V. S. Sukthankar,
Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona,
Dr. M. H. Krishna,
Mysore University.
Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali,
Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta.
Dr. R. C. Majumdar,
Dacca University.
Dr. B. C. Law,
Calcutta.
Prof. Md. Habib,
Muslim University, Aligarh.
Prof. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan,
Allahabad University.
Prof. Sita Ram Kohli,
Lahore.
Prof. P. P. S. Sastri,
Presidency College, Madras.
Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha,
Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad Universitji.
Prof. K. Sherwani,
Osmania University.
Dr. P. J. Thomas,
Madras University.
Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari,
Annamalai University.
Prof. V. Rangacharya,
Presidency College, Madras.
Prof. K. Ramanujachariar,
Cuddalore.
Mr. G. Srinivasachariar,
G. S. Press, Madras.
Dr. B. Bhattacharya,
Oriental Institute, Baroda.
The Rev. H. Heras, S.J.,
Bombay.
Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar,
Madras University.
Mr. C. Achyuta Menon,
Madras University.
Mr. Muhammad Husayn Nainar,
Madras University.
Mr. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu,
Editor, ' Federated India,' Madras.
Prof. S. K. Bhuyan,
Gauhati.

A Committee consisting of Prof. V. Rangacharya, Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari and Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, was organised for editing the papers received.

The response from the scholarly public was very encouraging, and seventy papers were received ; besides several appreciations of the Professor's services. These papers have been arranged in six sections, the names of the authors being given in the alphabetical order in each section.

The Committee beg to acknowledge the great obligation which they feel towards the contributors, and render thanks to them for their ready sympathy and hearty co-operation. They do not hold themselves responsible for the views of the contributors. The difficult task of printing the volume has been done with commendable skill as well as rapidity by the *G. S. Press,* and the Committee express their gratitude to them. Every care has been taken to go through the proofs with thoroughness ; but it is possible that there are slips or misprints. The indulgence of the readers is requested, having regard to the shortness of time and other difficulties incidental to a work of this kind.

Life and Works of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar was born at the little village of Sakkottai about a mile to the south of the railway station at Kumbhakonam. The village is so called because a fort was erected there in honour of Shahji, the father of the celebrated Sivaji. Even before it was known as Shajikot (corrupted colloquially into Sakkottai), it had been the seat of a colony of learned Brahmans set up, in the village, in the name of the famous Raghunatha Nayakkan of Tanjore, in consequence of which it had been known as Raghunathapura. The place boasts indeed of a much earlier antiquity as, even in the days of the Tevaram hymnists, it had been the seat of the Saiva temple of Amrtaghatesvara, the Tirukalayattan-kudi of sacred literature. Krishnaswami was the third of four children, and he was born on the 15th of April, 1871. On the death of his father in 1882, the family was left with slender resources. His elder brother however secured a job as the Headmaster of a Lower Secondary School in the Bangalore Cantonment, and he educated him at Bangalore.

After passing the first examination in Arts as its best student in St. Joseph's College, Krishnaswami entered the Central College, Bangalore, * for the acquisition of the Degree in Physics.' Krishnaswami felt that the quality of his success in it did not satisfy his ambition for distinction. He therefore devoted himself to post-graduate studies in Mathematics. It may be mentioned that, while he was engaged in these studies, he was appointed by the Principal to officiate in the place of a member of the staff who had all of a sudden to go on sick leave. A timely vacancy in the Central College in the post of a teacher led to hip appointment as such, and after about two years he was, to his regret, transferred to a mofussil school. He made the best of a bad opportunity, however, and from this time gave up Mathematics and turned to History. Even when appointed to a Science Teacher's post, first at Chickmagalur, and then at Kolar, he continued the study of History, and took his M.A. Degree in it in 1899.

His success in the M.A. Degree substantially offered the chance for a rise in the official ladder. Krishnaswami had worked for five years in High Schools, and had won the golden opinion of Mr. Bhabha, the Inspector-General of Education, who marked him out for a Headmastership. Just at this stage, his M.A., thesis on the *History of Mysore under the Wodeyars* was published, with the University's permission, in the *Madras Review* of May 1900 ; and this, together with the high opinion of him entertained by Principal Cook of the Central College, led to his being transferred to the latter institution when the post of History

Lecturer happened to fall vacant. The late Professor F. W. Kellett wrote to him to continue the good work, whatever might be his life's lot. He took advantage of his transfer to the Central College, therefore, to devote the hours which he could spare after teaching to the work of research.

Ever since 1889, Krishnaswami Aiyangar had been in contact with the late V. Venkayya, of the Madras Epigraphical Department. A near neighbour of Krishnaswami's, the latter used to discuss with him problems connected with Tamil literature suggested by the works of eminent scholars like the late Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai. Stimulated by the example of Venkayya and his chief, Dr. Hultzsch, who were just then beginning to publish the early volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions,* Mr. K. prepared in 1900-1 two papers on the Chola Ascendancy and the Chola Administration which received praise from Dr. Hultzsch himself. Dr. Hultzsch advised him to continue to give real scope to his intelligence in interpreting the historical value of inscriptions after their publication by the Department.

About 1903 Mr. Krishnaswami came into touch with Mr. L. C. Inncs, an ex-judge of the Madras High Court and the Vicc-Chancellor of the Madras University, who had been engaged for a score of years in the study of Tamil literature and who had just published an article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* on the Age of Kamban. Justice Innes had identified Karikala of the Sangam literature with his much later namesake Kulottunga I ; and this and similar questions made him devote himself to the elucidation of Tamil literary history. The result was a paper on the *Augustan Age of Tamil Literature,* wherein he maintained that it must be assigned to the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era. It was published in a revised form as the introductory part of a general series of contributions on the celebrities of Tamil literature in the *Indian Antiquary* at the instance of the late Dr. J. F. Fleet and Sir Richard Temple. Mr. Krishnaswami followed this up with a paper on the *Life and Times of Ramanuya* in the *Wednesday Review,* which was, we are told, of help to Justices Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyer and Sir Ralph Benson in deciding a case involving the rights of the Govindaraja shrine at Chidambaram.

In 1904 Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar delivered a lecture before the South Indian Association, Mylapore, on the *Making of Mysore,* under the chairmanship of Justice Sir S. Subramaniya Iyer. In 1908 he was elected as its President, a place held before him by Prof. M. Rangacharya and Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, and to be held later on by Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai and others. The Presidential Address which he delivered in 1908 on the *Chola Empire in South India* was a succinct review of the history of the Cholas from 900 to 1250.

In the same year Krishnaswami Aiyangar was made one of the Professors of English in the Central College. He then took an import' ant step in co-operating with Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S., and the late Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard, to found the Mythic Society which has since done much for the consolidation and publication of historical research in Mysore. On Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar fell the brunt of the literary and administrative work of the infant society, as he was its first Secretary and Editor of its journal. Thanks to the encouragement he received from Principal Tait, Mr. Krishnaswami rendered yeoman service to the Mythic Society for five years. In 1912 Mr. K., was nominated a Fellow of the Madras University and he continued to serve in the Senate without any break till his retirement in 1929.

Meanwhile, in 1910 Mr. Weir became Inspector-General of Education in Mysore and appointed Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar as his Assistant. Timely service was rendered to him by Canon Sell, of the S.P.C.K., Madras, in the publication of his papers in a single volume in 1911 under the title of *Ancient India.* The work was commended highly by Mr. Weir, and he purchased a hundred copies for Government and distributed them amongst the educational institutions of the State. It is indicative of great credit to the administrative capacity of Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar that, when Mr. Weir died subsequently, the work of the Department was entrusted to him more or less directly, and he for a time acquitted himself with credit till he was transferred back to the Central College as Professor of English.

Just at this stage, the Government of India granted to the Madras University for higher education Rs. 65,000. The University was asked to frame a scheme for the proper utilisation of that sum. There was a controversy in the Senate as to whether scientific research or the study of the history and languages of India, of South India in particular, was to be provided for. The smallness of the resources available and the establishment of the Indian Institute of Research at Bangalore, led to the appropriation of the grant to research in Indian culture. A Chair of Comparative Philology, a number of Dravidian Readerships, and a Chair of Indian History and Archaeology were accordingly created, side by side with the establishment of a Chair for Economics and the organisation of the University Library. Thanks to the efforts of Sir John Wallis, the then Vice-Chancellor and Sir J. H. Stone, the Syndicate appointed Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar to the post, after negotiating with the Mysore Government for the loan of his services, and he took charge of the office on 1st November, 1914. It may be of interest to note that seven years later, when Sir John Wallis retired from the office of Chief Justice, he wrote to the Professor who had just then published his *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders* ;—" Before I go I wish to thank you for the advance copy of your new book which appears to break new

ground, and is in continuation of the good work you are doing in connection with South Indian History. In my opinion you have fully justified your appointment to the University chair and I am very glad to have been a party to it as Vice-Chancellor."

Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar found on his assumption of office, work which, though new, stretched clearly before him. He chalked out, indeed, three lines of work. In the first place he used to deliver every year a series of advanced lectures to the students of the Honours classes in the main on chosen topics of Indian History. Secondly, he supervised and trained University Research Students. Thirdly, he himself engaged in research work and published the results whenever ripe. The first of the advanced lectures concerned Vijayanagar and in the coming years practically the whole of the Hindu period down to the foundation of Vijayanagar was dealt with in those ' ordinary' lectures. Under the second plan he guided during his fifteen years of office the work of five Research Students allotted to him. The works of these included the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by the late Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati ; the *History oj the Nayaks of Madura* by Mr. R. Satyanathan now in the Annamalai University ; the *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi* by Mr. R. Gopalan, now in the Imperial Library ; and lastly the *Hindu Administrative Institutions* by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar now in the Madras University. Two Research Fellows, besides these, Mr. C. V. Narayanan of the Presidency College, and Dr. A. Appadurai, of the Loyola College, worked respectively on the *Early History of £aivism* and the *Economic Condition of South India from the 12th to the 16th Centuries.*

Under the third head the Professor delivered a number of special lectures which have been published in one form or another. These were :

1. The Antiquities of Mahabalipuram.
2. A little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History-
3. Beginnings of South Indian History.
4. Early History of Vaishnavism in South India.
5. South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.
6. Rajendra, the Gangaikonda Chola.
7. The Origin and Early History of the Pallavas.
8. The Vakatakas and their Place in Indian History.
9. King Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar.
10. Manimekalai in its Historical Setting.

The activities of Prof. K. were not confined to the Madras University. In 1919 he was appointed Reader of the Calcutta University, and, as such, delivered his lectures on Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. One lecture delivered before the Mysore University was published as a monograph on Krishnadevaraya of Vija-

yanagar. He attended many Oriental Conferences and contributed papers like ' the Early History of Vaishnavism', ' the Satvatas ', ' the Buddhism of Manimekalai', etc. In 1924 the Madras University invited the Oriental Conference and, for its session in December that year, the Professor acted as the local Secretary of the Conference. When the Conference was subsequently given a constitution, he was appointed as one of the General Secretaries, which office he held till he resigned in 1933. Similarly, he took great interest in the Indian Historical Records Commission. In its fourth session in Madras, he acted as Secretary of the Committee presided over by Sir Charles Todhunter, and was rewarded for his success with the issue of a special G.O. in appreciation of his work (5th March, 1924). The Professor has since been first a corresponding member, then a full member of the Commission, taking part regularly in its sessions. In 1921 Prof. K. Aiyangar was nominated, through the recommendation of the Director-General of Archaeology, as one of the honorary correspondents of the Archaeological Survey of India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal elected him one of their Fellows in 1931. The same year he presided over the First Historical Congress at Bombay, under the lead of the Bombay Historical Research Society. He was also invited to the International Congress of Orientalists to several of which he used to contribute papers. He was again nominated on the basis of his work, honorary correspondent of the *Institut Historiqice et Heraldique De France.* This Society granted their Great Silver Medal for his work, " Manimekalai in its Historical Setting ". At the invitation of the India Society, Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar acted as the Regional Secretary for the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art held recently in London. The small selection of Exhibits sent in from here came in for much appreciation by the judges appointed by that body. In 1935, he was appointed one of the two Vice-Presidents of the South India Archaeological Society just then founded at Madras. Later, he opened the Historical Exhibition in the Poona All-India Modern History Congress. Lastly, he presided over the Oriental Conference in its Mysore session in December, 1935.

Amongst the miscellaneous works of the Professor may be mentioned his Source Book & Reading Book on Indian History for Messrs Cooper & Sons, Bombay; his monograph on Penugonda for presentation to His Excellency Lord Willingdon on one of his visits to that place ; and his contribution on the history of South India down to Vijayanagar times, in Vol. III of the Cambridge History of India. The Professor revised Vincent Smith's Oxford Students' History for vernacular editions, and edited for the University the Historical Inscriptions of South India by Mr. Robert Sewell. He delivered, in 1934, the Sir William Meyer Lectures on Hindu Administrative Institutions with particular reference to South India.

Another most important line of work in which the Professor has worked is Journalism. In addition to the charge of the Journal of the Mythic Society, he held the office of Joint Editor, *Indian Antiquary,* for more than ten years, in collaboration with Lt.-Col. Sir Richard Temple, Mr. S. M. Edwards, and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham. In 1923, he took the responsibility, from Mr. S. A. Khan, now Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan of the Allahabad University, of the editing and publishing of the *Journal of Indian History* which has just entered its 15th volume and has won its place as a leading journal of Indian Historical research.

One of the witnesses before the Sadler Committee, Prof. K. impressed the members with his scheme of work; and when the Madras University established a number of Committees for effecting reforms in the light of recommendations made by that Committee, he took a most active part, and contributed to the transformation of the old examining University into a teaching one in accordance with the new University Act. He was then permitted by His Highness the Maharaja to retire from Mysore service on full pension as a special case and without prejudice to his occupying the Chair of Indian History and Archaeology in the Madras University. This generosity on the part of His Highness enabled him to hold his office at Madras during a third tenure of five years, and he retired from it on 1st Nov. 1929.

Throughout this period the Professor has been uniformly active. The list given in the Appendix contains, excluding minor contributions, reviews, controversies, and other miscellaneous writings, 125 papers and publications till 1936. It is thus obvious that, as Mr. Sardesai observes, the Professor's career has been an inspiring example, and deserves to be cherished and suitably commemorated ; and we can only hope with Shafaat Ahmad Khan that " the doyen of Indian Historians may live long to enjoy the fruits of his hard-earned labour and may he continue to burn the torch of learning as brilliantly as he has done in a long career of continued and strenuous activity."

As the poet Murari says, the highest reward a man of learning could look for is the esteem of his compeers.

चेतश्शुक्तिकया निपीय शतशश्शास्त्रामृतानि क्रमात्
वान्तैरक्षरमूर्तिभिः सुकविना मुक्ताफलैः गुम्भिताः ।
उन्मीलत्कमनीय नायकगुणग्रामोपसंवल्गन-
प्रौढालंकृतयो लुठन्ति सुहृदांकण्ठेषुहारस्रजः ॥

(Murari Kavi: *Auargharaghavam.)*

V. RANGACHARYA
C. S. SRINIVASACHARI
V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

Appreciations of Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dākshinātyakalānidhi Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, Madras.

‘முயற்சி திருவினையாக்கும்,’ ‘முயற்சி யுடையோர் இகழ்ச்சி யடையார்’ என்னும் முதுமொழிக்கு இலக்கியமாக விளங்குபவர்களுள் ஸ்ரீமான். **ராவ்பகதூர் டாக்டர் எஸ். கிருஷ்ணசாமி ஐயங்காரவர்கள்** ஒருவரென்பதைப் பலரும் அறிவர். இவர்களுடைய இளமைக்காலந் தொடங்கி இவர்களுடன் நான் பலமுறை பழகியிருக்கிறேன். இவர்களுடன் செய்யும் ஸல்லாபமே நல்ல பொழுதுபோக்காகவும் பயனுள்ளதாகவும் இருக்கும். சரித்திர விஷயங்களிலும் சிலாசாஸனங்களிலும் இவர்கள் உழைத்து ஆராய்ந்து தக்க ஆதாரங்களுடன் பதிப்பித்திருக்கும் வெளியீடுகள் பல. பங்களூரிலும் சென்னை ஸர்வகலாசாலையிலும் இவர்கள் விரிவுரையாளராக இருந்து பல உபயோகமான காரியங்களைச் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். சிலமுறை இவர்களுடைய உபந்யாஸங்களைக் கேட்டிருக்கிறேன். மாணாக்கர்களுக்கும் ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்களுக்கும் அவை மிக்க பயன்படுவனவாக இருக்கும்.

இவர்களுடைய பெருமை இந்நாட்டின் பல பாகங்களிலும் பிற நாடுகளிலும் பலபடப் பாராட்டப்பெற்று வருவதை யறிந்து நான் அடிக்கடி சந்தோஷிப்பதுண்டு. இன்னும் சில மாதங்களில் இவர் விஷயமாகச் சென்னையில் ஒரு கொண்டாட்டம் நடத்த ஏற்பாடு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பது தெரிந்து மிகவும் மகிழ்ச்சி யடைகிறேன். இவர்கள் இன்னும் பல்லாண்டுகள் சுகஜீவியாக இருந்து பல ஆராய்ச்சி நூல்களை வெளியிட்டுத் தேசத்துக்குப் பயனளித்துக்கொண்டு விளங்கும்படி செய்வித்தருளும் வண்ணம் ஸர்வேசுவரனைப் பிரார்த்திக்கிறேன்.

தியாகராஜ விலாஸம்
திருவட்டீச்வரன் பேட்டை
11—8—1935.

இங்ஙனம்:
வே. சாமிநாதையர்.

Principal Tait of the Central College, Bangalore (Retired)
(Now in Edinburgh).

I have always considered that Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar showed great courage when he decided forty years ago to devote his abilities to historical and archaeological research. A few years before he took his decision, an incident had occurred, which may serve to show how much these studies were neglected. An inscription had been copied in the Chitaldroog District, which no one in Southern India could decipher. A copy was sent to Vienna, and an expert there deciphered it and pronounced it to be an Asoka edict. At that time a young scholar taking up such studies had little prospect of material reward. He had no aids to study in the shape of a library, or in the stimulus of fellow-workers. Only courage, sustained by a genuine love of learning, could have enabled him to remain faithful to his decision for twenty years, during which his ordinary work left him little leisure for his favourite pursuits. It was not until 1914 that his appointment to the newly-established professorship of Indian History in the University of Madras gave him favourable conditions to work under.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar never, I think, rose to as high a grade in the Mysore Education Department as he deserved. More than once, the benevolent intentions of the head of the Department towards him were thwarted. Soon after he joined the service, the Inspector-General of that time wished to make him the headmaster of a High School, but the principal of the Central College (which still had a High School attached to it) desired to retain him. Probably more rapid promotion would have come to him, if he had been allowed to go. At a later date he was selected by a later Inspector-General as his assistant. Here he displayed such ability and such fairness of mind that the Inspector-General (the late Mr. John Weir, a very able administrator and a very good judge of men) formed a very high opinion of Jiis capacity for administrative work. But for Mr. Weir's lamented death in 1911, it is probable that he would have secured for his assistant the position in the Department for which he intended to recommend to him.

Of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work in the Central College, Bangalore, where we were associated for a number of years, I cannot speak too highly. I always found him singularly helpful as a colleague. A certain shrewd monarch described one of his ministers as " never in the way and never out of the way," and I think all who were associated with Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in any joint task would recognise how well the description fits him. The late Mr. John Weir found him a pattern of quiet efficiency, both rapid and sure, in the despatch of busi-

ness, and deserving of the fullest confidence. All who know him well will admit that he is essentially reasonable, and has the gift of quiet persuasiveness which seldom fails to bring converts to the reasonable view.

Mr. G. S. Sardesai,
Editor of the Peshwas' Daftar for the Bombay Government, Poona.

. . . When many years ago I ploughed my lonely furrow trying to put into Marathi garb a connected story of India's past, I found myself entirely in the dark as regards any reliable data for the history of South India and the rich stores of its past glory. I now remember how now and then I began to notice occasional contributions of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar that appeared in papers and magazines particularly on the history of Vijayanagar which I was then required to study in connection with the Bahamani Kingdom in order to grasp the conditions that led to the rise of Shivaji. Grant Duff had characterised the Maratha upheaval as a sudden and unforseen conflagration sweeping through the dry forest lands of the western mountains before the rains set in. This explanation, unhistorical as it was, did not satisfy my curiosity and on looking deeper into the subject I was led into the study of the great Hindu opposition led by Vijayanagar to the rapid expansion of Mohammadan sway into the far south. In this way my attention came to be drawn to the writings of this learned Doctor and I must say my whole view of Maratha history was profoundly influenced by them. I then realized that we could not study the Marathas by themselves and neglect the pregnant issues offered by the indigenous Hindu civilization of peninsular India. Here was scholarship impersonal. Before I came to know the doctor personally, my curiosity had been already satisfied and I ever remained on the look out for fresh researches coming out from the erudite scholars hailing from the south. More recently I avidly studied to my great advantage in the columns of the Journal of Indian History the sad but glorious career of the two Hindu Ministers of Golkonda, Madanna and Akkanna, delineated by the Doctor with a wealth of circumstantial detail which alone could give them a life-like charm.

Fresh vistas of knowledge and research were opened by the Doctor in quick succession so that readers like me began to be convinced that what obtained as current history was no authentic history at all and that a proper, full and reliable history of India could only be constructed by tremendous co-operative labours of distant but devoted scholars, those of the north exploring the stores of Persian and Urdu and those of the South handling the rich heritage lying hidden in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and other languages. One realizes how research is inter-related and how no single scholar however learned can achieve much without

the help of workers in other fields. The unity of India's past culture can thus be made to serve the present political needs of our nation through the instrumentality of history which scholars like our friend are slowly but surely constructing.

Another point that strikes me in this connection is the great necessity there is of Indians helping themselves as much in the field of history as in other subjects of national regeneration. Indians alone can study and accurately interpret the records and materials of India's past. Many earlier histories written by a number of eminent western scholars have become obsolete if not entirely misleading.

In conclusion I strongly feel that Dr. Aiyangar's career has been an inspiring example to many of us and deserves to be dearly cherished and suitably commemorated particularly as, we know, such examples of devotion and scholarship are few and far between. I wish him a long life full of health and spirits even yet to carry to completion the numerous topics to which his life-long labours have given rise.

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Stanley Road, Allahabad.

I am delighted to hear that the many friends of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar have decided to bring out a Commemoration Volume in honour of his sixty-fifth year. Dr. Aiyangar is one of the most brilliant historians of India, and his contributions will be deemed to be of great importance to the true understanding of periods of Indian History which had hitherto been strangely neglected by his predecessors. His monumental work on the various aspects of the Vijayanagar Empire will form a landmark in the evolution of Indian historiography, and Indian scholars are under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Aiyangar for his vigorous initiative and solid industry in a subject which is of absorbing interest not merely to the student of Southern Indian History but also to scholars of Northern India. Dr. Aiyangar started his investigations amidst circumstances which would have appalled an ordinary man; but he prosecuted his design with a combination of tact and persistance which extorted the admiration of all who had the pleasure of being associated with him in his enterprise. Like Gibbon, he dreamed of his *magnum opus* in the spring time of his scholarly career, and no sooner did he get the opportunity than he set about realising the *grande passion* of his life. Historians are united in praising the magnificent execution of the intellectual ideals of his youth—in a series of monographs of the highest value to every student of Indian history. The Forgotten Empire, " F.E. ", is now as vivid and real to us as India of the twentieth century, while the administrative and political implications of that period are being realised by us only in the present age. I do

not wish to deal further with a topic which will form the subject of several articles by persons who are better qualified than myself. But I cannot refrain from pointing out the positive conception of the solidarity of Southern India which the thorough researches of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar have succeeded in developing. It is a noble contribution to the evolution of our splendid heritage and later historians will start with this basic idea in their search for our forgotten annals.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has contributed in a striking degree to the true understanding of mediaeval India. His brilliant work on South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders has introduced an entirely new conception in our interpretation of mediaeval India. By applying his solid commonsense, minute knowledge of the geography of Southern India and enormous industry, he has reconstructed the history of the thirteenth and fourteenth century India and removed numerous misunderstandings and misconceptions.

The output of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's scholarly activities is enormous and its quality is as good as its quantity. Upon everything that he has written are stamped thoroughness and solidity. He has also shown in his person a rare devotion to learning and a singular capacity for making and retaining friends. At a critical time he came to my rescue and took over the Journal of Indian History with alacrity and zeal. He adopted my child, nursed it, fondled it with true paternal affection, and the baby has now developed into a strong self-confident youth.

Dr. Aiyangar must have experienced many difficulties in keeping up the standard of the Journal, but it must now be plain to the meanest intelligence that he has emerged victorious out of a struggle of eleven years and established it on a secure and firm basis.

May the doyen of Indian historians live long to enjoy the fruits of his hard-earned rest and may he continue to burn the torch of Jearning as brilliantly as he has done in a long career of bracing and strenuous activity. Amen !

Contents

1. GENERAL INDIAN HISTORY

॥ श्रीः ॥

आशीर्वादपञ्चकम्

By

PANDIT V. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA
Epigraphist, Tirupathi Devasthanam.

कर्णरसायनमिन्धे यन्नाम सुधीशमण्डले ललितम् ।
कृष्णस्वाम्यय्यङ्गारित्यार्यवरश्चिरं सुखं जीयात् ॥

आशैलेन्द्रादचलतनयापादविन्यासधन्या-
दालङ्कान्तं सकलविबुधैर्मान्यपाण्डित्यभूमा ।
ये च द्वीपा धरणिवलये भान्ति तत्रत्यविद्व-
द्भ्यात्मीयोल्लसदुरुयशाः सोऽयमार्यश्चकास्तु ॥

पाण्ड्याश्चोलाः प्रथितयशसः पल्लवा ये तथान्ये
तेषां तेषां प्रथितचरितग्रन्थनिर्माणदीक्षः ।
सोऽयं श्रीमान् विमलधिषणः सर्वसिद्धान्तवेदी
जीयान्नानाबिरुदमणिभिर्भूषितः साधुवृत्तः ॥

भूपालेन्द्रैर्मानितो विश्वविद्याशालास्थाने तत्त्वसारोपदेष्टा ।
श्रीमानिन्धे शिष्यभाग्यप्रसारो नानाविद्याशुक्तिमुक्ताकलापः ॥

आसमुद्रमवनीतलौकसामेधमानयशसां विपश्चिताम् ।
अग्रगण्यपदवीं भजन्नसौ भातु नित्यसुखसंपदुज्ज्वलः ॥

विश्वविद्यालयोदारविबुधो विमलाशयः ।
कृष्णमार्यसुधीः श्रीमान् चिरं जीयान्महीतले ॥

पञ्चषष्ठितमवार्षिकोत्सवोल्लासभाग्यमुदारधीः सुधीः ।
कृष्णमार्यधरणीसुरोत्तमो भातु सर्वसुहृदर्थसिद्धये ॥

Royal Prerogative in Ancient India

BY

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Baroda.

THE investigation into the question of royal prerogatives in Ancient India is one of the most fascinating studies in the whole range of Niti and Dharmasastra literature. But very little work has been done in this direction, probably because the idea of 'prerogative' is a recent one, being associated with what is called constitutional government, which, according to modern notions, was non-existent in ancient times in spite of what Mr. Jayaswal and others say to the contrary. But the question is sure to come to the forefront under the new Federal System, and it is not waste of time to find out whether we can compile a list of royal prerogatives from ancient sources. Sir Jadunath has shown the way in the recent edition of his 'Mughal Administration'; he has tackled the apparently impossible subject of the prerogatives of the Mughal emperors, who were noted for their exercise of autocratic powers. Even to-day whenever rules are broken, or any unlawful measures are taken, it is nick-named the "Moglai regime". If Sir Jadunath can circumscribe the prerogatives of the 'Moglai regime' in a list of sixteen, I wonder why we cannot make an attempt to compile a similar list from our old books. The present paper does not make an attempt to exhaust the subject; it merely suggests a new line of study which may be taken up by any of our many young scholars for intensive research.

The task is, indeed, very difficult; because we rarely meet with o direct reference to the prerogatives of early kings in old literature, but there are many passages which *indirectly* hint at their existence. Below is made an attempt to compile such a list from such indirect as well as direct references.

The prerogative is a special power which can be exercised by the King, and by no one else in the kingdom. To arrest a man without a warrant and detain him without trial, is a prerogative of the King. It has to be done in the name of the King, and must exist in the King, even though the execution may be done by some one else. This is one aspect of the question of prerogatives. Another aspect, which is purely personal, consists of certain high privileges enjoyed by the King alone; for instance, the King's person cannot be arrested; he is not liable for crime, tort or felony; his goods cannot be distrained; and so forth. In

English Law, Prerogatives are classified under five heads, such as (1) Personal, (2) Political, (3) Judicial, (4) Fiscal and (5) Ecclesiastical. This is a very convenient method, and the few prerogatives I have succeeded in collecting may be similarly classified:

A. PERSONAL.

1. *The subjects cannot exist without a King.*

Among the personal prerogatives, this may be placed first. It is obtained from a direct reference in the Sukraniti (SN.) p. 22 (Jivananda Edition), viz. :

न तु नृपविहीनाः स्युर्दुर्गुणा ह्यपि तु प्रजाः ।

2. *The King is a perfect being.*

According *to* Western notions, the King is incapable of doing any wrong ; and if any such thing occurs, it has to be attributed to the negligence of his counsellors. He is the King by the grace of God, and as such he is regarded as perfect. The same idea can be traced in Sanskrit literature, where the King is said to be made up of the elements of eight Hindu divinities such as Indra, Anila, Yama, Agni, Arka, Varuna, the moon, and Kubera. cf. SN. op. cit. p. 17.

इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥

From this it may safely be concluded that, according to Indian conceptions, the King was, and is, a perfect being.

3. *The King acts at his own sweet will.*

This is quite obvious since an autocratic King is under no obligations. If an authority is required, one may be given from &N. op. cit. p, 606.

नृपं स्वच्छन्दगामिनम् ।

The Dharmasastras, under the circumstances, could only appeal to the King's moral sense and his religious feelings, in order that he might not take actions which were contrary to the precepts of Dharmasastra, which in no way were constitutionally binding upon him.

4. *The King has right to a royal standard, royal throne, sceptre, canopy, carriage, and to the use of special liveries :* —

Certain personal things (as insignia to royalty) have been ascribed to a King from very early times,—at least the time of Kautilya. From his Arthasastra (AS.) we get the following quotation : —

छत्रभृङ्गारव्यजनशिबिकापीठिकारथेषु च विशेषार्थम् ।

This may **be** supplemented by the information obtained from the *Sukranlti* as well as the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja.

5. *The King has a right to the following additional paraphernalia* :
(1) *bed,* (2) *pulpit,* (3) *umbrella,* (4) *fly-wishk,* (5) *pitcher,* (6) *drinking bowl,* (7) *fan,* (8) *mirror,* (9) *distinctive dress,* (10) *litter and* (11) *chariot.*

In later times, the number of personal things associated with the King increased, and a good account of these is obtained from the *Yuktikalpataru,* p. 72, e.g.

छत्रध्वजसिंहासनयानाद्भ्यो यदन्यत् स्यात् राज्याङ्गं तदुपकरणं···
चामरश्चाथ भृङ्गारः चषकश्च प्रसाधनीम्
वितानश्चाथ शय्या च व्यजनं दर्पणाम्बरम् ।

6. *The King can arrest any person.*

This prerogative is indirectly referred to in an interesting passage in the *Manasdllasa* (MNS.) G.O.S. vol. 1. p. 91, along with several others. The passage runs as follows : —

अनुग्रहे निग्रहे च दाने चादानकर्मणि प्रवृत्तौ च निवृत्तौ च ग्रहणे मोक्षणे तथा स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा············

From this it follows that the King has a right: (1) to reward or (2) to punish ; (3) to grant gifts or (4) to resume them ; (5) to start a project and (6) to stop it; (7) to arrest a person or (8) to set him at liberty. In fact, this single verse enumerates eight different royal prerogatives of a personal, fiscal and political nature. The arrest of a person, with or without reason, was a wrong without remedy.

7. *The King can bestow gifts and honours, special decorations and liveries of honour.*

This is one of the recognized privileges of Kings from times immemorial, and we can gather ample evidence from Sanskrit literature. Below are given some quotations :

(1) **ŚN. op. cit. p. 20.**

दानैर्मानैश्च सत्कारैः स्वप्रजारञ्जकः सदा ।

(2) ***Ibid*. p. 116.**

यथालङ्कारवस्त्राद्यैः स्त्रियो भूष्यास्तथा हि ते ।

(3) ***Ibid*. p. 126.**

तान् सर्वान् पोषयेत् भृत्या दानैर्मानैः सुपूजितान् ।

(4) *Ibid.* p. 224.

दानैर्मानैश्च सत्कारैः सुपूज्यान् पूजयेत् सदा ।

8. *The King is the cause of time and maker of good and evil practices.*

The SN is explicit on this point, as indeed it is on other points relating to the subject of prerogatives. This prerogative may be taken either under the head " Personal " or under " Ecclesiastical ". The relevant passage is quoted below (SN op. cit. p. 17).

9. *The King is the cause of customs, usages and movements.*

This is borne out by &N (p. 6)

आचारप्रेरको राजा ह्येतत् कालस्य कारणम् ।

10. *The King is* the *protector of the poor.*

As *patriae potestas,* the King is the natural guardian of all poor and destitute people, including the old and helpless persons. Kautilya does give this impression, but &N (p. 37) is more explicit :

तस्माद्राजा नृशंस्येन पालयेत् कृपणं जनम् ।

11. *The King has* a *right to abdicate in favour of his son at the close of life.*

This is not recognized as a prerogative, though, being a special privilege, it ought to be considered as such. SN. p. 615 :

स्वायुषः स्वल्पशेषे तु सत्पुत्रे स्वाम्यमादिशेत् ।

But Sukra does not favour this abdication in early ages, or when the King is strong and healthy, cf. ibid. p. 614.

B. POLITICAL.

12. *The King is the sovereign authority.*

This prerogative can be extracted from the SN p. 491 where it is said :

अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतन्त्रः पृथिवीपतिः ।

13. *The King is the fountain of policy.*

For this we have again to refer to the verse in the MNS, vol. I, p. 91, where it enumerates eight different prerogatives. There it is mentioned that a King can start a project and stop it.

प्रवृत्तौ च निवृत्तौ च………………।
स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा………………॥

From this we can infer that the King has a right to inaugurate policies. If a search is made, many such passages will be found which have a direct or an indirect bearing on this point Cf. for instance AS, p. 260.

राजा……नयस्याधिष्ठानम् ।

14. *The King has a right to the allegiance of his subject.*

This can be inferred from the passage in £N, p. 22 already quoted :

न तु नृपविहीनाः स्युर्दुर्गुणा अपि तु प्रजाः ।

Further evidence of this prerogative is furnished by RNP (see No. 20), p. 23: —

आज्ञा नृपाणां परमं हि तेजो यस्तां न मन्येत स शस्त्रवध्यः ।
श्रूयाच्च कुर्याच्च वदेच्च भूभृत् तदेव कार्यं भुवि सर्वलोकैः ॥

15. *The King is the fountain of honour.*

The existence of this prerogative in Ancient India may be inferred indirectly from such passages as—

£N. p. 224.

16. *The King has a right to conclude treaties with otlier kings.*

According to &N a treaty is defined as under :

SN. p. 563.

17. *The King has a right to levy tribute from subordinate kings.*

The existence of this can be inferred from such passages as :

हृतराज्यस्य निचितं कोशं भोगार्थमाहरेत् ।
SN. p. 603.

18. *The King can appoint councillors and other officers as his servants.*

The existence of this is already borne out by AS, p. 322 :

मन्त्रिपुरोहितादिभृत्यवर्गमध्यक्षप्रचारं……राजैव करोति ।

It incidentally follows from this that the King can create new offices with new fees, even though it may mean " taxation without representation ".

19. *The King can create a new law, and a new offence.*

The existence of this prerogative is evidenced in the pages of any Niti work in Sanskrit. Kautilya says that King's edict is of the highest authority in Law : cf.

धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् ।
विवादार्थश्चतुष्पादः पश्चिमः पूर्वबाधकः ।

op. cit. p. 150.

20. *The King has a right to build forts and dejejices.*

The *Rajanitiprakasa* (RNP) of Mitra-Misra lays down that the King should build forts of one kind out of the six.

तत्र दुर्गं नृपः कुर्यात् षण्णामेकतमं बुधः ।

p. 199.

Similar quotations may be obtained from any Niti work.

21. *The King has a right to the coining of money.*

Kautilya makes the existence of this quite evident. Mint officers were required to issue coins to the public in return for bullion (AS p. 103). Fines were imposed for manufacture of counterfeit coins and for the tenderer of such coins, proving clearly that the coining of money was a special privilege of the King (op. cit. p. 248).

22. *The King has a right to regulate weights and measures.*

In the time of Kautilya we find that there were special officers called the Superintendents of weights and measures, who were required to manufacture and stamp the weights. Fines were imposed for using unstamped weights and measures (AS p. 104, 127) as also false weights (op. cit. p. 148).

23. *The King has a right to prohibit importation of injurious articles.*

The existence of this prerogative was recognized in **AS** p. **112.**

राष्ट्रपीडाकरं भाण्डमुच्छिन्द्यादफलं च यत् ।

C. JUDICIAL.

24. *The King is the fountain of Justice.*

For the existence of this, stress may be laid on a passage in AS. p. **150.**

नश्यतां सर्वधर्माणां राजा धर्मप्रवर्तकः ।

25. *The King can set a person at liberty.*

A reference may be made for this to MNS, vol. I, p. 91.

> ग्रहणे मोक्षणे तथा ।
> स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा............ ॥

26. *The King has the right of priority in the recovery oj debts.*

Kau^ilya says : " Even in the case of a debtor going abroad, he shall pay his debts in the order in which he borrowed, or shall first pay his debts due to the King or a learned Brahmana ". (AS Trans, p. 215) Katyayana seems to support this view of Kautilya in the well-known verse : —

> नानर्णसमवाये तु यद्यत् पूर्वकृतं भवेत् ।
> तत्तदेवाग्रतो देयं राज्ञः श्रोत्रियतोऽनु च ।

(Kane : Vyavaharamayukha, p. 183)

27. *Adverse possession does not apply to King's property, open deposits, pledges, treasure troves, boundaries, and palaces.*

cf. AS, p. 191 :— ' न भोगेन हरेयुः । उपनिधिमाधिं निधिं निक्षेपं स्त्रियं सीमानं राजश्रोत्रियद्रव्यानि च ।

Dr. Shamasastry's translation : " The same shall obtain with regard to open deposits, pledges, treasure troves, boundary, or any property belonging to kings or priests ".

28. *The King can pardon offences.*

SN. p. 79 compares the King with the mother who forgives all offences :

> यथा......क्षमयित्र्यपराधानां माता ।

The MNS refers to the King's power to arrest or to release a person.

> ग्रहणे मोक्षणे तथा । स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा...... p. 91.

29. *The King has the right to forfeit the property of a person for a grave offence.*

The chapter in AS, " Replenishment of the Treasury," is replete with examples where properties are confiscated for grave offence whether real or faked, showing that the right of forfeiture really exists in the King. Also refer to MNS, Vol. I, p. 91: —

> आज्ञारूपेण या शक्तिः सर्वेषां मूर्धनि स्थिता ।
> प्रभुशक्ति र्हि सा ज्ञेया............... ॥

D. **FISCAL.**

30. *The King is the owner of the soil.*

This is a purely Indian idea, though there are scholars to dispute this. But Mitra Misra is clear on this point, when he says :

भूस्वामी तु स्मृतो राजा ।

RNP. p. **271.**

31. *The King is the protector of the treasures and all possessions of the State.*

cf. SN, p. 77.

कोशानां रक्षणे दक्षः स्यान्निधीनां धनाधिपः ।

32. *The King is entitled to a share of people's wealth.*

cf. SN. p. 19.

स्वभागोद्धारकृत् ।

33. *The King has a right to impose a tax upon his subjects.*

All Niti works stand witness to the existence of this prerogative. Let us take a few examples from the RNP.

p. 249

योगक्षेमं च सम्प्रेक्ष्य वणिजो दापयेत् करान् ।

p. 260.

तथा वीक्ष्य नृपो राष्ट्रे कल्पयेत् सततं करान् ।

p. 260.

p. 261

आददीताथ षड्भागं द्रुमांसमधुसर्पिषाम् ।

p. 263.

दशाष्टषष्ठं नृपतेर्भागं दद्यात्कृषीवलम् ।

Obviously, examples of this kind can easily be multiplied.

34. *The, King can levy tolls, carriage cess, and road cess.*

The existence of this can be deduced from such quotations as :

प्रत्यन्तेषु तराः शुल्कमातिवाहिकं वर्तनीं च गृह्णीयुः ।

AS. p. **127.**

35. *The King is the owner of treasure troves and ownerless property.*

This is borne out by all Dharmasastra and Niti works, from which a few quotations may be cited in support.
RNP. p. 266.

प्रनष्टस्वामिकं रिक्थं राजा त्र्यब्दं निधापयेत् ।
..................परतो नृपतिर्हरेत् ।
भूमौ चिरनिखातं द्रव्यं निधिः । तं राजा लब्ध्वा......
यद्भूम्यां वर्तते वित्तं तन्नृपस्य न संशयः ।

(Ananda Ramayana, Sarakanda III. 264)

36. *The King has a right to alienate State lands at pleasure.*

The existence of this is so well proved by the numerous copper plate inscriptions discovered in all parts of India that it scarcely requires any other evidence in support.

37. *The King has a right to resume a gift given before.*

There can scarcely be any dispute on this point. The MNS (p. 91)

..................दाने चादानकर्मणि ।
स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा.................. ॥

clearly says and attributes the power of resumption to the King. In AS. p. 355 it is laid down that there are five kinds of gifts, and it enumerates among them " the continuance of a gift given before ", and considers this as a kind of gift. This clearly shows that the King had power to resume gift at will, whether it be land or of any other privilege.

E. ECCLESIASTICAL.

38. *The King is the supreme governor of Dharma.*
cf. 6N. p. 6.

राजदण्डभयाल्लोकः स्वस्वधर्मपरो भवेत् ।

also AS. p. 150.

नश्यतां सर्वधर्माणां राजा धर्मप्रवर्तकः ।

39. *The King is the founder of religion and destroyer of irreligion.*
cf. SN. p. 74.

धर्मप्रवर्तकोऽधर्मनाशकः ।

40. *The King is the sole protector of Dharma and the social system.*
cf. AS. p. 9.

चतुर्वर्णाश्रमो लोको राज्ञा दण्डेन पालितः ।
स्वधर्मकर्माभिरतो वर्तते स्वेषु वर्त्मसु ॥

41. *The King has a right to forbid improper proceedings of ascetics.*

It is sometimes contended that the ascetics do not come within the jurisdiction of the State, but this does not seem to be the case, at least not in Ancient India. I give only one instance from AS. p. 191.

प्रव्रज्यासु यथाचारान् राजा दण्डेन धारयेत् ।

This shows clearly that it is within the powers of the King to forbid improper proceedings of the ascetics when these threaten the security of the State. Many more instances can be quoted, but this may be considered sufficient for our present purpose.

This concludes the short list of prerogatives I have been able to collect. I do not claim this list to be either perfect or complete. But this subject appears to be not only interesting but also very useful, and I hope that some one will come forward to write an original thesis at no distant date, since materials seem to be quite plentiful.

The Sasanian Conquest of the Indus Region

BY

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THE Indus region, for reasons easily understandable, has since times of yore been coveted by conquerors issuing from Iran or even from more remote parts ; and during long stages of its history it has been under Western domination, and has had only loose connections with the real sub-continent of India.

The older periods of Indus history are naturally wrapt in obscurity. Archaeology has so far been able to record few greater discoveries than the unearthing of the Mohenjo Daro civilisation,—a civilisation which dates back at least to C. 2500 B.C..[1] However, as long as the script of the seals and the connection—ethnical and liguistic-—of the Mohenjo Daro people with other races remain obscure, historical research will not be able to reach any conclusions concerning the oldest political status of the Indus valley. The splendid Indus culture may have succumbed to Aryan invaders from the North-west—which, however, does not seem very probable to the present writer—or it may have been destroyed by a people unknown to us. But whatever may have boon the real conditions of that remote period, it seems at least possible that the ruins of Mohenjo Daro represent the tangible result of a very early conquest of the Indus region by Western clans.

The connections between the Assyrians and the Far East also seem wholly obscure. Classical authors, such as Arrian,[2] seem to think that all land to the west of the Indus was subject to the Assyrians, and then to the Medes. In another work[3] Arrian speaks of the warlike attempts by Queen Samiramis on the Indians and of her flight from their borders ; while Justin (1, 2, 9) simply says that, before the time of Alexander, Semiramis alone had entered the land of the Indians. Xenophon, in his *Cyropaedia* 1, 5, 3, mentions a message sent by some Assyrian

1. Such a date seems to be suggested by the discoveries of Professor Frankfort at Tell-Asmar, recorded in the *Annual Bibl. of Ind. Arch.* VII (1932, pub. 1934), p. 1 ff. The dates advocated by Sir John Marshall and his collaborators seem rather high.

2. *Jndica,* Iff.

3. *Anabasis* VI, 24, 2-3.

king to the Indians. A cylinder preserved in the British Museum tells us that Sennacherib, King of Assyria (C. 700 B. C), tried to introduce cotton-shrubs into his gardens at Nineveh.[4] This certainly points to a certain connection with India, but cannot, of course, be taken as proof of an Assyrian overlordship over the Indus province. However, the allusions of classical authors to Assyrian conquests in the East make it fairly probable that Assur had at least some political connections with the Indus valley.

That Darius I (521-486 B.C.) conquered the Indus region is a well-established fact. And that the Achaemenians held political sway over that province as well as over the Kabul valley down to the very fall of their dynasty, seems obvious from the presence of Indian troops and elephants on the Persian side in the battle of Gawgamela (330 B.C.) According to a passage in Arrian[5] the troops came from the extreme North-west and marched with the Bactrians, while the squadrons of elephants were drawn from the very province of Sindh. Alexander again did not attempt his conquest of India simply from vain-glorious motives ; the Greeks, from the time of Herodotus on, were well aware of the immense tribute drawn by the Achaemenians from their Indian provinces.[6] And it may have been strongly tempting to the world-conqueror to add those regions to his dominions. That he also considered himself the legal successor of the Achaemenians is proved by his marriage with Statira, a daughter of Darius III, and in this way he had a right also to their Indian realm.

However, while there is sufficient light on the conditions of the Indus region from the conquest of Darius right down to the time of Alexander, much doubt attaches itself to the connections of Cyrus with the West of India. If it be true that the Assyrians and Medes held some sort of sway over the Indus valley, it seems obvious that Cyrus, their immediate successor and one of the world's greatest generals, should have attempted to renew their Eastern conquests. It has been even suggested that Cyrus did not meet his fate during the campaign against the Massagetae so romantically described by Herodotus. Ctesias, who perhaps knew better, tells us that he was actually killed in warfare against the Derbikes, a people bordering upon India. These knotty questions cannot, however, be discussed here, and we shall be justified

4. Cp. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1909, p. 339 ff. (and *Annual Bibl. of Ind. Arch.* VII, 7).

5. *Anabasis* III, 8, 3ff.

6. According to Herodotus III, 94, this tribute amounted to no less than 360 talents of gold sand (about one million Sterling).

by quoting a few recent publications dealing with the subject.[7] If asked for a personal opinion, valueless though it may be, we should feel rather inclined to believe that Cyrus did really fail during an attempt to conquer the Indian borderlands.

The Indian provinces of the West, after the death of Alexander, soon recovered their freedom from foreign overlordship.[8] Seleucus I, although undoubtedly the ablest of Alexander's generals, did not meet with success in his campaign against Chandragupta ; and his capable son Antiochus I apparently did not repeat his Indian adventure, though he upheld friendly relations with the Mauryas, and is undoubtedly the *Amtiyoka* mentioned in Asoka's inscriptions.[9] The Seleucids who followed were far too much occupied with their Western provinces to be able *to* invade the East. And when Antiochus III in C. 206 B.C. had come to terms with Euthydemus of Bactria, he only paid a short visit to the Upper Indus valley where he saw an otherwise unknown king called *Sophagaseniis (Suhhdgasena)* who apparently was willing to salute him as his overlord. With this short campaign ends the connection of the successors of Alexander—for the Bactrian Greeks could scarcely be regarded as such—with the Indus provinces.

The relations of the Arsacid dynasty, as far as the present writer is aware, remain obscure. The philosopher and the magician Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus or rather to his source, travelled through the Arsacid empire in the 40's A.D.[10] For quite a long time he visited the then great king at Babylon and even got a letter of recommendation, from him to the Satrap of the Indus province. It is however expressly stated that he was not a subject of the Arsacid ruler ; and this seems to make it probable that the political connection between Persia and Western India was at that time entirely severed. During its later period of existence the Arsacid realm suffered from political dissensions and weakness, and it seems wholly incredible that its rulers should at that time have attempted any conquest of the Indus valley.

7. Cp., *inter alia*, Jackson C. H. 7. Vol. I, p. 329 ff ; Camelli *Revista Indo-Greco-Italica* VI (1922), 281 ff; as well as a small article by the present writer in *Zeifschrift f. Indologie* II (1923), 140 ff. Something may be found also in the article *Ahl. Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.* 63, p. xlif.

8. The story of these events is well described in *C. H. I.* Vol. I, p. 427 ff.

9. In B. *S. O. S.* VI (1931), 303 ff, the present writer has tried to prove that the *Amtiyoko nama Yonaraja* mentioned in Rock-Edd. II and XIII is in reality Antiochus I (d. 262-261 B.C.), and not Antiochus II (d. 246 B.C.). The consequences of such a suggestion are set out at some length in the article just mentioned.

10. Cp. the present writer's pamphlet, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Upsala 1934), p. 31 ff.

The case seems to stand otherwise with the great Sasanian dynasty that occupied the throne of the King of Kings about 225 A.D. The late Vincent Smith quite correctly suggested[11] that the closely contemporaneous downfall of Kushan and the Andhra dynasties in about 226 A.D. most probably must have been connected with the rise of Sasanian power and a Persian invasion of Western India. But he added that no direct proofs of the historical existence of such an invasion were forthcoming. In a later article,[12] however, Smith, by an ingenious combination of a hitherto unobserved passage in Firishta with the find of a coin collected many years earlier in the Jhelum district of the Punjab, proved that an invasion of the Indus region was probably undertaken by Ardashir Papakan, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty (225-241 A.D.). This leads to the conclusion that his successors may have held sway over the countries bordering upon the river Indus. For such a contention some other small indications seem to me to be forthcoming.

Kalidasa, in describing the *digvijaya* of Raghu, also has some lines dealing with the Persians[18] which, in this connection, seem worthy of attention. After telling us how Raghu had conquered Aparanta (Konkan) and made Mt. Trikuta his town of victory *(jayastambha)* he continues : —

*Pdrastkdtns tatd jetum pratasthe sthalavartmand *
Indriyakhy&n iva ripums tattvajn&nena samyaml 11 60 11
Samgrdmas tumvlas tasya paschatyair asvasadhanaih [
Sdrngdkujitavijneyapratiyodhe rajasy-abhut 11 62 j |
Bhalldpavarjitais teshdm Sirobhih sma&rulair mahim |
Tastdra saraghdvydptaih sa kshaudrapafalair-iva \\ 63 11
*ApanUaHrastrdndh ieshastam saranam yayuh *
Pranipdtaprafikarah samrambho hi makdtmandm 11 64 11
Vinayante sma tadyodhd madhubhir vijayasramam |
*A8t*rnajina ratndsu drakshdvalayabhumishu* \\ 65 11

Passing from Konkan northwards *by landway* which can only mean by the way of Kathiawar—Raghu must have given battle to the Persians in the Lower Indus valley. In the dry and dusty region he fought their armies chiefly consisting of cavalry. Their warriors grew beards and wore steel-helmets; and Raghu's own soldiers after the battle gave themselves up to drinking grape-wine which must have been imported from Persia or Afghanistan. After having defeated the Persians,

11. Cp. *Early History of India,* 3rd Ed., p. 273, and *Oxford History of India,* p. 138.
12. Cp. J. *J?. A. S. 1920,* p. 221 ff.
13. *Raghuvamia TV,* 60 ff.

Raghu marched due north, and then came upon the Huns and the Kambojas.

The description of the Persians is quite accurate. As Kalidasa cannot have possessed a historical knowledge of the conditions of Raghu's time—if ever Raghu was a historical person—he must, of course, be alluding to the conditions of his own period. This passage consequently seems to prove that, in the fifth century A.D., the Persians were still in possession of the Indus province, and that, to the north of this province, i.e. in the Panjab and further north, were the Hephthalites or White Huns. Such were probably the conditions during the time of Skandagupta when the Huns had partly overrun Persia and were entering India from the North-west.

In this connection, the present writer may, perhaps, be allowed to bring into remembrance that, some years ago in a short notice,[14] he drew attention to the name *Parnadatta,* which, from an Indian point of view, is simply unintelligible. Such was the name, according to Junagadh inscription, of a man whom Skandagupta appointed to be governor of Surashtra (Kathiawar). *Parnadatta,* according to my humble opinion, is nothing but an Indianization of a Persian *Famaddta,* the existence of which is proved by the Greek transcriptions *Pharandates* or *Pherendates.*[15] This seems to prove that Kathiawar did no more belong to the Persians but to the realm of the great Guptas. Still the Persian element must have been strong among the upper classes there, as Skandagupta appointed as governor a man of undoubted Iranian descent.[18]

Byzantine literature, with which the present writer is, of course, only superficially acquainted, may contain some passages which would point to a Persian dominion in the Indus valley. It has, however, scarcely been sufficiently sifted from such a point of view. Anyhow, Cosmas Indicopleustes, who most probably visited India at the very beginning of the 6th century A.D.,[17] in a passage of his *Christian Topography*[19] tells us this : " Now Sindu is the very beginning of India. For the river Indus . . . . .empties into the Persian gulf and has different mouths, one belonging to Persia, another to India." *Sindu* may be identical with Diul-

14. J. *R.A. S.* 1928, p. 904 f.
15. *J. R.* A. *S,* 1931, p. 140 f.
16. The son of *Parnadatta,* however, was called *Chakrapdlita* (Fleet, *Gupta insr.,* p. 5 f.), a name that can have no Iranian connections, unless it be a somewhat obscure translation from Persian.
17. His visit to India and Ceylon has been put to doubt by great authorities such as Lassan and Tennent, while others (like Yule) hold the undoubtedly correct view that he really went there.
18. Ed. Winstedt (1909), p. 322, 23-26.

Sind[19] which is known from quite an early time or it may not; anyhow it must mean a port situated within the Indus Delta. And at the time of Cosmas—practically about 500 A.D.—-the left side of the river apparently belonged to India, the right one to Persia. That would mean that at this period the Sasanians still kept sway over the regions to the West of the Indus.

I have tried to scan the *Bellum Persicum* of Procopius, who wrote slightly later than Cosmas, for any possible references to Sasanian dominion in Western India, but have not been able to find any. There is, however, in 1, 20 an allusion to an overwhelming commercial influence of the Persians in Western India in the early 6th century. Procopius tells us that Justinian, the Byzantine emperor (527-565 A.D.), saw with consternation the drain on the purses of his subjects caused by the monopoly of the silk trade established by the Persians. He, consequently, tried to persuade the Christian king of Abyssinia to let his subjects buy large quantities of silk in the Indian ports. " But", continues Procopius, "it was not possible to the Abyssinians to buy silk from the Indians, as Persian merchants were always hanging about the ports where the Indian vessels first put in, living as they do in the next neighbourhood ; and these Persians are accustomed to buy the wares wholesale ". According to Cosmas, Ceylon was at this time the general port of exchange whither the Chinese junks brought silk and other products of the Far East. The tJeylonese then distributed the silk, cloves etc., to the ports on the Western coasts of India as far as the abovementioned Sindu. Apparently, the Persian merchants were crowding to these ports ; and they may, of course, have been much nearer to them if Persia was at this time in possession of all land to the West of the Indus.

Sasanian literature, unfortunately, has been preserved to us only through later and often very untrustworthy sources. And so far nothing seems to have been unearthed from Pahlavi or later Persian literature alluding to the topic which is here occupying our attention. However, Professor Hersfeld in his great work on *Paikuli,* from various reasons, which for lack of space it would be quite impossible to repeat here, has concluded that the Sasanians *did* really conquer the Indus valley, and at one time held sway even over a large part of Western India, where the then reigning Saka Satraps recognised them as their overlords.[21] Professor Hersfeld does not seem to think that Ardashir I (225-241), vastly extended as were his conquests, did really subdue these parts of India. That was done during the great campaign which his

19. Cp. Yule-Burnell *Hobaon-Jobson,* 2nd Ed., p. 320.
20. Ed. Dindorf I, 106 f.
21. Paikudi, 89, 42, 48.

greatgrandson Bahram II (276-293 A.D.), carried on against the Sakas. The learned author is certainly right in supposing that *Sakshthdna* did at this time not mean Sistan only but also the Lower Indus region, Kathiawar, Gujarat and even Malwa. Personally I have the impression that the names or titles of the Indian Saka Satraps, which Professor Hersfeld has read into the great Paikuli inscription, are very uncertain and little to be relied upon. But on the whole there can be little doubt that the main theory is right, and that the earlier Sasanians held sway over not only the Indus valley but also over considerable parts of Western India. These parts—Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa—were re-conquered some time between 390-400 A.D. by Chandragupta II who, however, seems to have left the Sasanians as *beati possessores* of the Indus Province.

I shall now try shortly to sum up what seems to me to have been the probable stages of the rise and down-fall of Sasanian dominion in Western India.

1. Ardashlr I (225-241 A.D.) may well have invaded the Panjab and laid that province temporarily under his realm.

2. Bahram II (276-293 A.D.) conquered the whole of *Sakasthdna,* aiLd claimed overlordship over the Saka Satraps of Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa. According to Professor Hersfeld these Satraps are mentioned in the great Paikuli inscription as waiting on the Shahanshah Narseh upon his ascension of the throne (293 A.D.)

3. The Sasanians probably held sway over this Greater *Sakasthana* until about 390-400 A.D. when Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa were reconquered by Chandragupta II. This tallies quite well with the passage from Kalidasa quoted above where the Parasika dominion is situated between the Hindu lands in the south (i.e. the Gupta realm) and the kingdom of the Huns in the North.

4. The Lower Indus region—at least to the west of the river—was probably held by the Sasanians until their downfall by the middle of the 7th century A.D. The Arabs, some-what more than half a century later, arrived as their successors in Sindh.

These scrappy notes are not meant to contain any solution of a very intricate historical problem. They are only meant as a very small token of the author's admiration for Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's unceasing labours in the vast field of Indian historical research.

[The Editors have to record, with profound sorrow, that the talented scholar who wrote the above article—it seems to be almost the last one he wrote—is no more. The field of Indian historical scholarship has indeed lost a great worker; and the Editors very much regret that the author has not lived to go through the proofs of his article, as the views presented in it seem capable of discussion.]

Vedic Monotheism

BY

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MODERN scholarship for the most part postulates only a gradual development, in Indian metaphysics, of the notion of a single principle, of which principle the Several Angels *(devah, visve devah,* etc.) are, as it were, the powers, operative aspects, or personified attributes. As Yaska expresses it, " It is because of his great divisibility *(maha-bhagyat)* that they apply many names to him, one after another.... The other angels *(devah)* come to be *(bhavanti)* sub-members *(pratyangani)* of the one essence *(ekasydtmanah)..* .their becoming is a birth from one another, they are of one another's nature ; they originate in function (karma) ;[1] essence is their origin. . . .essence *(atnid)* is the whole of what an angel is " *(Nirrukta VII,* 4). Similarly the *Brhad-Devata,* I 70-74 : " Because of the magnitude of the essence *(mahatmydt)* a diversity of names is given *(vidhlyate) ...* .according to the distribution of their spheres *(sthdnavibhdgena).* It is inasmuch as they are powers *(vibhutih,* cf. *Bhagavad-gita* X, 40) that the names are innumerable. But the shapers *(kavayah)* in their incantations *(mantresu)* say that the *devatas* have a common source ; they are called by different names according to the spheres in which they are established. Some say that they are participant therein, and that such is their derivation ; but as regards the aforesaid Trinity of world-rulers, it is well understood that the whole of their participation *(bhaktih)* is in the essence *(dtmd)*"[2]

1. It is in fact Visvakarma, the doer of all things, that gives their " names," that is to say, their individual being, to the Angels, and is therefore called *devandm iiamadhah,* X, 82, 3.

2. An ontology of this kind is not properly to be called pantheistic or monistic. This would only be legitimate if, when the essence has been analysed into its many aspects, there were no remainder ; on the contrary, the whole of Indian scripture, beginning with the Rig Veda, consistently affirms that what remains exceeds the whole of that which suffices to fill up these worlds, and that the source remains unaffected by whatever is produced from it or returned to it at the beginning or end of an aeon. The view that all this is a theophany does **not** mean that all of him is seen ; on the contrary, " only a quarter," so to speak, of his abundance (RV. X, 90, 3) suffices to fill up the worlds of time and space, however far they may extend, however long they may endure.

Cf. Whitny, in Preface to the English version of Guenen, Le Homme et son Devenir selon le Vedanta: " It is to be hoped that this book will give the *coup de*

The foregoing passages illustrate the normal method of theology in any discussion *De divinis nominibus,* when a recognition of the various operations of a single principle gives rise to the superficial appearance of a polytheism. In Christianity, for example, " we do not say *the only God,* for deity is common to several" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* I.q.31, a-2c) ; still, " To create beings belongs to God according to his own being, that is his essence, which is common to the three Persons. Hence to create is not peculiar to any one Person, but is common to the whole Trinity " *(ib* I, q. 45, a. 6c.); and it is well understood that " Although the names of God have one common reference, still because the reference is made under many and different aspects, these names are not synonymous.... The many aspects of these names are not empty and vain, for there corresponds to all of them one single reality represented by them in a manifold and imperfect manner "[3] *(ib.* I, q. 13, a. 4 ad 2). In the same way, Plotinus : " This life of the ensouled stars is one identical thing, since they are one in the all-soul, so that their very spatial movement is pivoted upon identity and resolves itself into a movement not spatial but vital" *(Enneads,* IV, 4, 8).

That these conceptions of the identity of the First Principle with all its powers are current in the *Brahmanas* and the *Atharva-Veda* is well known. There may be cited, for example, *Satapatha Brdhmana* X,5,2,16. " As to this they say, ' Is then Death one or many V One should answer, * One and many '. For, inasmuch as he is That (Person

grace to the absurd and well-nigh unaccountable prejudice which persistently depreciates the Vedic doctrine on account of its alleged ' pantheism.' This parrot-cry. . . . ." ; and Lacombe, in Preface to Greusset, *Les philosophies Indiennes,* 1931 : " II ne faut pas conclure, .'i notre avis, que le Vedanta soit panthciste ou memo moniste, surtout au sens que ces mots ent chez nous. 11 se nomme lui-meme *advaita,* non-dualiste. Sa preoccupation d'assurer la transcendance de Brahman non meins que son immanence, de maintenir l'interiorite de son Ggloire, est manifesta. Position irreductible . . . . " ; and my *New Approach to the Vedas,* Note 42.

It may be added that similar objection can be made to the word " Monotheism " in the title of the present essay. *Tad ekam* in RV. X, 129, 2 is much rather " First Principle" than "only God". It is as "only God", with aspects as many as the points of view from which he is regarded, that " That One " becomes intelligible ; but what That one may be in itself can only be expressed in terms of negation, for example, " without duality ".

As to the rendering of *dtman* by " essence ", which I adopt here and elsewhere : essence *(atman)* is that by which a thing is ; name or idea (ndma) is that by which a thing is what it is ; aspect or mode *(rupa)* that by which it is as it is. Thus *nama-rupa* is the integration of soul and body, *fitman* the ultimate subject.

3. Cf. *Jaiminiya Up. Brdhmana.* HI, 1, where the Spiritus *(vayu)* is called " the one entire Angel *(eka . . . krtsjid devata),* the rest are semi-angels ".

in the Sun), he is one ; and inasmuch as he is multiply-distributed *(bahudhd vydvistih)* in his children, he is many ", cf. with *ib.* 20 : " As he is sought unto, so he becomes " *(yathopasate tad eva bhavati)* ;[4] and *Atharva Veda,* VIII, 9,26 " One Bull, one Prophet, one Home, a single Ordinance, one simplex Yaksa in his ground, one Season that is never emptied out," and I,12,l,Agni " One energy whose procession is threefold."

It is more often overlooked that the same point of view is so explicitly and so repeatedly affirmed in the *Rg Veda* as to leave no room for any misunderstanding. A full discussion of the Vedic formulation of the problem of the one and the many would require an extended study of Vedic exemplarism. Space is not available for this at the present time, but we may call attention to the expression *visvam ekam,* " integral multiplicity ", in RV, III, 54,8. All that we propose now is to assemble some of the most conspicuous of the Vedic texts in which the identity of the one and the many is categorically affirmed ; adding that, even were none of these explicit statements available, the law expressed in them could have been independently deduced from an analysis of the functions attributed to the various powers, for although these functions are characteristic of particular deities, they are never entirely peculiar to any one of them.[5]

Familiar passages, often dismissed as " late," include RV. I, 164, 46. " The priests refer in many different ways *(bahudhd vadanti)* to that that is but one, they call him Agni, Yama, Matarisvan : they call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, who is the heavenly eagle Garutman" ; X, 114, 5, "Ecstatic shapers *(viprd kavayah)* conceive of him in many

4. Just as in later literature the deity may be addressed as " Thou that dost take the forms imagined by thy worshippers ".

5. Max Muller invented the term " henotheism " to describe this method, which he apparently imagined to have been peculiar to the Vedas. Christianity, as a matter of fact, is " henotheistic " in so far as it affirms that whatever is done by any one of the Persons is done by all, and *vice-versa.* A fully developed " henotheism " is even more characteristic of Stoicism and of Phileo, cf. Brehier, Les *Idees philosophiques et reltgiouses de Philon d'Alexandrie,* 1925, pp. 112, 113 ; " La conception de dieux myrionymes, d'un dieu unique auquel sous ses differentes formes s'addressent les prieres des inities etait familiere au stocisme . . . de meme que dans les hymnes orphiques, la toutepuissance de chaque Dieu n'empeche pas leur hierarchie, de meme ici (that is, according to Philo) les etres sent classes bein souvent hierachiquement comme s'il s'agissaient d'etres distincts ". Here also, then, we meet with that superficial appearance of polytheism by which the apologist of some other religion than that under discussion is so conveniently deceived, the Muslim for example, when he calls the Christian doctrine of the Trinity " polytheistic ".

ways *(bahudhd kalpayanti)* the eagle that is one"; and X, 90, 11, where, after the First Sacrificers have divided up *(vyadadhuh)* the person, the question is posed in *brahmodaya* fashion, " How many-fold did they think him out " ? *(katidhd vyakalpayan).* It is precisely this goal *(artham)* of being made to dwell in many places *(bahudha nivista)* that Agni dreads, as he lingers in the darkness *(tamasi k$esi,* X, 51, 4-5), although in fact even while he proceeds he still remains within *(anu agran carati kseti budhnah,* III, 55, *l=krsne budhne,* IV, 17, 14 —*vrsabhasye riile,* IV, 1, 12, etc., etc.). As Eckhart expresses it, "the Sun remains within as essence and goes forth as person. . . . . .the divine nature steps forth into relation of otherness, other but not another, for this distinction is rational, not real." " To the Shapers he is manifested as the Sun of men " *(dvir . . . abhavat suryo nfn,* I, 146, (4).

Equally explicit, however, are the statements scattered through the other books. In particular he is often said to have two different forms, according to his being in the Day or Night, and this is " as he wills," *yathd vasam* (RV. Ill, 48, 4 ; VII, 101, 3 ; of X, 168, 4 and AV. VI, 72, 1). When this is expressed as "Now he becometh sterile *(starir u tvdd bhavati),* now begets *(sute u)* ", VII, 101, 3, the latter expression, like his designation as *suh* in I, 146, 5 is as much as to say *savitd bhavati* " he becomes Savitr." Cf. Ill, 55, 19 and X, 10, 5 where Tvastr and Savitr are identified by apposition. In RV III, 20, 3 and 7, Agni and Indra are called polynominal *(bhurini-ndma, puru-ndma),* and in II, 1, Agni is addressed by the names of nearly all the powers and there are countless passages in which Indra is a designation of the Sun. In VIII, 11, 18, Agni is "to be seen in many different places, or aspects." Although his semblance is the same in many places *(purutra hi sadrhn asi,* VIII, 11, 18, cf. I, 94, 7), yet his becoming *is manifold (purutra . . . . abhavat* I, 146, 5), and he is given many names, for " Even as he showcth, so is he called " *(yddrg eva dadrse tddrg ucyate,* V, 44, 6) of which *Satapatha Brdhmana,* X, 5, 2, 20 cited above is hardly more than a paraphrase.

In many cases the verb *bhu,* to " become," as it occurs in the *Brdhmana* and *Nirukta* texts already cited, is employed in the *Rg Veda* to denote in the same sense the passing over from one name and function to another. For example, RV. Ill, 5, 4 " Agni becometh *(bhavati)* Mitra when enkindled, Mitra the priest, and Varuna, Jatavedas," of IV, 42, 3 " I, Varuna am Indra," and V, 3, 1-2, " Thou, Agni, art Varuna at birth, becomes *(bhavasi)* Mitra when enkindled, in thee, O Son of Strength, abide the Several Angels ; Indra art thou to the mortal worshipper. With respect to maidens thou becomest Aryaman, and as Svadhavan bearest a secret name " *(nama . . . guhyam,* probably as Trita, of I, 163, 3 " Trita art thou by the interior operation," asi trito *guh-*

yena vratena). Again, RV, III, 29, 31 "As Titan Germ he might Tanunapat,[6] when born abroad is Narasansa, when fashioned in the Mother he becometh Matarisvan, the gale of the Spiritus in its course." That Spiritus is indeed Varuna's own essence *(dtmdte vata,* VII, 87, 2), and the breath of vac (X, 125, 8); a gale whose form is never seen, but is the essence *(dtmd)* of all the Angels, moving as it listeth (X, 168, 4 Cf. *lux hominum,* John, I, 4). Vac herself, the eternal Mother, is divided by the Angels, and made to dwell in " multifarious stations " *(ma deva vyadadhuh purutrd bhuristhdtrdm bhurya-vesayantim,* X, 125, 3).

To the foregoing passages, in which the diversified effects of what is really a single operation are considered, may be added RV. VI, 47, 18, " He is the counter-form of every form, it is that form of his that we should look upon ; Indra, by virtue of his magic powers proceeds as multiform" *(rupaih ruparii pratirupam babhuva tad asya rupam caksanaya, indro mdydbhih pururupa Iyate),* a passage closely corresponding to Eckhart's " single form that is the form of many different things," resuming the scholastic doctrine of exemplarism : and whereas in X, 5, 1, Agni alone is rtupati in RV. VI, 9, 5, " The Several Angels with one common mind and common will unerring move upon the single season " *(ekam rtum,* cf. *eka rtu* in AV. VIII, 9, 26, cited above), closely corresponding to St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica,* III, q. 32, a. 1 *ad* 3, where what is done by any one of the Persons of the Trinity is said to be done by all, " because there is one nature and one will".

Satapatha Brdhmana VIII, 7, 3, 10, " Yonder Sun strings these worlds upon his essence as upon a thread, *Bhagavad-rfita* VII, 7, " All this is threaded upon me," and X, 20 " I am the essence seated in the heart of all beings," merely repeat the thought of RV. I, 115, 1, " The Sun is the essence *(dtman)* of all that is moving or at rest." In X, 121, 2, Hiranyagarbha (Agni, Prajapati), is called the " giver of essence " *(dtmd-dd),* and it is in this sense that Agni in I, 149, 3, is " of hundredfold essence " *(satdtmd).*

It is thus clear enough that the *Nirukta* and the *Brhad Devatd* are fully justified in saying that the Angels are participant *(bhakta)* in the divine essence ; even the phraseology of the Vedic *mantras* is retained by the expositors. The reference to " participation " leads us to the

6. The name Tanunapat, " Son of Himself ", formulates the well-known doctrine that " Agni is kindled by Agni" (RV. I, 12, 6), according to which in ritual the new Garhaptya must be lit from the old. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica,* III, q. 32, a. 1 ad 1, " the taking itself (i.e. the assumption of human nature, taking birth) is atributed to the Son", i.e. it is the Son's own act as well as that of the other Persons,

consideration of Vedic Bhaga, later Bhaga van. Bhaga is not a personal name, but rather a general designation of the active power in any of his aspects, as the " Free Giver," or " Sharer-out," who makes his *bhaktas* to participate in his riches. These riches can be only the aspects of his essence, for assuredly we cannot think of deity as possessing anything more than what he himself *is ;* " sharing out himself, he fills these worlds full" *(dtmdnam vibhajya piirayati imdn lokdn).* This last is indeed an Aupanisada text *(maitri Up.* VI, 26), but the concept is Vedic. Bhaga is, in fact, referred to by apposition as the " Dispenser " *(vibhaktr,* RV. V. 46, G); and *bhaga* is " share " or " dispensation," as in II, 17, 7, addressed to Indra, " I pray thee, Bhaga . . . measure out, bring forward, give me that share *(bhagarn)* whereby the (inveterated) body is restored ; " VIII, 99, 3, " Depending upon him, as upon the Sun, the Several *(visve,* sc *devah)* have participated in what is Indra's ; " I, 68, 3, where in a laud addressed to Agni, the Several *(visve* sc. *devah)* are said to " participate in thy deity " *(bhajanta devatvam;* VII, 81, 2 has the prayer at dawn, " May we be associated in participation " *(sam bhaktena gamemamahi).* From these passages it is sufficiently plain that *bhaga* is " dispenser," he who freely spends himself ; *bhdga* the " share " or " dispensation " received ; *bhakti* the act of participation ; and *bhakta* the designation of the participant who shares in the gift.

The vexed problem of the " origin of the *bhakti* movement" need never, perhaps, have been posed, if renderings such as these had been retained in the translation of later texts, especially that of the *Bhagvad-gitd.* It is true that the *bhakti-mdrga* is also the *prema-mdrga,* the passive " Way of Love" as distinguished from the *Jndna-marga,* the active " Way of Gnosis ; " but that the expressions *bhakti-mdrga* and *prema-mdrga* have a common reference does not make them synonymous (expressions are only " synonymous " when they refer to the same thing *under the same aspect). It* is true that " participation " implies " love;" and *vice-versa,* since a love that does not participate in the beloved is by no means " love," but rather " desire." Love and participation are nevertheless logically differentiated conceptions, each of which plays its own part in the definition of the devotional act; and when the two expressions are confused in an equivocal rendering, not only are these shades of meaning lost, but at the same time the evidence of the continuity of the Vedic with the later thought is concealed, and an unreal problem is evoked.

We then wish to express ourselves as in full agreement with the views of Edgerton, who concluded that " Everything contained in at least the older Upanisads, with almost no exceptions, is not new to the Upanisads, but can be found set forth, or at least *very* clearly

foreshadowed, in the older Vedic texts " *(Joum. Am. Or. Sec,* **XXXVI, 197)**, and those of Bloomfield, who argued " that *mantra* and *brahmana* are for the least part chronological distinctions ; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech, which are largely contemporaneous . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times ; only the redaction of the *mantra* collections seems on the whole to have preceded the redaction of the *Brahmanas.* . . . The hymns of the Rig Veda, like those of the other three Vedas, were liturgical from the very start. This means that they form only a fragment . . . late texts and commentaries may contain the correct explanation " (ib. XV, 144) ; also *ib.* XXIX, 288, where with reference to the oldest parts of the *Rg. Veda* he calls it " the last precipitate, with a long and tangled past behind it of a literary activity of great and indefinite length."

We are in agreement with Jeremias, when he says *(Altorientalisches Geisteskultur,* Vorwort) : " Die menscheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der *einen Geistesspraches ; "* with Scharbau *(Die Idee der schopjnng in der vedischen Literatur,* 1932, p. 168, Note 166), " die Tiefe und Gresse der theologischen Erkenntniss des Rgvedas keineswegs hinter der des Vedanta Zurucksteht ; " and finally with Sayana, that none of the Vedic references are historical.

It is precisely the fact that the Vedic incantations are liturgical that makes it unreasonable to expect from them a systematic exposition of the philosophy they take for granted ; if we consider the *mantras* by themselves, it is as if we had to deduce the Scholastic philosophy only from the *librette* of the Mass. Not that this would be impossible, but that we should be accused of reading into the Mass meanings that could not possibly have been present to the mentality prevailing in the " Dark Ages," of yielding, as Professor Keith expresses it (who cannot himself be accused of any such weakness) to " our natural desire . . . . to find reason prevailing in a barbarous age." In fact, however, the *mantras* and the Latin hymns alike are so closely wrought, their symbolism is employed with such mathematical exactitude (Emil Male speaks of Christian symbolism as " calculus "), that we cannot possibly suppose that their authors did not understand their own words ; it is *we* who misunderstand, if we insist on reading algebra as though it were arithmetic. All that we can learn from literary history is that the doctrines which are taken for granted in the *mantras* were not perhaps published until after a certain amount of linguistic change had already taken place ; we may find some new words, but we do not meet with new ideas. It is our own fault if we cannot see that Mitravarunau, of

whom the latter is " the immortal brother of the mortal " former, are none other than the *apara* and the *para* Brahman to whom the Upanisads refer as mortal and immortal respectively.

Just as in relation to the Babylonian liturgies there must also have existed a " wisdom literature . . . . not written, to be repeated in the temples" (Langden, *Tammuz and Ishtar,* p. 11), and as it must be assumed that there existed the concept of a " single God . . . (whose) various aspects were not yet considered separate deities in the Sumero-Accadian pantheon'' (Frankfort, in *Iraq,* I, 1934, p. 47), so in the case of the Vedic liturgies, where the occurrence of the concepts of a " One, that is equally spirited, despirated " *(dnit avdta,* X, 90, 2), and of Agni as " being and non-being in one " *(satasat* X, 5, 7) cannot be called surprising We see then in the Brahmanas, Upanisads, *Bhagavad-glta,* and even in Buddhism, nothing but an ultimate recension and publication of what had always been taught, whether to initiates or in those circles the existence of which is implied by the *brahmodaya* form of many hymns, and by such Brahmans as that one who in RV. X, 71, 11 is referred to as expounding the lore of genesis *(vadati jalavidydm),* and whom we may assume to have been, like Agni himself, a " comprehenser of the generations of all things" (tu,,st>d *veda janinid* VI, 15, 13, cf. IV, 27, 1).

Maratha Vakils with the British at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras

(In the 18th Century.)

BY

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SHIVAJI, Bajirao and Mahadajl were the three great persons who successively raised the Maratha power from the position of a petty Jahagir to a powerful empire which in the latter half of the 18th century was spread over a considerable portion of India. The Maratha power had then become so powerful as to interfere with success in the political affairs of almost all the States in the whole of India, and for this purpose had to spread a vast network of embassies throughout India especially when the capable Prime Minister, Nana Phadanavis, was in power. The duty of the ambassadors was apparently to work as representatives of the Peshwas and safeguard their interests, but they had also to furnish from time to time all the information—political as well as non-political—about the courts in which they were posted.

In addition to the regular Vakils or Residents, as these were called, some news-writers were appointed, whose business it was to report, independently of the Vakils, news of the courts to which they were attached. Their position was somewhat inferior to that of the Vakils. Sometimes men of tact were sent to foreign courts to accomplish only a particular purpose, and they were asked to report upon their missions. Consequently, it is often difficult to distinguish the regular Maratha Residents from the news-writers or casual envoys.

The Peshwas appointed Vakils and news-writers not only **at** foreign or non-Maratha headquarters but also the courts of their own Sardars. The foreign rulers included both those who were politically independent like the English, the French, the Portuguese, and the Nizam, Hyder and Tipu, and (in a way) the Mughal emperor and those who had to **pay** tribute to the Peshwas, like the rulers of the Rajput states. **The** Maratha Sardars were of course the Sindhia, the Holkar, the Gaikvad, and Bhonsale who sometimes tried to throw off their allegiance **to the** central authority.

The correspondence carried on regularly by these persons was naturally in Marathi. In the long list of such persons we find **a** few names of non-Marathas like **Lala** Sevakram, the **Maratha Vakil at Calcutta** and **Vyankatram Pillai, the Vakil at Pondicherry; but even these were intimately connected with Maharashtra and wrote their letters in**

Marathi. Fortunately, a number of the letters of these Vakils addressed to the central authority at Poona have been found, and they contain very useful historical information, sometimes not available in any other historical records. Attempts, however, must be made to discover letters written from the Peshwa's Secretariat to these persons, which may be found with their descendants.

The names of a large number of Maratha Vakils are known from the Marathi documents. The famous Hingnc brothers at the Mughal emperor's court at Delhi, Shamji Govind Takle, Krishnarao Ballal and his son Govind Krisna Kale at the Nizam's court at Hyderabad, Vyankatrao and Krishnarao Narayan Joshi with Hyder and Tipu at Mysore, Naro Shivdeva, Sadashiv Dinkar, Appajiram Dabholkar and Dhondo Bhimarao with the Sindia at Gwalior ; Vithal Shamrao and Keso Bhikaji Datar with the Holkar at Maheshvar; Ganesh Sambhaji Amritrao Appaji Ganesh Hari and Naro Shamraj with the Gaikwad at Baroda ; Baburao Vishwanath Vaidya, Shriram Sadashiv and Naro Hari with the Bhonsale of Nagpur; Bhikaji Narayan Palande and Sadashiv Shamraj Asvalkar with Ali Bahadur, Lakshmana Sambhaji, Krishnaji Jagannath and Sadashiv Ballal in the Rajput courts of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur respectively. Then we have the names of Ganesh Trimbak, Narayan Vithal and his son Vithal Narayan Dhume with the Portuguese at Goa ; and of Shamrao Yadav, Gopal Ballal, Chintaman Hari and Vyahka^ram Piljai with the French at Pondicherry.[1] Shivaji Ranchod, Ranchod Krishna and his son Raghunath Ranchod, Lala Sevakram and his son Lala Gulabram, and Janardan Shivram were some of the well-known Residents with the English at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in the 18th century.

It is perhaps advisable to give here a brief account of a few of the Maratha Vakils with the English : Of the Bombay Residents a few words can be given of Shivaji Ranchod, Ranchod Krishna and Raghunath Ranchod. In their attempts to establish their power on the west coast of India the Marathas frequently came into conflict with the Siddi, the English and the Portuguese. The Maratha affairs with the English began since 1661 when Shivaji invaded Kohkana and attacked the British factory at Rajapur. Each power had to appoint its own agent in the court of the other to look after its own interests. Sufficient information of the Maratha Vakils with the English at Bombay of the early period of the Maratha history is not available.[2] But in the time of the Peshwas, the names of three Vakils Shivaji Ranchod, Ranchod Krishna and his son Raghunath Ranchod were well known. They were Sarasvat Brahmins and belonged to a 'Sanjhgiri' family of Bombay. The

1. For names of Maratha Vakils at different courts in Southern India, see Proceedings of meetings of Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm., Vol. VI, 59.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 91.

earliest mention of Shivaji Ranchod as a Vakil is found in the year 1752.[3] Ranchod Krishna, who was probably a nephew of Shivaji Ranchod, is mentioned, in a letter of 1758, along with his assistant Sadashiv Ramchandra. Some of the Ranchod's letters, dated in the years 1780 and 1784, have been found. An extraordinary feature of his letters is that he sometimes made use of disguised names in order to render them unintelligible if they fell into wrong hands. These can well be compared with the cypher letters of Warren Hastings. The key of some of the names is found in his letters, but the meaning of some others is not yet known. Ranchod uses the names of the *Grahas* like Sukra, Sani, Rahu and Ketu to denote David Scott, Thomas Goddard, General Draper, and Governor Hornby of Bombay. Similarly he uses the names of *Rdshis* like Sirhha. Kanya, Tula and Kumbha to mean Poona, Madras, Sural and England respective^ and the names of *tithis* like Saptami to mean Fateh Singh Gaikavad. Ranchod Krishna coined peculiar words like Sonitapur, Vajrayoga and Mrityuyoga to mean Bombay, the Dutch and a horse soldier respectively.

His son, Raghunath Ranchod, succeeded him to the post in about 1785. His letters, dated from 1786 to 1794, throw very interesting light on the British affairs at Bombay in those days. Raghunath does not use the disguised names of his father in his letters ; but his letters show him to be a man of keen observation. He gives exact details not only about the numbers, training and description of the English troops, but also of the financial condition of the Bombay Treasury and the personal characteristics of the various Governors of Bombay with whom he had to deal. His letters show, among other things, that Nana Phadnavis was fond of purchasing European goods. Raghunath Ranchod's yearly salary seems to have been only Rs. 542, including the contingent expenses. He continued *to* work in his post until the Peshwa Bajirao II appointed one Ramchandra Krishna in his place on 1st April, 1797.

The most noteworthy of the Vakils at Calcutta were Lala Sevakram and Lala Gulabram. By the Regulating Act of 1773 the Governor of Bengal became the Governor-General and had powers over the Governors of Bombay and Madras. By the treaty of Purandhar, signed on 1 March, 1777, between Poona and the Governor-General through his agent, Colonel Upton, the Marathas came into political contact with the English at Calcutta. Thinking it necessary to have their Vakil at Calcutta they appointed one Lala Sevakram to the post. Sevakram belonged to a Kayastha family of North India. His father was Lala Tuljaram, and his grandfather was Lala Kriparam, both of whom had been already in the Maratha service as their agents at the Jaipur court. Sevakram's uncle

3. Selections from the *Peshwas' Dajtar,* 45. 21

(Lala Bhavanidas) and granduncle (Lala Bhagirath) were also in the service of Shahu Chhatrapati of Satara. Thus, the connection of Sevakram's family with the Marathas extended over at least three generations. On the death of his father, Sevakram was appointed as the Peshwa's agent at Jaipur, where he worked for three years from 1770 to 1773. In the days of the Barbhais he came to Poona, and was employed as a Siledar and clerk at the Peshwa's Secretariat. On his appointment as the Calcutta Vakil, he left Purandhar on 12 March, 1777 with a high-class dress of honour and an elephant named *Fateh Lashkar* and a horse for Warren Hastings, and three horses for the three Councillors. Sevakram fulfilled the responsible task very creditably from 1777 to 1790, as is seen from some of his letters published by Parasnis in the *Itihdsa-sangraha.* His letters are in Marathi in the Modi script, and though they contain a few incorrect Marathi words they reflect much credit on Sevakram's knowledge of Marathi. Sevakram began his career as Vakil with a pay of Rs. 800 per year, which was subsequently raised to Rs. 2,300 and again to Rs. 3,600 per year. But as he frequently wrote in his letters that this too was insufficient for him, since he had to spend much to maintain his high position, he was given the honour of a palanquin and an *aftdglr*. Sevakram had two sons Chimanlal and Gulabram. The former used to stay at Poona, and the latter with his father at Calcutta, and was appointed to his father's post on his death about 1792. Gulabram served as a Vakil at Calcutta at least up to 1793.

With regard to the Vakils at Madras attention is drawn here only to Janardan Shivram. The political connection of the Marathas with the Madras Presidency began since the time of Shahaji, father of Shivaji about 1636. It is not known when exactly their connection with the English at Madras began, and what Maratha Vakils were appointed at their court in the early days of the Maratha power.[4] But one Janardan Shivram was a prominent Vakil at Madras in the time of the Peshwa Madhavrao II. Nothing is known of the family to which he belonged, though he was no doubt a Maharashtra Brahman. This much is known, that his father was a Shivram, and his grandfather was Krishnaji. His letters written from Kalahasti and Chinnapatan (i.e., Madras) and dated from 1780 to 1791 have been preserved in the Satara Museum. Two of his English letters written to Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, in 1785, have also been found/' Janardan Shivram's letters are very valuable and contain useful details, and sometimes hitherto unknown information, on the political affairs of Hyder and Tipu, the Nizam, the Nabob of Arcot, the Naiks of Vehkatagiri and other Zamindars of Southern India, the French, and the English in the Madras Presidency.

4. Proceedings of meetings of Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm., Vol. **VI, 58.**

5. Journ. Ind. Hist., Vol. XI, 234.

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A Note on Some Administrative Terms in Ancient India

BY

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THE early centuries of the Christian era appear to have been marked by a complete change in the official nomenclature of Northern India, which probably betokens a thorough overhauling of the bureaucratic administrative organisation. While the most characteristic official or administrative titles in the Arthasastra are sarhnidhata, samaharta, pradesta, nagaraka, sthanika, gopa and adhyaksas of various classes, and those in the Asokan edicts are mahamatras, pradesikas, rajukas, yuktas, etc., the corresponding titles among the North Indian dynasties of the first six centuries of the Christian era comprise the following : —

Kumaramatya—(Allahabad pillar inscr. of Samudragupta, *Gupta Inscriptions,* No. 1, ; Karamdanda inscription of Kumaragupta I, Ep. Ind., X 15 ; Damodarpur plates of *ibid,* Ep. Ind. XV 7 ; Bihar pillar inscr. of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscrs.* No. 12 ; Amauna grant of Maharaja Nandana, *Ep. Ind.* X12 ; Sunao Kala inscr. of Samgamsimha, *Ep. Ind.* X 16; *Marshall's Classified List of Bhita Seals and Sealings,* Nos. 32 and 35, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.* 1911-12 ; *Bloch's Classified List of Basdrh Seals,* Nos. 3, 4, 6, 8 and 22, *Ann. Rep. A.* S. *R.* 1903-4 ; Spooner's *List of Basdrh Seals,* No. 200, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.* 1913-14).

Dandanayaka— (Bloch's *List of Bhita Seals,* Nos. 44—51 ; *Mundesvari* inscr. of Udayasena, *I. A.* XLIX P- 21).

Baladhikrta—(Bloch's *List of Basdrh Seals,* Nc. 12).

Uparika—(Damodarpur plates of Kumaragupta I, Ep. *Ind.* XV ; Bihar pillar inscr. of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscrs.* No. 12 ; Sohwal grant of Sarvanatha, *Ep. Ind.* XIX 21; Damodarpur plate of Budhagupta, *Ep. Ind.* XV ; Bloch's *List of Basarh Seals,* No. 200).

Sandhivigrahika—(Allahabad Inscr. of Samudragupta; Khoh grant of Sarvanatha, *Gupta Inscrs*. No. 31; Sunao Kala grant of Samgamasimha, etc).

We find, above all, a group of titles with the prefix maha—attached to them. Thus a mahadandanayaka occurs in a North Indian inscription of Huviska found at Mat. The Nasik inscriptions of the Satavahana kings introduce us to a number of such titles in vogue in Western India in the 2nd century A.D. Such are mahasenapati (Inscr. of Vasis^iputra Pulumayi and along with the feminine mahasenapatnl in the inscription of Gautamiputra Satakarni, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 8, Nos. 3 and 24, respectively), and probably mahasvamika (Inscr. of Gautamiputra Satakarnl, *ibid*., No. 4). The Prakrit inscriptions of Nagarjunikonda (Ep. *Ind.* XX) point to a number of similar titles in use under the Iksvaku dynasty of the Telugu country about the 3rd century of the Christian era. Reference is made in these inscriptions to mahasenapati (with the feminine mahasenapatni), mahatalavara (along with the feminine form mahatalavari) and mahadandanayaka. The Kanakhera inscription, which has been provisionally read as dated in 241 Saka (= 319 A.D.) and which, in any case, has been palaeographically assigned to the early Gupta period, commemorates a mahadandanayaka Saka called Sridharavarman *(JRASB*, XIX, p. 343f). Finally, the early Gupta records (4th and 5th centuries A.D.) make frequent references to such titles as mahadandanayaka (Allahabad *prsasti*; Bhita Seal, No. 43 ; Bloch's List *of Basdrh Seals*, No. 17, etc.), mahapratihara *{Bhita Seals* No. 52; Alina grant of Dhruvabhata, *Gupta Inscrs*. No. 39 ; etc.), mahasvapati *(Bhita Seals* No. 32), mahabaladhikrta (Majhgawan grant of Maharaja Hastin, *Gupta* Inscrs. No. 23 and Sowhal grant of Sarvanatha, *Ep. Ind.* XIX 21), mahasandhivigrahika (Khoh and Majhgawan grants of Maharaja Hastin, Gupta *Inscrs*. Nos. 22 and 23 ; Khoh and Sowhal grants of Maharaja Sarvanatha, *Gupta Inscrs.,* Nos. 28-29 and *Ep. Ind.,* XIX 21), not to speak of mahaksapatalika (Alina grant of Dhruvabhata, *Gupta Inscrs.* N. 39, etc.) and mahakartakrtika (Wala grant of Dhruvasena I, *I A.* IV., etc.).

It follows from the above that the group of titles prefixed by maha- was spread at this period in North, East, West and Central India. Their designations evidently show an attempt to create a superior grade of officers or titles over and above the ordinary ones. As far then as the nomenclature indicates, we have here a deliberate effort to introduce more efficient and systematic organisation of the administrative machinery than had sufficed for the North-Indian dynasties of the preceding epoch. Of the origin and development of this interesting transformation, our imperfect records do not permit us to give a sufficient explanation.

A word may finally be said about the significance of the title mahadana!anayaka above-mentioned. This term has been rendered as ' a military title' (Fleet, *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 16n.), ' judge ' (Bloch, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.* ; 1903-4, p. 109), * Chief Officer of Police' (Marshall, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.*, 1911-12, p. 54) and ' a high, probably judicial officer' (Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI) ; cf. Marshall's rendering of dandanayaka as ' an officer of police ' in *Ann. Rep. A. S.* JR., 1911-12, p. 55 and D. R. Bhandarkar's rendering of the same as ' a police officer ' in *Ann. Rep. A. S.* R., 1914-15, p. 82. It is true that the term may refer etymologically to a judicial as well as a military title, as *danda* is used to mean both the army and the judicial rod of punishment; cf. the two-fold meaning of dandanayaka in Petersburg Diet. *s. v.* and the references quoted there. To these we may add the very impersonal sense of dandanayaka in the great Jaina lexicon *(tantrajxilake rdstraraksake bhupule svarastracintdkartari).* But, in fact, the only technical sense of dandanayaka known to the lexicons (cf. Abhidhanacintamani, II 9 and Kalpadrukosa, I 6, v. 17) is commander *(sendnl).* It is also significant to notice that Kamandaka's Nitisara (XVII, 49) uses the synonymous term dandamukhya in the sense of general. Even the *Paiyasaddamahannavo* gives for dandanayaka the alternative meaning of senapati or senani. We may, therefore, conclude that mahadandanayaka means something like a commander-in-chief. In what relation this officer stood to the mahabaladhikrta and mahasenapati of the records, it is, however, unfortunately not possible in the present state of our knowledge to explain.

Satiyaputra of Asoka's Edict II

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In Aioka's Rock Edict V it is stated that he instituted the order of *Dharma-mahamatras,* the Supervisors of the Law, in the 13th year of his coronation. Being directly his officers, they could be employed only within the proper limits of his empire, and not outside. The edict further states that they were set to work among the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandharas, Ristikas, Paitenikas, as also those others the Aparantas. These peoples, as well as the different countries they inhabited, would thus seem to have been certainly included within Aioka's empire as it stood at that time. Now, the Yavanas are of course the Greeks,[1] but not those that lived in the far-off Attica or Sparta or Macedonia, nor those others of Syria, which had been a Greek kingdom ever since its conquest by Seleucus in B.C. 312, nor even those living in the much nearer Bactria, which was one of the subordinate provinces of the Seleucidan kingdom of Syria until it became independent in c. 250 B.C., i.e., sometime after the date of this Edict, as we shall presently see. The Greeks of this Edict are yet others who lived on the outskirts of modern India in the provinces of Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar), Gedrosia (Makran) and the Paropanisadei (Kabul), which were wrested by Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aioka, and annexed to his empire when he had defeated Seleucus in c. 305 B.C.,[2] and the Greeks in those provinces were undoubtedly the subjects of Asoka. Further, from the Girnar inscription of Rudradama, we know that the Greek prince, *Yavanaraja,* Tushaspha governed the Girnar country subordinate to Asoka.[3] Kambdja[1] and Gandhara[4] are mentioned in the *Mahabhdrata,* and they have been also mentioned likewise in the plural as the names

* The author uses ch for च in this article and chh for छ [Ed.]

1. Greek settlements on the north-west of India are mentioned in the Mahd-*Bhdrata (Bhishma:* IX. 65)—

   Uttaraschapara Mlechchhah krura Bharata-sattama |
   Yavanas-China. Kamboja daruna Mldchchha-jatayah ||

2. Vincent Smith: *Aioka* (p. 15), *Early History of India* (p. 158).
3. *Epigraphia Indica,* VIII. p. 47 ff—*Asokasya* Mauryasya krite *Yavana-rajena* Tushasphena . . .
4. Kasmlrah Sindhu Sauvlra *Gandhara* Darsakastatha l|
   (Bhishma, IX. 53).

not of countries, but of peoples, among the *Solasa mahd-janapadd,* sixteen great peoples or sixteen powers, in the *Anguttara Nikdya.*[5] Gandhara however is not the modern Kandahar, as Prof. Rhys Davids thought,[6] but it is evidently the country lying on the either side of the Indus, comprising the two provinces of Pushkalavati on the west and Takshasila on the east of that river.[7] Kamboja perhaps lay to the west of Gandhara. The next name is differently spelt in the different versions of the Edict, as Rastika in Sahbazgarhl, Rathika in Mansehra, Ristika in Girnar, and Lathika in Dhauli, while it does not occur in the Kalsl text. The *Rishtikas* are mentioned in the *Rdmdyana*[8] along with the Vidarbhas of modern Berar, evidently therefore as a southern people. The next name Paitenikas or Pitinikas or Pitenikas in all likelihood stands for the people of Pratishthana or Patitthana *(prati— pati pai -pi),* which is Ptolemy's Baithana and the modern Paithan in the Nizam's dominions, lying to the south-west of Berar. The next word is also differently spelt as Apararhta, Aparata, Aparata, Apalarhta, and Apalarhta. Some scholars[9] have translated it as the people on the western *(apara)* frontier *(arhta),* while others[10] as those on the Western Coast. Though no doubt the word *Apardntd* can be rendered both ways, here however it is preferable to take it otherwise as meaning the people of the *Apardnta* country, as it is so obviously means, when standing, as it does, beside the names of several other peoples. The name Aparanta occurs in the *Mahdbhdrata*[11] and in Kautilya's *Artha-Sdstra,*[12] while in the *Mdrkandeya Purana*[13] and Varahamihira's *Brihat-Samhitd*[14] it is expressly stated to be a country lying in the west. In the *Avaddna-kalapaldtd*[15] it is spoken of as *Srdnapardntaka,* and its chief town *Sun-) (p) draka,* i.e., Sopara, also been mentioned by name. It is thus a country on the West Coast evidently lying to the south of the

5. Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India* (p. 23).
6. *Ibid.* (p. 28).
7. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I (p. 559).
8. Vidarbhan—*Itishtikariischaiva* ramyan—Mahishakanapi 11 *(Kishkindhd,* XLI, 10).
9. Vincent Smith : *Asoka* (p. 168).
10. D. R. Bhandarkar : Asoka (p. 284).
11. *Aparantah* Parantascha Panchalas-Charmamandalah 11 *(Bhishma,* IX. 47).
12. Mysore Ed. 1919: Dasarnasch-^parantascha dvipanarh Madhyamah matah || (p. 50); Madhuram—*Aparantakath* Kalingam Kaiikarh Vangakam Vatsakarh Mahishakarh cha karpasikarh sreshthamiti | (p. 81).
13. *Apardntika* Haihyascha Santika viprasastakah (Chap. 58).
14. *Aparasydm* disi . . . *Apardntaka* Santika Haihaya Prasastadri vokkanah || (XIV. 20).
15. Chap. XXXVI, w. 3, 44, 61.

Vindhya mountain, and from the fact that one of the inscriptions of Asdka is from Sopara,[16] at almost the northern end of of Aparanta, it is conclusive that Aparanta was the western frontier of the southern position of his empire. This Edict V is obviously of a later date than his 13th regnal year as reckoned from his coronation, and these were the different peoples who lived at the time of this Edict at least on the north-western, southern and south-western frontiers of his empire.

Rock Edict XIII opens with Aioka's poignant remorse for the Kalinga war he had waged in his 8th regnal year. He then finds solace in the conquest he has again achieved by the Law *(dhamma-vijaya)* both here in his own kingdom and also as far as even all the Asiatic borders[17] which are hundreds of leagues off—*Saveshu cha amteshu Ashashu jn yojanasateshu*—where dwells the Greek king Antiochus Theos of Syria (261-246 B.C.), and besides him are the four other kings Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon (277-239 B.C.), Magas of Cyrene (285-258 B.C.) and Alexander of Epirus (272-258 B.C.),[18] and further adds that everywhere in the said countries they follow his instructions, and even where his envoys do not go, those others too follow and will follow the Law. He moreover says that this Edict was set up in order that his sons and grandsons, whoever they be, might not think of making any further world by conquest. This Edict therefore can not well be much later than his 8th regnal year as the tragedy of the Kalinga conquest is still so painfully fresh in his mind, whereas in his Edicts III and IV of his 12th regnal year or in Edict V dated later than his 13th year, there is neither any reference to that conquest nor to any concomitant remorse so that he would seem to have successfully overcome his grief in the meantime, no doubt by means of the practice of the Law. This Edict XIII may therefore be appropriately assigned to his 10th regnal year, and as such it would seem to be one of his earliest Edicts. Furthermore as this Edict does not mention Diodotus of Bactria, who became independent of Syria in c. 250 B.C. and was thus the first king of Bactria,

16. Smith: *Asdka* (p. 129).

17. I entirely agree with Mr. Jayaswal *(Indian Antiquary,* XLVII. p. 297) that *aShashu* has to be interpreted as one word, *Ashashu,* denoting *Asia,* and not as two different words, *a Shashu* (Skt. d *shatsu),* meaning 'up to, or as far as, six', as it has been usually explained. The (locative) plural *Ashashu* would obviously refer to the different countries or peoples of Asia, and the subsequent word '*yojanasateshu'* evidently meaning 'hundreds of leagues off' duly suggests their **extreme** remoteness from Asoka's central capital.

18. Smith: *Asdka* (p. 43); *Cambridge History oj India,* **Vol.** I (p. 502).

though he was not only much nearer home than any of those 5 other Greek rulers, but his kingdom was almost contiguous to that of Asoka in its trans-Indian provinces, the date of this Edict will have to be placed between 261 B.C. of the accession of Antiochus Theos and c. 250 B.C. of Bactrian independence.

It need hardly be said that Asoka waged no other war nor made any further conquest after the Kalihga event; and it is thus not inconceivable under the circumstances that he must have willingly loosened or let go his hold on the subject-peoples so that some or several of them may have eventually asserted their independence and broken away from his empire. In such a case, as might be expected, it would be those peoples who were farthest from the central government, i.e., those that lived on the extreme frontiers of the empire, that would take the first step in that direction. Now Edict XIII clearly mentions not only the Yonas, Kambojas and Pitinikas, who, as we have seen, were still included in his empire when Edict V of later than his 13th regnal year was put up, but also some others such as Nabhapanitis of (in) Nabhaka, Bhojas, Andhras and Pulindas, who are also stated to be living then ' here in the king's dominions '—* *idha rajavisayamhi* \ The *Mahdbharata* mentions a people *Nabha-kananas*[U)] along with the undoubted Southerners, the Karnatakas and the Kuntalas. Bhojas are well known as a people living on the West Coast, and the *Maha-bhdrata* mentions Bhojakata in or near Surashtra.[20] Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned among the Southern people, as descended from, or connected with, perhaps the Vedic seer Visvamitra, in the *Aitareya Brahmanar*[1] Also the *Ramayana*[22] mentions the Andhras, and the *Mahabhdrata*[23] both the Andhras and the Pulindas.

19. Karnataka Mahishaka Vikalpa Mushakastalha |
Jhillikah Kuntalaschaiva Sauhi ida *Nabhakanav.ah* | I
(*Bhishma,* IX. 59).

20. *Sabha,* XXL 62-63.

21. Etendhrah Pundrah Sabarah *Pulinda* Mutiba ityudantya bahavo bhavanti Vaisvamitra dasyunam bhuyishthah || (VII. 18).

22. Tathaiudndhrarhscha Pundramscha |
Choldn. Pandydmscha Keralan \\
(*Kishkindha,* XLI. 12).

23. Pwlindrimscha rane jitva yayau dakshinatah purah |
(*Sabha,* XXXI. 16);
Andhrdms-Talavanamschaiva Kalihganushtrakarnikan |
(*Ibid.,* XXXI. 71)
Andhramscha bahavo Rajannantargiryastathaiva cha
(*Bhishma,* IX. 49);
Tathaiva Vindhya-Chulikah *Pulinda* Valkalaih saha |
(*Ibid.,* IX. 62).

Before marking these subject-peoples, the said Edict also mentions some other Southerners, whose names stand between those of the five Greek kings of the furthest Asia and those of his subject-peoples.

nicha Choda Pamda ava Tambapamniya ;
nicham cha Choda Pamdiya a Tambapamniya
nicharh Choda Pamdiya avam Tambapammya.

The general sense of these passages no doubt is—' And downwards (or in the South) *Choda—Pamdyas* up to (or as far as) *Tambapamni.'* These names are mentioned in the *Rdmdyana,*[24] *Mahabhdrata,*[25] *Artha-sastra,*-[{i] and the *Brihat-samhitd ;*[21] and it goes without saying that Choda-Pamdiya stands for the Southerners, the Chojas and the Pan^yas, and Tambaparhni may mean either the river of that name in the present Tinnevelly district, as is so obvious from the quotation from the *Rdmd-yana,* where it has been described as a great river infested with sharks and adorned with sandalwood forests or in case it is taken as the whole name of the island called ' Tamra ', spoken of in the above quotation from the *Mahabhdrata,* it may mean the island of Ceylon. The order, in which these three names are mentioned in these passages of this Edict, evinces the geographical truth that Pandya lies next to Cho|a, and Tambraparni, whether it is the river or the island, lies next to Pandya.

The most noteworthy grammatical features of these passages are that (1) inasmuch as the first word *Choda* in *Choda-Pamd (iy) a* is apparently not an inflected word, they would seem to form an obvious *Dvandva* compound, (2) *Tambapamniya is* undoubtedly the instrumental or ablative singular of the feminine noun *Tambapamtu,* and (3) it is governed by the *avyaya ava(S), a(M)* or *avath(K).* Of these *avyayas a* evidently stands for the Skt. preposition d, when with the following ablative the whole phrase means ' as far as, or up to, Tambaparhni.

24. *Tamraparnim* graha-jushiam tarishyatha maha-nadirh |
a chandana-vanais-chitraih . . . |l
(Kishkindhd, **XLI.** 17)
Yuktarh kavatam *Pdndytinam* gata drakshyatha vanarah ||
tatah samudramasadya . . . || *(Ibid.,* 19). See also f.n. *supra.*

25. Dvlpam *Tamrahvayam* chaiva parvatarh Ramakam tatha ||
Pdndyaihscha Dravidarhschaiva *sahiiams-Choda-Keralaih* ||j
(Sabha, **XXXI,** vv. **68, 71)**

26. *Tdmbraparnikarh Pandyakavdtakam* . . . cha mauktikam | (p. 75).

27. Karnataka . . . *Choldh* | (XIV. 13); . . . *sa-Tdmraparniti* vijneyah || *{Ibid.* 16); Simhalaka . . . Tdmraparni-Parasavah | Kaubera-Pdndyavdfoka-**Haima . . . || (LXXX.** 2).

But the case with *ava* and *avam* however is different. Whether *ava* is taken as a prefix as in classical Sarhskrit, or as a preposition *ava* on *avas* as in Vedic Skt., with a subsequent ablative it means ' down from' and never ' as far as ',[28] and the passage would thus be hardly sensible in that it would then mean ' and downwards (or in the south) the Choda-Parhdyas down from TambaparhnI' indicating that the Chola-Pandya countries lay beneath, i.e., to the south of, Tamraparni, which, as is obvious, involves a physical impossibility. We shall have therefore to find out such other equivalent for the apparent doublets *ava* and *avam,* as would make it possible to interpret the passage in accordance with the geographical fact of the relative position of Chola, Pandya and Tamraparni, whether the last is the river or the island of that name. Now from the word *ava-kapam* in Rock Edict IV, which has been explained as *Ydvat-kalparh,* meaning ' till the end of time ' or ' to the end of the cycle '[29] it might seem that *ava* in our passage too might be *Ydvat.* But then *Ydvat* invariably governs the accusative, as also is evident in the compound *ava-kapam,* whereas the word in our passage governed by *ava* is obviously an ablative. So we shall have next to think of either of the Skt. adverbs *avak* or *arvak,* both of which are local as well as temporal. Of these again *avak,* meaning ' downwards, below,' is out of the question, as in that case too the Chola-Pandyas would be placed below Tamraparni whereas with *arvak,* meaning 'hitherwards, on this side, up to, until, as far as \[30] the ablative phrase at once means ' hitherwards of, on this side of, up to, or as far as, Tamraparni' and makes correct sense substantiating the actual fact of Tamraparni as the immediate boundary of the Choja-Pandya country. In other words it means that the Pandya country, which is the southern of the Chola-Pandya countries and is named next before Tamraparni, extended up to, or as far as, Tamraparni, whether the latter is the river or the island, and lay on *this* side of it i.e., on the side nearer to the speaker, which is of course the north-eastern side. The change from *arvak* to *ava* and *avam* is clearly explained by that of Skt. *sarva* (all) to *sava,* e.g., in *sava-loka-hitaye* of the Edict IV, as well as that of *samyak* (rightly, duly, properly, entirely) to *sama* and *samam*[31] in the separate Kalifiga Edict II—*mahd-matd sasvatam* sama *yujisamti,* and *mahamata sasvatam* samam *yujeyu (Jaugada* 13) =which means, and can only mean ' Mahamatras will, or

28. Macdonell: *Vedic Grammar,* (pp. 419, 422).

29. Woolncr : *Asoka Text and Glossary,* Part II. p.

30. *Rig-Veda:* I. 47. 10, VII. 91. 6, VIII. 8. 23; *Manusmriti:* V. 59, VIII. 30; *Yajriavalkya-Smriti*: II. 173.

31. Also cf. *divani* (Edict. IV: *S & M)* for Skts. *divyani;* and *vapata* and *vaputa* (Edict V: *S & M)* for Skt. *vyapta.*

shall, duly *(sama, samarh)* strive without ceasing *(sasvatarh)* '[32]. From the significant way in which the Cholas and Panolyas have been mentioned next to the independent Greek rulers and before, but apart from, those other peoples living ' here within the king's dominions ', it is conclusive that they were obviously beyond the limits of Asoka's empire and were therefore independent at that time. Nevertheless he sent his envoys *(dutd),* no doubt his envoys of the Law, to these people, just as he did to the far-off Greek kings; lor from the negative statement in the next passage, *yatra pi devanam priyasa dutd na vracharhti,* even where his envoys do not go, it is quite certain that they did go to the countries of the Greek rulers as well as to those of the Cholas and the Pandyas. Furthermore, the specific mention of the Cholas and the Pandyas in the south *(nicham)* must suffice to suggest that they cannot have been indifferently mentioned as any two independent peoples in the south, but must have been mentioned with the same significance ; and if so, it could hardly be any other than that they were the immediate southern neighbours of Asoka, or in other words the Chola and the Pandya countries were then immediately adjacent to the southern bounds of his empire, for if there were any other interjacent states, which were also independent, they would have been certainly visited by his envoys and duly mentioned in this Edict prior to the names of Chola and Pandya.

There is no reference to the Kalinga conquest nor the consequent remorse of Asoka in Rock Edict II, as in Edict XIII, wherefore Edict II must of course be posterior to Edict XIII. Moreover the subject treated of in Edict II is not religion, but sublime compassion which is a universal feeling which the spirit of true religion, and not of fanaticism or sectarianism, ultimately begets ; wherefore Edict II is also later than Edict V which was issued when he was busy with the establishment of the order of the supervisors of the Law within his empire. Now this Edict II mentions only the Greek king Antiochus of Syria among the foreign Greek rulers, while the others are spoken of merely as * those other kings who are the neighbours of that Antiochus \ This statement naturally implies that other names must have already once at least been mentioned elsewhere, and as such, again, this Edict would be necessarily later than Edict XIII, where all of them have been mentioned by their names. It is just possible that between these 2 Edicts, one or more of them may have been dead, and as perhaps when Edict II was inscribed it was not known which of them had died and by whom

32. Mr. Vincent Smith was probably thinking of the Skt. word *Srama,* when he rendered, and wrongly rendered, *sama* and *Samarh* as restraint or torture (Asoka p. 195).

such of them had been succeeded, the only Greek king Antiochus Theos, who presumably was certainly known to have been still living and ruling at that time, was duly mentioned, while other uncertain names had of course to be left out. Now Magas of Cyrene (285-258 B.C.), and Alexander of Epirus (272-258 B.C.) are known to have died in 258 B.C., and Antiochus Theos (261-246 B.C.) himself died in 246 B.C., wherefore Edict II will have to be placed between 258 and 246 B.C. Then again in this Edict too there is no reference to the much nearer Greek ruler Diodotus, who in c. 250 B.C. became the first independent king of Bactria,[33] and whose kingdom, as we have said, immediately bordered on Asoka's empire in the north-west, wherefore this Edict will have to be placed between yet closer limits, 258 and 250 B.C.

In this Edict II it is noteworthy that (1) the Chodas and the Pamtfiyas, who are here again said to be Asoka's neighbours, are spoken of as two separate peoples in at least the Girnar, Kalsi and Jaugada versions, where each of those two names is distinctively mentioned in the plural, and (2) while thus these two names are found in the plural, exactly as the several different peoples living within his empire have been mentioned in Edict XIII, the next names Satiyaputra and Keralaputra who are also mentioned among the neighbours are each of them not only in the singular but exhibit a peculiar compound formed with * putra' or * puta' affixed to the names evidently of those respective countries—

Ye cha ariita yatha Choda Paihdiya Satiyaputro Keradaputro Tarii-bapariini . . .
Ye cha ariita atha Choda Paihdiya Satiyaputra Keralaputre Tarii-bapani...
evamapi prachariitesu yatha Choda Pada Satiyaputo Kelalaputo a Tambaparhni...
Ye cha ariita atha Choda Paihdiya Satiyaputo Kelalaputo Taihba-pariini.. .
e *va pi ariita Choda Paihdiya Satiyapute. . . . . . . .a Tariibapariini...*

From this marked difference in the nomenclature of these four independent states, it seems unavoidable to conclude that the Cholas and the Pan^yas were once the subjects of Asoka living within his empire

33. Bactria is mentioned as Bahlika in the *Mahabliarata (Bhishma IX)* —
Bahlika. Vatadhanascha Abhirah Kalatoyakah ||47||,
Abhisara Ulutascha Saivala *Bahlikastatha* || 54 ||,
and its adjectival form Bactrian is found as *Bahlaveya* in *Arthasastra* (p. 79)—
Samurarh Chinas! Samuli cha *Bdhlaveyah* ||

at least at the time of his accession, and being therefore used to be called as such, exactly as his other subjects have been in Edicts V and XIII, they were still continued to be so called for some time yet by sheer force of habit even after they had asserted their independence. As a matter of fact we know from the ancient Tamil classics[34] that there was actually a Mauryan conquest of South India during the reign of Asoka's grandfather Chandragupta, and consequently the Mauryan empire at the time of Asoka's accession must have extended in the south as far at least as the Tamraparni river, which was then the natural limit of Pandya, and therefore included the Chola and the Pandya countries. When thus these two countries were comprised within his empire, they were perhaps clubbed together and formed a single administrative unit : that is why their names still appears as a composite *Dvandva* compound in Edict XIII even after they had become independent. In that case they must have seceded just before the date of Edict XIII as their joint name was yet in use then as before, and their assertion of independence therefore may well be assigned to his 8th or 9th regnal year, i.e., as shortly after his Kaliriga conquest. Soon after they had become independent, each or either of them would, naturally enough, strive to get the upper hand over the other, and since after his Kalinga war Asoka would wage no other, he would neither assert himself to bring them back into his empire nor could he establish a better understanding between them otherwise than by means of the Law by deputing his envoys of the Law, whom, taking pity on his whilom subjects, as is but natural with him, he did send thither as stated in his Edict XIII.

But the case is different with Satiyaputra and Keralaputra. The use of the singular in each case suffices to denote that while neither of them could mean the people, each of them was a distinct political unit under its own king, if, as is admitted by many scholars, the words with the affix *putra* or *pitta* stand for the Satiya-king and the Korala-king rather than for those countries themselves.[35] In Edict XIII Asoka mentions the different Greek rulers by their names (and in this Edict II also he does likewise with the name Antiochus) without however mentioning the respective countries ruled over by them, whereas here in Edict II he mentions the rulers Satiyaputra and Keralaputra not by their proper names but as rulers of their respective states. The reason seems to be that while he as well as his predecessors certainly had constant communication with the countries of those far-off Greek kings, neither

34. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar: *Beginnings of South Indian History* (pp. 81-103).

35. The name *Keralaputra* however has been well preserved in the much later *Periplns* where it occurs as *Kerobothra* (SchofFs Ed. Text p. 44 and notes pp. 208-9).

perhaps were these two states ever included within his empire nor perhaps did they fall within the range of such communications. In other words, even if they had been once comprised with the Mauryan empire during the reign of Chandragupta, as is just possible, they must have soon thereafter regained their independence, presumably before the Cholas and the Pandyas asserted theirs, or perhaps even before Asoka's coronation, so that they were hardly connected with his empire. Then again these states have been described as d *Tambapam(n)t* in at least the Girnar and Jaugada versions. Now the word *Tambapamn* (n) *I* here is obviously the feminine accusative singular, and the preposition d with the accusative means *to,* i.e., *up to,* expressing the goal ;[36] and the whloe passage thus means ' up to, or as far as Tamraparni', clearly indicating Tamraparni as the limit of Kerala, which is the latter of the two names and stands closest to that next name Tamraparni. From Edict XIII we have just seen that Tamraparni was the immediate limit of the Pandya country. Accordingly Tamraparni would be the immediate boundary-line between Kerala and Pandya, which would therefore be situated on its opposite sides. Now, as is so manifest, both Kerala and Pandya are bounded by the sea on their south, and Kerala at least is also bounded by the sea on the west, whence it must follow that Tamraparni was the eastern boundary of Kerala and the western boundary of Pandya ; and consequently Tamraparni must lie within the Indian peninsula itself and not without. It is thus beyond doubt the river of that name in the Tinnevelly district flowing between the original Pandya and Kerala countries, and never the island of Ceylon situated outside the peninsula. The river Tamraparni has been mentioned here not only as the dividing line between the Chola-Pandya group on one side of it and the Satiyaputa and Keralaputa group on the other, but perhaps also because it was the ultimate limit of Asoka's empire (as is nearly evident from its significant mention in Edict XIII) before of course the Cholas and the Pandyas asserted their independence just some years ago, and was thus till then at least intimately associated with it; and since thus it has been mentioned in this Edict evidently as the dividing line between Pandya and Kerala, the four countries mentioned in it had to be named not in their regular geographical sequence from east to west, but as they stood in relation to it, Chola and Pandya lying on one side of it and Satiya and Kerala on the other.

It need hardly be repeated that these four countries were independent and were thus not included in Asoka's empire. Further they are expressly stated to be *amta, amtd* and *prachamtesu,* which clearly indi-

36. Macdonell: *Vedic Grammar* (p. 419).

cates that they stood immediately outside the borders of his empire and were thus indeed conterminous with it in its different direction. Because no other inscriptions of Asoka have been so far found further south of those at Brahmagiri, Siddhapur and Jatirhga—Ramesvara in the present Mysore State, we are not justified in asserting that those places stood on the southernmost limit of his empire, which therefore extended no further. His inscriptions, it may be said once for all, are not boundary-stones marking the extreme limits of his empire. For as we have said Aparanta was included in his empire of which it was the south-western frontier province bordering on the Arabian sea. Now Aparanta, which is the northernmost province of the Coast region *Sapta Komkana,* the Seven Korhkanas, also called the *Parasu-R&ma Kshetra* or the land reclaimed from the sea by Parasu—Rama, stretching from the Vaitarani river in the present Thana district as far south as Cape Comorin, is said to begin from the said river, and in its restrictive sense it is generally identified with the northern Komkana reaching down as far south as the southern limit of the Kolaba district, while in its extensive sense however it is identified with the whole of the Komkana proper stretching further south and including the Ratnagiri district and Goa.[37] A fragment of an Asokan Edict, as we have seen, comes from Sopara, the ancient Surparaka which lies some 33 miles to the north of Bombay and is thus nearly a hundred miles from the southern limit of the Kolaba district, and more than 200 miles from that of Goa. The Girnar Rock is nearly 50 miles from the Arabian sea, and the Dhauli Rock is perhaps equally distant from the Bay of Bengal, though it is certain that in either direction his empire must have extended to the coast. The southern limit of Asoka's empire must have therefore lain far beyond the places where in the Mysore State his southernmost Edicts are now met with. There can thus be hardly any doubt that the southern bounds of his empire at the time of Edict II, as also as that of Edict XIII, verged in the east immediately on the Chola country and in the proper south on the Pandya country so that there could be scarcely any room between them to contain any other independent state or states in the respective directions, while on the proper west it was bounded by the Arabian sea and had the southern limit of Aparanta for its south-western boundary. Consequently the only portion of India that was then independent of Aioka and as such stood immediate-

37. The word *Peiraton* in the parallel genitive plurals *Andron, Peiraton as* occurring in Ptolemy's geography, seems to be evident clerical error for *(A)* peira(-(n)ton, in which case they *together* mean 'of the Aparanta people.' If so *in* Lassen's Map of Ptolemy's India) *Indische Alterthumuskunde 111), Peiratai* (plural), i.e., (A)peira-(n)tai representing *Apardntdh* (plu.) has been placed much lower to the south on the West Coast.

ly outside the pale of his empire, would be roughly a crescent having the southernmost extremity of Aparanta and the northernmost extremity of Chola for its western and eastern ends, while of its two arcs, the inner formed the southern boundary of Asoka's empire, and the outer as is obvious, was washed by the sea, and the crescent itself was further divided into its western and eastern halves by the river Tamraparni flowing between Kerala and Pandya. We shall have therefore to look for Satiyaputra nowhere else than in the western half of that crescent; and as evidently there is hardly any room for it whether on the east or south or west of Keralaputra, and as also it may well be inferred from the obvious way in which the two groups on either side of the Tamraparni have been mentioned, that Satiyaputra must be as symmetrically situated with regard to Keralaputra as Chola is to Pandya, Satiyaputra must lie on the West Coast to the immediate north of Keralaputra exactly as Choja lies on the East Coast to the north of Pandya. In other words Satiyaputra must lie on the West Coast immediately between his Aparanta and the independent Kerala.

Besides the Asokan inscription found on the West Coast at Sopara in the Thana district, there are sets of Buddhist caves in the Kolaba district as also further south on the West Coast in the Ratnagiri district in South Kohkana. Recently a statue of Buddha has been discovered at Colvale in Goa.[38] Whatever be the actual periods of these respective Buddhist remains, whether they belong to any early date after Aioka or are much later, if only they would fairly suffice to point to the conclusion that the earliest introduction of Buddhism into those different provinces on the West Coast must have been effected during his reign and the beginning of Buddhism in that locality will have therefore to be assigned to that early date, Asoka's Aparanta would seem to have extended further south and included also Goa. The same conclusion would be arrived at from Ptolemy's location of the Peiratai, and the Aioi; for if, as we believe, his Peiratai stands for Aparanta (f.n. 37) and the Aioi for the Haiga or Haive country, i.e., the North Kanara district (as we shall presently see), Aparanta must have extended up to North Kanara and therefore included Goa. And Satiyaputra would thus seem to have comprised the districts of North Kanara and South Kanara. But it might be objected that as from the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahdvarhsa,*[30] Asoka is known to have sent one of his missionaries, *thera* Rakkhita, to Vanavasa, i.e., the present Banavasi, North Kanara, of which Banavasi is at present the south-eastern sub-division, must have been included in his empire. If indeed the Ceylonese chronicle

38. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* III (pp. 173-74).
39. *Mahdvariisa* XII 3-8 (Geiger's Translation, p. 82.)

does preserve genuine historical tradition correct even to the names of the different *theras* and the respective countries to which they were sent, it also records that five of them were sent to the island of Lanka, i.e., Ceylon, which however was not comprised within Asdka's empire. We also know from his Edict XIII that he sent his envoys of the Law, perhaps similar other missionaries, to the countries of the different Greek rulers in remote Asia as well as nearer home in South India to Chola and Pandya, none of which however was subordinate to him. Furthermore according to the *Skanda Purana* the BanavasI, a division of North Kanara was a portion of the original *Nagara-khand* division of India, which it formed with the present Shimoga district of the Mysore State, while the Coast region of North Kanara itself belonged to another geographical unit, the *Sahyadri-khanda,* as the whole or the southern part of the *Parasu-Rama Kshetra* was also called.

Among the peoples enumerated in the *Markandeya Purana* as situated in the tail of the Eternal Tortoise (LVIII. 37), facing eastwards *(ibid.* 4), and as therefore situated due west, are—

*Apardntikd Haihaydscha Sdntikd Viprasastakdh *
Komkanah Panchanaddkd Vamandhyavards-tatha \\ 34 11

and among the western countries *(aparatydm disi)* mentioned in the *Brihat Samhitd* (XIV. 27) are—

Apardntaka Sdntika Haihaya Prasastddri Vokkdnah 11

and the *Markandeya Purana* further names Vanavasaka *(Banavdsi)* and Kerala in the southern region as separate countries in the previous chapter,[40] and the *Brihat Samhitd* likewise mentions them apart as southern countries (XIV. 12). Now the name *Haihaya* seems to stand unmistakably for the name *Haiga* or *Haive* of North Kanara, and it clearly answers to Ptolemy's *Aioi,* while his Olokhoira close by represents South Kanara.[41] The Greek alphabet has no separate letter for

40. Pargiter's translation (pp. 331, 333 & 341).

41. Olofc/toira is evidently a corrupt form of *Aluva-kheta.* The South Kanara district has been mentioned as *Aluvakheda 6000* in the *Mdvali* stone inscription *(Epigraphia Carnatica* VIII: Sorab 10) of the reign of Rash|rakuta king Prabhutavarsha Govinda III (c. 800 A.C.). It is also mentioned as merely *Aluva* in *prapancha-hridaya* (Trivandrum Skt. Series XLV pp. 3-4)—

Sahyapade parasurama-bhumih \
Sd Sapta-Komkandkhya |
Kupaka Kerala Musika Aluva Pasu Komkana Para-Korhkana Bhedena dakshinottarayamena cha vyavasthita | |

i.e. The tract of Parasurama lies at the foot of the Sahya range ; it is also called Sapta-Komkanam (i.e., Seven Kom-Kanas) ; from south to north it comprises

the aspirate *ha,* which however is indicated when initial by the *spiritus asper* (rough breathing) which is placed over the initial vowel or the second vowel in a diphthong, but is invariably left out in proper nouns, while in the case of other vowels in the word the aspirate sound can nowise be represented, so that Ptolemy's Aioi really stands for *Hai-hoi* (plural) i.e., the Haihayas. North Kanara has not only been called Haiga or Haive in many an inscription, but is still known as such in common parlance, and the Brahmanas who migrated thence and settled down in the neighbouring southern district of South Kanara are even now known as the Haiga or Haive Brahmanas exactly as their brethren in the North Kanara district are called. It is a well-known fact that many peoples as well as countries of Northern India have given their names to those in South India, and consequently this southern Haihaya on the West Coast may well have been so-called after the well-known Haihaya country on the Narmada river, just as Ptolemy's *Adisathroi* was evidently called as such after the northern Ahichchhatra. If the name Haihaya occurs in the *Markandeya Pur ana* between Aparantika and Santika, while in the Brihat Sarhhita it comes after them, it only means that the names have not been mentioned in the due order in one or other of them. But then since the former at least mentions also Komkana, which when mentioned along with Aparanta, the northern Komkana, can not but mean the southern Komkana i.e. Ratnagiri and Goa, it is hardly possible to place Santika between (southern) Komkana and Haihaya, in as much as Goa, the southern province of (southern) Komkana, is obviously conterminous with Haiga or Haihaya i.e. North Kanara. Santika will have therefore to be placed south of Haihaya, and accordingly it has to be identified with the present district of South Kanara.

Now in the Asokan dialects (1) the initial palatal sibilant *sa* mostly, changes to the dental sibilant *sa,* e.g.[42] sakarh (sakyam), sata (sata), sasvatam (sasvatam), suke (suka), susrusha (susrusha) etc., wherefore £antika becomes Santika ; and (2) the nasal dot representing the vocal nasal *(anusvdra),* which was invariably used instead of the consonantal nasal *(anundsika),* was often not marked, as perhaps was customary with those or some of those dialects, or perhaps due to the inadvertance of the sculptors, e.g.,[12] *Pdda* (Pandya-Pawdya), *Kaliga* (Kalinga-Kali?nga), *Apardta* (ApareTita-Aparamta), *Magala* (Mangala-Mamgala),

the provinces of (1) Kupaka, (2) Kerala, (3) Musika, (4) *Aluva,* (5) Pasu, (6) Komkana and (7) Para-Komkana (i.e., Further Komkana). These provinces roughly correspond to the present (1) Travancore State, (2) Cochin State, (3) Malabar District, (4) *South Kanara District* (5) North Kanara District, (6) Goa and Ratnagiri District and (7) Kolaba and Thana Districts.

Abaka (Ambika-Arhbika) etc., wherefore Sdntika becomes Sdmtika and then again Satika. (3) The final mutes of the Sarhskrit words are generally dropped in the Prakrits, but the gutteral and dental tenues are often replaced by the palatal liquid ya, e.g. kanaka (gold)—*kanaya*, mauktifcd (pearl)—muttiyd, asarikhyafcd (numberless)—asamkhaya, r.mritd (nectar)—amiya etc. Thus, Satika becomes Satii/a. And lastly (4) in Asokan dialects as in all Prakrits, the long sounds of the original Sarhskrit words become short, e.g.[42] Apardnta-Aparata, Choja-Choda, Pdndya-Pamdii/a, Pamda, Sdsvatam-sasvatam, susriisha-susrusha etc., and Sdtiya becomes also Satiya. It maybe remarked here that as the change from the initial short sound of the original words to the corresponding long sound is rather very rare or even scarce, Sdtiya must have changed to Satiya and not *vice versa,* and as such *Sdtiya* is closer to the original for *Sdntika* than its doublet Satiya.

It is thus manifest that, so long as the southern limit of Asoka's Aparanta can not be fixed, it is hardly possible to be exact as to the province or provinces that were contained in the Satiyaputra of his Edict II. If however his Aparanta stopped with Goa, then Satiyaputra, though thus identical with Santika, would seem to have been used in the larger sense as comprising both Haihaya and Santika, i.e., both the North and South Kanara districts, which might then respectively be, so to say, northern and southern Santika. If on the other hand Satiyaputra has been used here in the restrictive sense to mean only Santika, then North Kanara would evidently be absorbed in his Aparanta. At all events Satiyaputra, which so aptly equates itself with Santika, did include South Kanara.[43]

42. Vide Woolner : *Asoka Text and Glossary,* Part II.

43. The plausible contention that, if South Kanara is Asoka's Satyaputra, it would, or ought to, have been referred to in any or all of his Mysore Edicts, on account perhaps of the vicinity, fails to carry conviction, inasmuchas neither his subject-people the Paitenikas or Pitinikas (Edicts V & XIII) i.e., the people of the Pratishthana (Paithan) region are spoken of whether in his Maski Edict *{Hyderabad Arch. Series No.* 1) or in his Gavimath and Palklgundu Edicts *{Ibid.* No. 10), which stands obviously within its precincts, nor any Edict of his has so far been found in the country of his other subjects, the Yavanas or Greeks (i.e., the provinces of Aria, &c), though they are expressly mentioned in his Edicts (V & XIII).

Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit Poets patronised by them

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THE illustrious line of Vaghela princes traces its origin to Viradhavala's son Vyaghradeva who migrated to Northern India from Gujarat in about 1233-1234 A.D. His son Karnadeva got the fort of Bandhogarh from his father-in-law, and Bandhogarh became the capital of the Vaghela rulers. After its destruction by Akbar in 1597, the town of Rewah was established as the capital by the then ruling prince Vikramaditya. (See—Rewah State Gazetteer, Vol. IV, Lucknow, 1907). Since then the State is known as the Rewah State.

In spite of many efforts that have been spent in unearthing the history of the Vaghelas, we know practically nothing of their social, religious and literary activities. The object of this paper is to throw some light—although very scanty—on the literary activity of some of the princes of this race.

I. VIRASIMHADEVA (1500-1540)

The earliest king whom we find praised as a patron of literature is Virasimhadeva. The poet who mentions him is Ramacandrabhatta or Ramacandra who wrote the *Radliacarita* by his behest (Cat. Catal. III. 109-b and 107-b). In the following verse ascribed to Ramacandra in the ms. of the *Suktisundara* of Sundaradeva (No. 1237, Bhau Daji's collection in the B. B. R. A. S.), we find Virasimha praised.

%$TOT*TST*>T*T5 ^n^dRiTT: 9F^i$tLvfe*
कोदण्डोवारनामाप्यमितपरिजनो विश्वविख्यातकीर्तिः ।
लुब्ध्यासक्तचित्तः समरणविजयी कङ्कणाहारयुक्तो
वीर श्रीवीरसिंह त्वमिव तव रिपुः किन्तु मुक्ताविवर्णः ॥

III. 2

This Ramacandra seems to be identical with the author of the *Rasikaranjana* (printed in Kavyamala Gucchaka IV) and the *Romavalisataka* who was the son of Laksmanabhatta and who wrote his own commentary on the *Rasikaranjana* at Ayodhya in 1524. He was thus a contemporary of Virasimha, and possibly visited his court. Two

more anonymous verses are found in praise of Virasimha in **the** *Subhdshitaratnabhdnddgdra* (Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, 1911).

वीरसिंहारिनारीणामञ्जनाक्ताश्रुबिन्दवः ।
उरोजे पतिता रेजुः सरोजे मधुपा इव ॥
यस्योच्छिक्षा न वेद्या मनसि सदयता दूषणानामभावो
दक्षो दूरेऽणुरन्ध्रा जहति कठिनतां दानशक्तिर्गरिष्ठा ।
आधत्ते यश्च कुन्दं शिरसि दरयतां यश्च दूरीकृतार्तिः
स श्रीमान्वीरसिंह त्वमिव तव रिपुस्तश्च दम्भं प्रसीमः ॥

p. 126, v. 188.

From the style of the second verse, I suspect it to be that of Ramacandra whose verse वैकुण्ठाभप्रकामः, , etc., is quoted above.

II. VIRABHANU (1540-1555)

As a great patron of learning King Virabhanu is praised by the poet Bhanukara or Bhanudatta, the author of अलङ्कारतिलक, रसमञ्जरी, रसतरङ्गिणी, शृङ्गारदीपिका, गीतगौरीपति and कुमारभार्गवीय. I may add that I have discussed in detail the question of the identity of Bhanukara with Bhanudatta, and have identified his patron Virabhana or Virabhanu with Virabhanu of the Vaghela dynasty in my article " The Poet Bhanukara " which is going to be published shortly in the Annals of Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.

According to Aufrecht (C.C. I, 468, 498 and 595), Virabhanu is mentioned by Mohanadasa, the author of the *Rasodadht* which he quotes in his commentary on the *Mahanataka.*

III. RAMACANDRA (1555-1592).

One of the most illustrious rulers of this dynasty was Virabhanu's son, Ramacandra, who was a contemporary of Akbar, and who is mentioned by the Muslim historians as a great patron of arts and learning. Tana Sena was his court musician, and was sent by him to Akbar. It is he whom Akabarlya-Kalidasa praises in the following two verses **found** in the *Suktisundara* of Sundaradeva.

तुङ्गब्रह्माण्डसिंहासनमिदमुपविश्यमध्यास्य नित्यं
न्यञ्चद्दिव्यश्रवन्तीसितचमरचयं लालयन्दिग्वधूभिः ।
राकाचन्द्रातपत्रं दिनकरमुकुटं ग्राहयंल्लोकपाला-
न्निर्जित्यैन्द्रं करीन्द्रं तव जयति यशश्चक्रवर्ती वघेल ॥
वेलामुल्लङ्घ्य हेलादलितधरणिभृद्वाहिनीकोटिपूरे
कल्लोल्लोत्कारखेलन्नृपबलजलनिधिः श्लाघनायोजजृम्भे ।
स्यान्मग्ना मेदिनीयं प्रबलभुजबलप्रोद्धतश्चग्रहास
ज्वालाभिः संततं चेन्न दहति वडवावीतिहोत्रो वघेलः ॥

(For further light on Akabariya-Kalidasa, see my article " The *Suktisundara* of Sundaradeva " to be published in the January issue (1936) of the *Calcutta Oriental Journal).*

Akabariya-Kalidasa is, no doubt, a title of the poet whose real name is still a mystery. Some light might be thrown by the ms. of a hymn addressed to Jvalamukhi at Kanda (No. 5648 in the H. Pr. Sastri's catalogue, VII, 1934). The hymn has 75 verses, the first 19 being devoted to मङ्गलाचरण The description in the catalogue adds—" It ends with what seems to be an eulogy to Akbar in 6 verses (marked 1—6)." The last verse is हस्तांभोजालिमाला, etc. We know it definitely to belong to Akabariya-Kalidasa to whom it is ascribed in the रसिकजीवन Gadadharabhatta (See—" The *Subhdsitaluiravail* of Sri Hari Kavi and some poets enjoying the patronage of Muslim rulers "—*Indian Historical Quarterly,* X, 1934, p. 484) and पद्यरचना of Laksmanabhatta (Kavyamala 89, p. 20, v. 27). This verse is followed by the following colophon which is corrupt and incomplete.

श्रीकृष्णो जयति ।

इति अकबरीकबरीविलासकुसुमीभवत्पद्यान् ? गङ्गाधरोऽलिखदिसा ? स्तांग श्री—

Can we, on the basis of this, hazard the hypothesis that Gangadhara was the real name of Akabariya-Kalidasa ? The question, however, requires more examination before anything definite can be said.

A poet, Ramacandra (most probably different from his namesake mentioned above), praises Rama-nrpati and Rudracandra in the पद्यरचना (10,9 and 15.34). Now we know that Rudracandradeva was the king of Kumaon and a contemporary of Akbar. Rudracandradeva is the author of the ऊषारागोदया नाटिका, two mss. of which (Nos. 5356 and 5357) are noticed in H. Pr. Sastri's Cat. VII. I am inclined to believe that the Rama-nrpati mentioned by this poet is no other than the king Ramacandra.

IV. VIRABHADRA (1592-1593)

Although Ramacandra's son Virabhadra did not enjoy the reign of even one full year, still as a Yuvaraja he seems to have distinguished himself not only as a patron of learning, but also as a learned man and author. He wrote the कन्दर्पचूडामणि (published at Rewah) in 1577 A.D. This work is based on Vatsyayana's कामसूत्र . Another work which is attributed to him is दशाकुमारपूर्वकथासार (H. Pr. Sastri's Cat VII, No. 5384), which contains an abstract of the first part of Dandin's दशाकुमारचरित. The second verse of the work is—

वघेलयुवराज-श्रीवीरभद्रगुणाब्धिना ।
स्फुटो दशकुमाराणां कथासारो विरच्यते ॥

The colophon at the end of the first chapter is—

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीरामचन्द्रदेवात्मजयुवराज श्रीवीरभद्रदेवकृते दशकुमारपूर्वकथासारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

He patronised a certain Pradyotana-bhatta-carya who is the author of the शारदागम, a commentary on the चन्द्रालोक (published in the KashI Sankskrit series, No. 75, 1929). The colophon at the end of the work is—

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीरामचन्द्रदेवात्मजयुवराजवीरभद्रदेवादिष्टमिश्र-श्रीबलभद्रात्मजसकलशास्त्रारविन्दप्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्यविरचिते चन्द्रालोकप्रकाशे शारदागमे दशमो मयूखः समाप्तः ।

Another poet who was patronised by him is a certain Pradyotana-Padmanabha-misra, the author of the वीरचम्पू or वीरभद्रचम्पू *in* 7 *ucch-vdsas.* The ms. of the work is noticed by Peterson in his Report on the Search of Sanskrit Mss. 1882-1883, No. 101. The work was composed in 1578 A.D. (Vikrama Sarhvat 1634) as is evident from the following verse—

युगरामर्तुशशाङ्कः [ङ्के] वर्षे चैत्रे सिते प्रथमे ।
श्रीवीरभद्रचम्पूः पूर्णाऽभूच्छ्रेयसे विदुषाम् ॥

Padmanabha-misra was the son of Balabhadra and the brother of Govardhanamisra and Visvanatha. He was a very learned man, and the following works are ascribed to him in Aufrecht's C.C. I, 322-a.

(i) किरणावलीभास्कर (printed in the Sarasvati-bhavana text series, Benares)

(ii) तत्त्वचिन्तामणिपरीक्षा

(iii) तत्त्वप्रकाशिकाटीका

(iv) राद्धान्तमुक्ताहार and its comm. काणादरहस्य

(v) वर्धमानेन्दु, a comm. on Vardharmāna's न्यायनिबन्धप्रकाश

(vi) वीरभद्रचम्पू, composed in 1578.

Here arises a question—Are Pradyotana-Padmanabha and Pradyotanabha#acarya, the author of *Saradagama,* identical ? We see that both are the sons of Balabhadra and both have got the name Pradyotana. Moreover, Bhattacarya is but a title and no proper name. From Aufrecht's account we learn that Padmanabha's brothers were Govar-

dhanamisra and Visvanatha. Unless it is established that Pradyotana was a family title and hence common to all the three brothers (in which case one of the three brothers might be the author of the *Saradagama)*, I am inclined to believe that Pradyotana-Padmanabha and Pradyotana-bhattacarya are one and the same person.

V. *BHAVASIMHA* (1660-1690).

About this king the *Rewah State Gazetteer* states, " He (Anupa Sirhha) was succeeded in 1660 by Bhao Singh whose rule appears to have been uneventful." Fortunlely we have now come into possession of more knowledge about this king who was a great patron of learning and who once went to Kashmir. From Kashmir he brought a copy of Somadeva's *Katha-saritsagara.* He got it revised by his court Pandits and employed a certain Rupani-misra to transcribe it. A ms. of this transcription is noticed in H. Pr. Sastri's Catalogue, VII, No. 5398. Rupanimisra was a very learned man. To his copy he has added 99 verses in which he gives the genealogy of Bhavasimha and the names of his courtiers. He describes Bhavasimha in the following verses—

काव्याख्यानकलाविदग्धधिषणः श्रीभावसिंहो नृपः
काश्मीराज्जगदम्बुसोद्धृतमिदं प्राप्योल्लसत्सद्गसम् ।
संशोध्याखिलपण्डितैः कृतचमत्कारं ततो रूपणि-
द्वाराऽलीलिखदद्भुतार्थगहनं सर्व्वार्थसारप्रदम् ॥ ८७ ॥
वृत्या नृत्यप्रवृत्तत्रिपुरहरजटाजूटभिन्नायकेश-
प्रासप्रौढातिघातश्लथबहलनभःसन्धिबन्धाद्गलन्तः ।
कल्याणं कल्पयन्तु क्षितिविबुधतरोर्भावसिंहस्य राज्ञः
स्वर्गङ्गाबिन्दुसङ्घा जनकुतुककरा कारका (?) कैतवेन ॥ ८८ ॥

Read तारकाकैतवेन ?

Rūpaṇī mentions the following scholars at Bhāvasiṁha's court : —

Bālakṛṣṇa, Kiśōra, Gōvardhana-vājapeyin, Lālamaṇi, Chavi, and Kamalanayana.

शास्त्रारण्यसदाप्रचारचनप्रख्यातकण्ठीरवो
धैर्य्यौदार्य्यसुशीलताजलनिधिः गम्भीरता सागरः ।
रूपेणानुपमो विवेककुशलः पीयूषवर्षी गिरा
सूरिस्तस्य विराजते नरपतेः श्रीबालकृष्णाभिधः ॥ ७८ ॥
समस्तविद्येन्दुकलाचकोरः समस्तसत्पण्डितचित्तचोरः ।
वैदग्ध्यसौजन्यसुरत्नडोरस्तस्यास्ति विद्वाननघः किशोरः ॥ ७९ ॥
साहित्यशास्त्रप्रवणैकचेताः सत्तर्कविद्यारुचिरः सभायाः ।
भूषा प्रियो भूमिपतेरजस्रं चकास्ति गोवर्द्धनवाजपेयी ॥ ८० ॥
विद्यारत्नसमुद्गकः सुजनतासद्धैर्यरत्नाकरः

पीयूषद्रवधाक् सुरेज्यधिषणः पाश्चात्यगौडाग्रणीः ।
प्राज्ञःसामसु कौथुमाख्यविटपच्छान्दोग्यवेत्ता हरे-
र्भक्तो लालमणिश्चकास्ति नृपतेः क्ष्मादेवतावल्लभः ॥ ८१ ॥
सद्वाद्यद्विपविस्तिरस्कृतकविर्भ्राक्कयाश्रिया (?) भारती
प्रागल्भ्येन च भारविर्हुतहविः सन्तर्पितेद्धानलः ।
श्रीमानौपगविः समस्तनिगमैः काव्यैकविद्याटवी-
व्रजा(ज्या) पञ्चमुखः कविर्विजयते राज्ञः छविर्वल्लभः ॥ ८२ ॥
सकलनिगमपारावारपारैकदृश्वा
[सुजन] गणनिकायामग्रगण्यः कुलीनः ।
परजनहितकारी सर्व्वशिल्पैकदक्षः
कमलनयननामा शोभते दाक्षिणात्यः ॥ ८३ ॥

This ms. is of a very great importance, as it preserves for us the complete history of the Vaghela chiefs from the very beginning up to Bhavasiriiha. It is a pity that no works of these learned men are available to-day. We look up to the Rewah Durbar to make thorough enquiries and bring to light the forgotten glory of the dynasty.

Another person whom Bhavasirhha patronised is Laksmanabhat^a, the author of *Hautra-kalpa-druma* (C.C. I. 408-b).

VI. VISVANATHASIMHA (1853-1854).

Even as late as the middle of the 19th century we find one of the Vaghela princes composing a Sanskrit poem. Visvanathasiriiha is the author of the *Rdma-candrdnhika,* a poem written in imitation of the *Gitagdvinda* and praising Rama. The author has composed his own commentary on it (H. Pr. Sastri's Cat. VII, Nos. 5255 and 525G). One of the verses reads—

शिष्याणां रघुनन्दने परतरस्नेहस्य संसिद्धये
सिद्धिश्रीजयसिंहदेवतनयश्रीविश्वनाथस्यतः (?) ।
बन्धैः संस्तुतिभीरुभिर्गुरुपदैर्ग्रन्थो गरीयानसौ
प्रव्यक्तीक्रियतेऽधुना प्रकटितः श्रीरामचन्द्राह्निकः ॥

The last colophon is— इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजाबाहादुरसीताराममचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारविश्वनाथसिंहज (जू ?) देवविरचिते रामचन्द्राह्निके टीकायामष्टमोऽध्यायः ।

Another imitation of the *Gitagovinda* was done in the *Sangita-raghunandana* (H. Pr. Sastrl's Cat. VII, No. 5259). This work is composed by one Priyadasa under the patronage of Visvanathasiriiha. Although the last colophon would make Visvanathasiriiha himself the author of

the work (cf. **इति श्रीमन्महाराजकुमार श्रीविश्वनाथसिंहविरचिते संगीतरघुनन्दने ग्रन्थमाहात्म्यविधानपूर्वक-प्रणामविधानं नाम षोडशः सर्गः**) yet the 5th verse from the beginning (given below) indicates that the real author was perhaps one Priyādāsa.

जयति सच्चिदानन्दघनवरदवरसर्व्वगुणशालिशृंगाररसपालमूर्त्तिः ।
सर्व्वजनवत्सलः प्रविगलितमत्सरः प्रेमपाथोधिपुरुषार्थपूर्त्तिः ॥
सर्व्वगतसर्व्वमतसर्व्ववन्दितचरणसर्व्वशरणागतोद्धतिविहारी ।
गुरुरूपरघुवरः श्रीप्रियादास इह विश्वनाथान्तरंगीसकारी ॥ ५ ॥

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A forgotten Chapter in the History of Mewar

BY

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IT is well known to students of Rajput History that, after the sack and conquest of Chitor in A.D. 1303, 'Ala-ud-dm Khalji conferred its government upon his eldest son Khizr Khan, and changed the name of the place into Khizrabad after his son. Tod says that in this predicament the descendants of Bappa Rawal took shelter in the forest-clad mountains of Aravalli, and therefrom carried on depredations on the borders of Mewar in order to regain their ancestral throne. Though the Rajputs were ultimately successful in their attempt, our authorities do not furnish us with any information regarding the extent of the period of early Muslim rule in Chitor. Furthermore, the Persian histories, with the exception of the *Tarikh-i-Firishta,* do not throw much light on the circumstances which led to the restoration of the Guhilots.

Firishta says that about the time (about 1305) when Ujjain, Mandu, Dharanagari and Chanderi were reduced, and the Raja of Jalor surrendered without any opposition, Ray Ratan Son, Raja of Chitor, after having suffered imprisonment for some time, effected his escape through a stratagem. He continued to ravage the country of Mewar then in possession of the Muslims. " At length finding it of no use to retain Chitor, the king ('Ala-ud-din Khalji) ordered the prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja. This Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chitor as tributary to 'Ala-ud-din during the rest of his reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5000 horse and 10,000 foot."[1] The final extinction of the early Muslim sovereignty over Chitor, according to the above historian, came about during the last days of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din, when insurrections broke out within his kingdom due to the excesses of Malik Kafur. " The Rajputs of Chitor threw the Muhammadan officers over the walls and asserted their independence."[2]

Sir W. Haig, probably following Firishta, repeats the same account of the escape of Ratna Sirhha from the imperial prison and of his

1. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 363.
2. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 381.

plundering raids in Me war, and adds " Ala-ud-din avenged his discomfiture by removing from the government of Chitor his own son, Khizr Khan, an indolent and self-indulgent youth, and appointing in his place Ratan Singh's sister's son Arsi *(sic)*, who had entered his service, and thus sowed the seeds of dissension among the Rajputs. Many of the *thakurs* transferred their allegiance from Ratan Singh who had forfeited their respect, to Arsi, who remained loyal to 'Ala-ud-din and until his death attended regularly at court to present his tribute." Sir W. Haig also places the overthrow of the Khalji rule in Chitor about the time mentioned by Firishta.[2a]

Rajput tradition, however, associates the name of Hammlra son of Arisirhha, a relation of Ratna Simha, with the recovery of Chitor. The circumstances as set forth by Tod are these. After the conquest of Chitor 'Ala-ud-din made over the city to Maldeo, Chauhan prince of Jalor. The new governor met with difficulties in the administration of his dominion. In the face of constant raids by Hammira, who succeeded his uncle Ajaya Simha at this time to the chieftainship of the Guhilots, cultivation and pursuit of peaceful avocation became impossible. He therefore sent a proposal of marriage to the Guhilot prince, which was accepted. An insult was in store for the son of Arisirhha, for he was married to a widowed daughter of Maldeo. Tradition, however, avers that this marriage paved the way for the recovery of Chitor. For, within a short time, the intelligent lady, with the help of one of the civil officers of Chitor, gained over the troops in the fort when her father was out for an expedition. She admitted her husband in the citadel, and " his sword overcame every obstacle, and the oath of allegiance was proclaimed from the palace of his fathers." Tod further relates that Maldeo carried this news to the Khalji king Mahmud *(sic)*, who had succeeded 'Ala-ud-din. The king advanced to recover his lost possession, but was met and defeated by Hammlra. " The king suffered a confinement of three months in Chitor, nor was he liberated till he had surrendered Ajmer, Ranthambhor, Nagaur and Sui Sopar, besides paying fifty *lakhs* of rupees and one-hundred elephants."

It should be noted that Rajput tradition does not make any mention of the escape of Ratna Simha from the imperial prison about two years after the siege. Abul Fazl places this incident some time before the storming of the citadel of Chitor in A.D. 1303, and says that, being further attacked by 'Ala-ud-din, the Rana ' met him near Chitor and was basely slain ,'[3] The *Khuzainul Futuh* of Amir Khusrav says that " the Rai struck with the lightning of the emperor's wrath and burnt from head to

2a. *Camb. Hist, of India,* Vol. Ill, p. 111.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari,* vol. II, p. 270.

foot, sprang out of the stone gate ; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword."[4] As has been pointed out by Mr. S. C. Dutt, this Rai was none other than Ratna Sirhha.[5] The passage clearly indicates submission on the part of the Rana. It was probably on this occasion that he was taken as a hostage by 'Ala-ud-dm. Amir Khusrav, however, is silent about the death of Ratna Sirhha, and does not mention the escape of the Rana from prison and the resumption of the siege by 'Ala-ud-dm. It seems that Firishta has confused the sequence of events. While the escape of the Rana from the imperial prison is historical, it should be dated before the surrender of the citadel in A.D. 1303. The evidence of Abul Fazl is to be preferred in this respect to that of Firishta.

It may be asked if the flight of Ratna Simha took place before A.D. 1303, and his death occurred in that year, then what it was which induced 'Ala-ud-dm to order the evacuation of Chitor ? The cause may be sought in the fact that " Kizr Khan was made a viceroy of Chitor, when as yet a boy, without any person of wisdom to advise him or to superintend his conduct." As such he was probably unable to withstand the onslaught of Ajaya Simha or Hammlra from the mountains of Aravalli. A stronger hand was required, and a Hindu prince was appointed in place of Khizr Khan. Sir W. Haig says that he was the sister's son of Ratna Sirhha, and identifies him with Arsi or Ari Sirhha.[0] It should be noted that Ari Simha was not a sister's son of Ratna Sirhha, but belonged to a collateral branch of the Guhilots, and was the father of Hammlra. Abul Fazl says that Ari Sirhha was made the Rana of Chitor after the fall of Ratna Sirhha, and died in battle in A.D. 1303 in defence of Chitor.[7] This is also confirmed by Rajput tradition. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and Pandit G. S. Ojha identify the Hindu vassal of 'Ala-ud-din who replaced Khizr Khan with Maldeo, prince of Jalor.[8] But Abul Fazl says that Maldeo was appointed Governor of Chittor by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq.[9] In view of this, the Hindu feudatory of 'Ala-ud-dm could not have been Maldeo. We know nothing about his identity except that he was a near relation (nephew) of Rana Ratna Simha.

This appointment might have been a political move on the part of Ala-ud-din Khaljl, as has been pointed out by Sir W. Haig, to create dissension among the Rajputs and thus to break their power of resist-

4. Quoted by Mr. S. C. Dutt in /. H. Q., 1931, p. 293.
5. /. *H.* Q., 1931, p. 293.
6. C. H. /., vol. Ill, p. 111.
7. *Ain.,* Vol. II, p. 270.
8. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, D. R. Bhandarkar, "History of Marwar Chahamanas," pp. 67ff 9 ; Ojha, *Udayapura Rdjya Ka Itihdsa,* p. 195f.
9. *Ain.,* Vol. II.

ance.[10] If Rajput tradition is to be believed, it was a policy not unlike that which was devised by Akbar against Pratap Sirhha when he appointed the latter's brother, Sagarji, to the throne of Chitor.[11]

The extent of the period of Khizr Khan's rule in Chitor cannot be determined with any amount of certainty. Sir W. Haig seems to think that his rule terminated in or about A.D. 1305, two years after the siege of Chitor.[11a] We have however no evidence to warrant it. The learned author seems to rely upon Firishta. The latter says : " At length, finding it of no use to retain Chitor, the king ('Ala-ud-din) ordered the prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it." It would be seen, therefore, that Firishta gives no definite date. Pandit Ojha says that the prince left Chitor some time between A.D. 1313 and A.D. 1316, and the period of his rule probably covered ten years. Some of the arguments in support of his contention are given below :—[12]

(1) An inscription has been found in Chitor, dated A.D. 1310, which praises Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. From this it has been surmised by Pandit Ojha that no Hindu prince (e.g. Maldeo) could have been in possession of Chitor at that time.

It may however be urged that this inscription does not preclude the possibility of the rule of a Hindu chieftain in Chitor who was, to all intents and purposes, a vassal of the Sultan.

(2) Pandit Ojha says that, according to *Muhand ta Nena Si,* the reduction of Jalor took place in A.D. 1311 and, according to Firishta, in A.D. 1309. Kanhadadeva, the ruler of Jalor, died with his son. Maldeo, the brother of Kanhadadeva, made his escape. He began to ravage the territory of the Sultan. At length, the Sultan brought him into subjection by assigning to him the government of Chitor. Therefore, Maldeo must have got possession of Chitor some years after A.D. 1311.

It has already been pointed out that Maldeo's appointment was made by Sultan Muhammad-bin-Tughluq and not by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. There is nothing to suggest that Maldeo was the *immediate* successor of Khizr Khan. The rule of the Hindu prince—a near relation of Ratna Sirhha—appointed by 'Ala-ud-din must have intervened between that of Khizr Khan and Maldeo.

(3) Pandit Ojha quotes extensively from Firishta's account of the decline of the splendour of 'Ala-ud-din from about the year H. 711 (A.D.

10. C. *H. I.,* Vol. Ill, p. 111.
11. Tod's *Rajasthdn.*
11a. C. *H. I.,* Vol. Ill, p. 111.
12. *Udayapura Rajya* Ka *Itihasa* pp. 192ff.

1311-12). The historian says that the affairs of the state were left in the hands of Malik Kafur. The nobles were disgusted. The Sultan neglected the education of his children, and appointed them in important posts in the state. Thus Khizr Khan was made Viceroy of Chitor when as yet a boy. Other princes also held equally important public offices.

From the above it cannot be confidently asserted that Khizr Khan's viceroyalty continued till about A.D. 1311-12. His appointment is mentioned to illustrate the impolitic conduct of his father that led to the decline of the lustre of his reign in about A.D. 1311. The language of Firishta here is no doubt capable of different interpretations. Pandit Ojha points out that, about this time, Malik Kafur asked leave of the Sultan to go to the south in order to bring about the submission of the Raja of Deogir and others. " Malik Kafur was principally moved to this by his jealousy of Khizr Khan, the declared heir to the empire, whose government lay most convenient for that expedition, and whom he feared the king intended to send to the South." It may be surmised from the above that Khizr Khan was still in the government of Chitor. But Pandit Ojha's theory, though plausible, cannot be said to be definitely proved.

An attempt would now be made to consider the time of the reconquest of Chitor by the Guhilots.

Firishta says that, taking advantage of the insurrections and misfortune of the last days of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, the Rajputs of Chitor ' threw the Muhammadan officers over the walls, and asserted their independence.' As has been already pointed out, Sir W. Haig also accepts this statement. But the effective Muslim occupation of Chitor even after 'Ala-ud-din is proved by an inscription, found in Chitor, praising Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq and one of his officers,[13] and the appointment of Maldeo to the government of Chitor by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. Pandit Ojha fixes the date of the recovery of Chitor by the Guhilots in or about A.D. 1326.[14] But if Nena SI is correct in assigning a rule of seven years to Maldeo,[15] then his reign coud not have terminated before A.D. 1332, assuming that he was appointed by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq in the very first year of his reign. Besides, an inscription has been found in Kareda in the Udaipur State, date V.S. 1392 (A.D. 1335), which refers itself to the time of one Maharaja Prithvicharhdra of Chitrakuta.[16] The identity of this ruler is unknown. There is nothing to

13. *An. Rep. Raj. Museum* for 1921-22, p.2.
14. *Udayapura Rdjya Ka Itihasa,* p. 233.
15. Cf. Ibid, p. 197.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. **XIX**, **App.** p. 96.

suggest that he was a Guhilot. He may have been a son of Maldeo. It seems clear, therefore, that the Guhilots could not have recovered Chitor before A.D. 1335.

Abul Fazl says that Maldeo, being unable to bring Hammira into subjection, summoned him, and made him son-in-law, and through him restored the prosperity of Chitor. After his death, Hammira made away with his sons, and raised the standard of independence.[17] Thus, the court historian of Akbar confirms the main points of the Rajput tradition that Hammira married the daughter of Maldeo, and recovered Chit5r, not, however, from the latter, but from his sons.

In view of the ascertained date of Maldeo (a contemporary of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq) it is very difficult to believe that Hammira, who is alleged to have been his son and successor, actually came into conflict with the immediate successor of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. Sir W. Haig says : " the story appears to be a clumsy but wilful adaptation of the defeat and capture of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa by Sangram about 200 years after this time."[18] It is well known that Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa fell into the hands of Rana Sanga and remained a prisoner in Chitor for some time, and he was also forced to relinquish his claims over certain places. The Rajput bards may have confounded these later Khaljis of Malwa with the line of 'Ala-ud-din.

Pandit Ojha says that Hammira obtained a victory over Muhammad-bin-Tughluq who has been erroneously styled by Tod as Mahmud Khalji. In support of this Panditji adduces the evidence of an inscription of Rana Kumbha's time dated V.S. 1495 (A.D. 1438) in which Hammira is said to have destroyed many Turushkas.[19] We have, however, no positive evidence to prove that the son of Ari Sirhha came into conflict with Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. It is interesting to note that such an exploit as the conquest of Chitor does not find a place in the accounts of Hammira as given in the inscription of his descendants, though they make mention of such incidents as the conquest of Chelavata, the killing of Jaitrasirhha, or the burning of Prahladanapura. It is possible that Abul Fazl and the bards of Rajputana are wrong in ascribing the actual recovery of Chitor to Hammira himself. The reconquest of the famous fortress may have been actually effected by one of his successors, preferably Kshetrasiriiha. The *Kirti Prasasti* and the Kumbhal**gadh** inscription of Rana Kumbha record that Kshetrasiriiha defeated Yavana forces near Chitrakuta.[20]

17. **Ain, Vol.** II, **p. 270.**
18. **C. H. J., Vol. Ill p.** 526.
19. *Udayapura Rajya* ***Ka***
20. ***Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXI, pp. 277ff; H.** Sarda, *Maharana* ***Kumbha,*** **p. 212ff.**

Blanks in Middle Indian History

BY

SARDAR M. V. KIBE

THE writings of R. B. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal have thrown a flood of light on the histories of Southern and Eastern India respectively. Speaking roughly, after the fall of the Mauryan Empire, for a period of about a hundred years after its fall, the history of the noble past of India is available. The writings of these scholars are based on inscriptions, coins, ruins, excavations, and records preserving ancient traditions.

No such material has yet been made available for writing the history of Middle India. That the splendour of its capital, Ujjayini, described by Kalidasa in his *Meghaduta* and by Bhasa and Sudraka, in his many dramas by the former, and in the *Mrit-chhakatika* by the latter, cannot be all imaginary, is a proposition which is fully acceptable. It is known that in Mauryan times it was the seat of a Governor, which post was once held by Asdka himself and, on his becoming the emperor, by one of his sons. It is traditional history that some centuries before him there was reigning at Ujjayini a powerful king by name Pradyota who was a contemporary of Vatsaraj, the king of Kausambi. It is also known that in later times it was the seat of a Kshatrapa. But the *Mahdbharata* speaks of two kings of Avanti. They probably jointly ruled like the Roman Consuls ; perhaps of contemporary times. But when did Avanti become Ujjayini ? Is the change connected with any victory of supreme importance by one of its rulers ? Did he perpetuate a dynasty ? Why and when was Ujjayini abandoned, and Vidisa become the capital of Middle India ? Why did Mandasor succeed to it ? Was Vikramaditya, the mythical hero, a Parmar ? Were Mufija and Bhoja of later times descended from him ? Convincing answers to these questions cannot be given without being in possession of more material than is available. It is up to the two governments of Scindia and Holkar, who rule over this part of the country, to undertake systematic research by spending money and employing scholars.

The period in the history of this country on which light is required to be thrown synchronizes with the rise of Pushyamitra. In the east the Vakatakas, who seem to have touched the borders of this country in the south-east, and the Kshatrapas and Kushans in the north and north-east continued up to the end of Gupta Empire.

Pending excavations and discoveries, there is available sufficient traditional material to give a hazy idea of the train of events. It requires to be corroborated by more substantial evidence.

The first oustanding fact is the change of the name from Avantya or Avanti, the names which are given in chapter IX of the *Bhishma-parva* and again in the *Sabha-parva* among the conquests of Sahadeva, to Malava. In the same places there is reference to a tribe in the north and north-west of India known as *Mdlava-nardh* and Malavas respectively. The former nomenclature seems to have a reference to a form of government In the course of his conquest of the region of the Indus and its tributaries, Alexander the Great dislodged the tribes known as the Maloi, that is, the Malavas. Its government appears to be a Republic. The *Brhatsamhita* of Varahamihira does not only mention the above-noted tribes, but also refers to the *Audumbaras,* whose kings ruled in the Panjab as known to authentic history. The *Malavas* and later *Audumbaras,* having been disturbed from their homes first by the Greeks and later by the Scythians, crossed the Rajputana desert, and settled on the plateau of Middle India. To judge from their present representatives, the Audlchyas (Northerners) and Sri-Gaudas were tribes with four castes and Republican tendencies. Traces of their settlements are found from this part of the country to the Godavari and the Krishna in the south. Perhaps the joint kings of Avanti mentioned in the Mahabharata belonged to these Republican tribes. The mythical hero, Sakari Vikramaditya, mentioned in Hala's *Saptasati* also perhaps belonged to these people. It is noteworthy that he was reigning jointly with Bhartrhari. By his victory over the strong fort of the Sakas, somewhere as far north as the Panjab, he changed the name Avanti into Ujjayini, and started the Malava era. But it was against the principles of these Republican Malavas that his dynasty should be perpetuated. If there was a legitimate dynasty reigning in Avantya before the advent of the Malavas it seems to have fled to Vidisa.

Hemmed in between the Scythians of the north and the Satavahanas of the south, the Audichya tribes dispersed. It is possible that, in the time of Sakari Vikramaditya, Ujjayini attained the importance which is described by Kalidasa and Bhasa, and which in the time of Sudraka had passed into a memory ; or Kalidasa and Bhasa may be later than the Kshatrapa rule in Ujjayini.

About six miles to the south of Indore, on a plateau, there are the remains of a -Scythian camp near Nagpur. The Malava-narah and their neighbours, the Audumbaras, settled in Avantaka, changing its name to Malava. The former appears to have been a bigger tribe, which directed its attention to the capital, while the latter settled elsewhere in Malava, and also penetrated into the South, giving their names to different places. There is an Audumber on the bank of the Krishna in the Satara District. There is another Audumber-Vardhan converted

into Indur-bodhan (now known as Nizamabad) on the banks of the Godavari in the Nizam's Dominions. The word *Audumber* was later on changed into Oodumber—Oonder—Oondari—Indur—Induri, etc. places of which names are found in the Maharashtra. In Malava, their settlement which was about 32 miles from Ujjayini and on the peninsula made by the confluence of two rivers, came to be known as Induri in reminiscence of their home in the Pan jab between the Sarasvati and the Chandrabhaga, (the latter being the ancient name of the Chinab). A few years ago, a little excavation in this peninsula, made by Prof. Johori of the Local Christian College, discovered an image of the Buddha of the pre-Christian era.

The Satavahanas seem to have established their sway on Ujjayini, if reliance is to be placed on a traditional site in that city ; but their rule does not seem to have lasted for a very long time, although they succeeded in checking the advent of the Scythians who appear to have penetrated to the vicinity of Nagpur which was included in the Satavahana empire. But Middle India never became the principal seat of the Scythians. If, however, Ujjayini did not become the political capital, it *did* become a place of religious importance. The god Mahakala seems to have been established by the Scythians ; or it may have been the god of Malava or Audumber. Traditionally, Mahakala is regarded as the ruler of the city. This may have been since the Scythians overran Middle India. The Audumbaras are still the custodians and woshippers of the god. They have outstayed the Guravas, who are probably of Scythian origin and who are also the worshippers of this god. But whether the Malavas first founded the temple of Mahakala and then the Scythians supplanted them, or whether the opposite was the case, it cannot be positively stated at present.

History does not record when it was that part of the city of Ujjayini was overwhelmed by a catastrophe, natural or caused by human beings, Perhaps the Malavas destroyed the city of the Mauryas. Excavations alone can discover the facts.

Coins have been found at Nagar, a place in Rajputana, which bear the inscription *Mdlavanam Jayah.* There is also the Mandasor inscription which refers to some Malava era. In Ujjayini itself superficial excavations have led to the discovery of images, doorways and so on. They have not yet been systematically studied. Coins of various degrees of importance are often met with in the ancient site or in the river-bed. The city, like some other ancient cities, seems to have been built several times over, in the same or neighbouring site. Ample material for an authentic history of the Middle India, will be available if researches are based on the fast-vanishing traditions. A tempting task is awaiting scholars.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh

(From Confederacy to Monarchy).

BY

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IN the modern history of this province, it will be difficult to find a figure of such outstanding personality, organising capacity, and clear vision of the realities of difficult situations around him, as Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Losing his father in his tender years, he was very early thrown upon his own resources, and thus developed those rare virtues of self-reliance, love of adventure, and sound judgment of men and things which stood him in such good stead in later years. No wonder he was able to draw round himself a band of devoted and faithful men of conspicuous ability who could be put in charge of every department of government. By his generous treatment of vanquished foes he even attached to himself chiefs who were only lately arrayed against him in open warfare. It is, perhaps, not widely known that, throughout his long reign of forty years, Ranjit Singh did not pass orders of death-penalty against a single individual, whatever his offence might have been. Considering this and some of his other personal virtues, it is not surprising that he was able to carry out the dual task of subduing the petty chiefs who ruled, perhaps, in two scores or more of principalities scattered all over North-western India across the Jamuna ; and uniting them in willing allegiance to his throne. He thus achieved the transformation of a dissolving confederacy into a compact and well-established Khalsa monarchy.

As we all know, for full thirty years, from 1738 A.D. to 1768 A.D., the Panjab was in the throes of anarchy and confusion. The authority of the emperor at Delhi had ceased to exist; nor was the province effectually managed by its new rulers at Kabul. This inability or neglect on the part of the authorities enabled the daring Sikh youths to launch their predatory excursions into neighbouring towns and villages. They infused a new spirit in the members of the *Panth*, a spirit of daring and adventure. They were also able to amass wealth and fortune which they utilized for the future greatness of the Khalsa. They built small mud-forts at convenient places for use as rendezvous for their troops, and also as store-houses for the booty obtained from further predatory excursions.

The successes which attended these plundering raids were so encouraging that the more ambitious men of the next generaton, say from A.D. 1765 to 1775 A.D., determined to take an important forward step in their operations : they launched themselves upon a career of territorial acquisition. The community produced a large number of bold and daring leaders gifted with military genius, and, of course, there was no dearth of Sikh soldiers to make up the rank and file. Ahmad Shah Abdali had finally retired from India in A.D. 1761, leaving an open field to the Khalsa free-lancers who were now fully asserting themselves all over the province of the Panjab. So great was the dread of the combined Sikh Misls (confederacies) that, wherever troops of Sikh horsemen happened to pass, they would leave a belt or some other token of their presence and it was assumed without the possibility of a challenge that the country all round had passed into their possession. In the short period of about two decades, the Sikh leaders spread their territorial domination from the Indus to the Jumuna. The whole of Sarhind, the Doaba Bist Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Batala, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Wazirabad, Silalkot Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Dhanni Puthoar, and the Salt Range, to mention only a few important tracts in the Panjab, were included in the territories governed by the Sikh Sardars—a large, compact, enviable dominion built up by the brave sons of the *Pantha* (community) working in concert with one another.

But the happy and faithful co-operation was not destined to live long. As soon as this generation of selfless workers passed away from the scene of their activities, there entered into the brotherhood an unfortunate spirit of self-aggrandisement. The Misldars, blinded with selfishness, fell out with one another ; they ignored the common interests of the Panth and drew out their long swords one against the other. Combinations and counter-combinations of the ruling Sardars were formed to defeat the opposing factions. This sad drama was being staged throughout the closing decade of the eighteenth century. The day of the dissolution of the Khalsa Confederacy seemed to be near at hand, and it was feared that, before long, all the vestiges of Sikh power would be wiped out from the political map of the Panjab. The reader of Sikh history is irresistibly led to this conclusion when he reflects upon the divergent forces which were now at play all over the province.

The entire trans-Indus territory from Dera Ghazi Khan in the south to Peshawar in the north, was dominated by the war-like Muslim tribes and was held under their complete sway by the representatives of the Durrani Government of Kabul. Not far different were the conditions obtaining in the region of Kohistan comprising Attock, Hazara and Kashmir, the Pathan governors of which ruled almost in complete independence. Proceeding farther along the mountainous region, we find

that the whole of Jammu and Kangra territory was divided into small self-governing Rajput principalities. In the latter territory, however, Raja Sansar Chand was rapidly gaining strength, and was aiming at a consolidated Rajput political power under his own domination. .In the east the British had just (1803 A.D.) secured a strong foothold at Delhi, and were naturally anxious to study the strength, weakness, and temper of their neighbours across the Jamuna. Again in the south, Bhawalpur and Multan were two strong Muslim principalities, neither of which could be ignored. The territories of Multan ran into those of the Sails of Jhang, and the possessions of the latter extended as far as those of the Maliks or ruling chiefs of Khushab and Shahpur. Running alongside the left bank of the river Indus, and including the modern towns of Mianwali, Leiah, and Bhakkar, was another Mahomedan principality ruled by the Nawab of Mankera.

The dominions of the Khalsa situated for the most part in the Central Panjab were thus hemmed in by a ring of independent powers, which were neither friendly *to* the Sikhs, nor in any way shared their political aspirations. Worse still, the territories in possession of the Sikhs at this time were parcelled out amongst twelve big Sardars or *Misldars*, and were now undergoing a process of further dismemberment owing to the mutual ill-will and jealousies of the chiefs. It was obvious even to a casual observer that, if this state of internal conflicts and discords were allowed to continue for some time, the day was not far distant when their ambitious neighbours on the west or on the east would nibble away the mutually warring principalities and eventually absorb them one by one into their own possessions. The political freedom which a succession of devoted generations of the Khalsa had won at a tremendous sacrifice of life was thus exposed to a grave danger.

It was at this critical time in the history of the Sikhs that Ran jit singh was born in A.D. 1780, and before he had passed his teens, he began to form plans of arresting the rapid disintegration of the political power of his community by bringing together its divergent elements under a single umbrella. An ambitious plan, indeed, for a lad of twenty to entertain ! To smaller minds it would have seemed more like a dream than a possible reality. Ranjit Singh began to dwell more and more intently, and for longer periods of time at a stretch, upon his plans. The independent Misldars could, of course, have no room in his scheme. They must make way before the united power of the Khalsa, and be satisfied to occupy a subordinate position in the new dispensation of things if the " Panth " was to be saved from the impending danger. In other words, the loose and fast-dissolving Confederacy must be replaced by a Monarchy.

There are not wanting those who have doubted the wisdom of Ranjit Singh and even questioned the sincerity of his motives, but we must judge his actions in the light of the circumstances under which he was called upon to act. Does the result justify his policy ? Was it one which centred round his personal ambition ? Was it not rather based on the essential elements of constructive statesmanship ? As we all know, under his political or military leadership, the Sikhs were not only able to stem the rising tide of the dangers which confronted them at the time, but they also eventually succeeded in establishing a large and powerful kingdom stretching from the banks of the Sutlej across the plains of the Panjab right up to the passes leading to the Hindu Kush and the Sulaiman Ranges. The full significance of this achievement can only be realised when it is remembered that, for 700 years beginning from the eleventh century, that is to say, ever since the defeat of Raja Jaipal by Mahmud of Ghazni, the tide of invasion had flowed constantly and steadily eastwards from Central Asia into India, and it was reserved for the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh not only to dam the flood, but actually to roll it back across the Attock. At Nowshcra, Peshawar, Hazara, and other strongholds in their own homelands were the Pathans worsted so completely that, in pain and despair, they are said, on more than one occasion, to have exclaimed " *Khuda ham Khalsa Shudah* (God himself has become Khalsa)".

This was not all. In the north, Ranjit Singh did not only bring under his sway the whole of the fertile valley of Kashmir, but also pushed his conquests as far as Ladah, while in the south his frontiers ran alongside the territories of the Amirs of Sindh. In this connection, it is worthy of note that, realising the strength of the British who were his neighbours on the other side of the Sutlej, he did everything possible to avoid a collision with them. At times he yielded to them with no small reluctance, but on no account was he prepared to risk a clash of arms with a well-organised and greatly superior power. He even winked at the establishment of a sort of British protectorate over the trans-Sutlej Sikh states who were allied to him by the strong affinities of faith. He had his eyes fixed on one great central object of his rule, namely, the union and consolidation of the Khalsa Misls into a strong, compact kingdom, with natural defendable frontiers on all sides. He was not unaware of what was happening in Europe at the time, and although he had great confidence in his own strength and resourcefulness, he possessed enough political wisdom and sagacity to realise his own limitations, and not to embark upon what was expected, at best, to be a perilous adventure involving a breakdown of his grand scheme.

Thus it was that, by dint of single-minded devotion to his plans formed early in his life and carried out with thoughtful, patient and persist-

ent energy through twenty years, Ranjit Singh was at last able to found a kingdom as large as France. It brought him an annual revenue of over three crores of rupees, besides providing handsome and lucrative careers for thousands of Panjab youths in the civil, military and political departments of the Khalsa government. Thanks to the peace which now followed a long period of anarchy and confusion, indigenous industries were revived. The formation of an ordered government was attended with a marked development of various new industries, notably those catering to the wants and needs of a well-equipped army numbering a hundred-thousand men belonging to all arms of the Service. Swords, powder, cannon, shells, muskets, bullets, saddlery and accoutrements of all sorts—all began to be turned out in factories set up by the State. At the same time, trade and commerce flourished, and there were visible on all sides—signs of growing prosperity, contentment and the uninterrupted flow of quiet civic life

It must be said to the credit of the Maharaja that, in selecting his own ministers as well as other high, civil and military officers of his government, his choice was never limited to his own community. Indeed, the one criterion which he set before himself in making appointments to high positions was the fitness of the incumbent for the duties of his office and not the community to which he belonged. Hindus, including even Brahmans, Muhammadans, Sikhs and Europeans were appointed to most responsible posts in the army, and all acquitted themselves creditably and well. Some of his ablest and most trustworthy generals were taken from classes that have since been dubbed non-martial. This explains the cosmopolitan character of the Maharaja's court and the great personal regard and esteem with which his memory is still cherished by the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs alike.

Vatsabhatti's Prasasti—A Fresh Study

BY

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VATSABHATTI'S *prasasti,* familiarly known as the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman,[1] has its literary value thoroughly assessed by Btinier in his essay on *Indian Inscription and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry.'*[2] He has conclusively shown that Vatsabhatti has tried to imitate Kalidasa'* and Mayura[1] and that he was familiar with the principles of poetry, enunciated by Dandin.[5] He further calls it a *mahdkavya,*[3] but in view of the fact that it has no *sargabandha,* we would term it a *ksudrakdvya* or a *khandakdvya* ; and this would be the title under which we would classify all prasastis. While with this modification we accept the estimate of Buhler regarding the literary value of the work, we do not accept the dating of the record, as given by Fleet,[8] and echoed by Buhler[9] and other well-known orientalists.[10]

Vatsabhatti no doubt had some familiarity with *kdvya* literature and some amount of scholarship, as any educated Indian of olden days would have had, but he certainly had no poetic gift worth the nam£. [1] *Offences against rules of grammar*' and ' *good taste* ' and awkwardness of metre on the one hand and " the several weaknesses which characterise

1. GI: Vol—III: page 79.
2. IA: Vol—XLII: page 29; also page 157.
3. Ibid: pp 142, 145.
4. Ibid: p 140.
5. Ibid: pp 139, 144.
6. Ibid: p 138.
7. HSL-K : p. 79 ; Keith's estimate also agrees with that of Buhler.
8. GI: Vol. Ill, pp. 80-81; 'And then it was restored by the same guild, when, in words, five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed and therefore when the five hundred and thirtieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current . . . . .This second date is of course the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved.'
9. IA: Vol—XLII: p. 147.
10. HSL-M: pp. 320-21; also HSL-K: page 77; also JRAS (1891): p. 327. We fail to perceive how these eminent Samskritists should have accepted Fleet's dating of the record.

the poets of the second and third class on the other "[n]—both alike attest to his lack of real poetic gift and scholarship.[12] Buhler finds an explanation for this in the assumption that he might have lived not at the court of the local king.[13] We fail to perceive the necessary inter-relation between stay at court and acquisition of poetic gift and scholarship. For, stay at court need not necessarily endow one with scholarship and poetic gift.

Another explanation for this has, therefore, to be found out, and this is supplied in the concluding stanza of the panegyric.[11] This stanza tells us that Vatsabhatti constructed the temple and wrote the panegyric. The stanza would evidently have it that he was the *Sthapati*[ir'] in charge of the renovation of the temple; and this work, as desired by the guild, he did with great devotion, as became his profession. As desired by the guild again, he composed the panegyric, but this he did with great effort, for the apparently simple reason that he was neither a poet nor a scholar. This verse, then, gives us a satisfactory explanation for the faulty learning and clumsy poetry that he displays in his kavya. An eminent architect, he was only a very mediocre scholar and poet, as architects generally are : this is the legitimate conclusion. Thus tmderstood, the verse also gives another piece of information, interesting to students of Indian architecture, in that here we have the earliest reference to a practising architect.[1"]

No less interesting will be a study of the dating of the record. The inscription categorically states that the Sun temple was originally built in the year of 493 of the *Malava Samvatsara,* which corresponds to 437 A.D., when Dasapura was ruled over by Bandhuvarman, son of Visvarman, who was appointed governor by Kumaragupta, identified with Kumaragupta I. The *text* says that the same was renovated on a *sxikladintlya* in the month of Tapasya after five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed.[17] It is inconceivable how such a clear text could be understood

11. IA: Vol—XLII: pp. 146-147; also JRAS (1891): p 327. Peterson also endorses the opinion of Buhler.

12. It is surprising that Mr. Diskalkar after having quoted Buhler should have 'the chief interest of the inscription in its being beautiful kavya!' SSSI: Vol. I—Part 2: p. 64.

13. IA: Vol: XLII: p. 147.

14. srenyadesena bhaktya karitarh bhavanarh raveh |
purva ceyarh prayatnena racita vatsabha{tina ||

15. DHA: see under *Sthapati.*

16. This is evidently new information: Vatsabhatti's name is not found mentioned as an architect.

17. samkaritamidam bhuyah. 37
vatsarasatesu paficasu virhsatyadhikesu navasu cabdesu |
yatesu 39

to mean the year 529 of the *Malava Samvatsara.* We could only say that the text, as it sands, does not warrant such an interpretation.

The context also does not support such an interpretation. Thus in a preceding verse it is said that through a long lapse of time and in the hands of many other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair.[18] This statement will be meaningless if we accept the view advanced by Fleet. For it will be violating even the bounds of poetic exaggeration. The assumption that it was a troublous time and that many kings ruled over Dasapura in quick succession[10] also falls flat; for then the same fact could well have been mentioned in the panegyric, and even a Vatsabhatti would not have been slow to utilise this fact. That thirty-six years constitute a long period and that many kings occupied the throne during the period are assumptions which the lay students cannot easily accept, even when the view is advanced by distinguished indologists.

Such is the conclusion that strikes one when the text is studied a little more closely. Notice for instance the expressions—*bahuna kalena, anyaisca pdrthivaih,* and *vyasiryata.* Though any number in excess of two could be referred to by the term bci/iu, it is generally used in the sense of *many* or *much ;* and it is particularly so in this context, because the term *kola* means merely time. The two terms together mean *not* many years, but *much time ;* and this surely cannot be interpreted in terms of thirty-six years. The phrase *anyaisca pdrthivaih* also is against such an assumption. This literally means *by many other kings.* What is the significance of the term *other* in this context ? Does it refer to kings other than the one under whom the temple was originally constructed ? Or does it mean king's belonging to other dynasties ? In either case the poet, if he had lived so close to the original construction of the temple, would not have allowed himself to miss the opportunity of offering an eulogy to the reigning king, whether he belonged to the old or a new dynasty, since the memory of the change would have been so fresh. Secondly, it is quite against all Hindu traditions for a successor in the family to neglect a temple of his predecessor who is not removed from him even by a generation. Hence from the point of view of naturalness of interpretation also we would favour the second alternative that the dynasty of Bandhuvarman was no longer extant and that some new dynasty or dynasties had occupied the throne. And this is quite in keeping with the most ordinary meaning of the phrase *bahuna kalena.* The question may, however, be raised : if the renovation was made five hundred and twenty-nine years after its original construction and if the

18. bahuna samatitena kalenanyaisca parthivaih |
vyaslryataikadesosya bhavanasya tatodhuna | | 36.

19. See AIG.

traditions of Bandhuvarman's successors had all been forgotten, how was it that Vatsabhatti was able to remember the details of the original construction ? The answer is simple enough: it was the practice to inscribe on the temple itself the date of its construction and this practice has even now not died out. Consequently we understand the expression as meaning that the temple was allowed to fall into disrepair through the ravages of time and the neglect of the rulers of the area, who belonged to different dynasties. And this idea is still further borne out by the term *vyasiryata,* where the preposition *vi* is significant of the large amount of repair that the temple stood in need of. We, therefore, conclude that the text is clearly in favour of the interpretation we have given : that it was repaired five hundred and twenty-nine years after it was originally built.

Not only this : the references to the structure also are in favour of this interpretation. Religious structures are generally built of substantial materials. From the description in the text, it will be found that the work was financed by a thriving community of silk weavers,[20] that much money "was spent, that the structure was udara-stately or spacious—and *atula*—unrivalled, that it had *vistirnatuiigasikhara-hroad* and massive *sikharas,* resembling mountains, and that it shone like the crest jewel of the city. Such a description leads only to one conclusion that the temple was undoubtedly a substantial structure. If this be so, then it is passing strange that it should have fallen into disrepair in the course of thirty-six years, as the editors of this inscription would have us believe. This would be all right if there were any unexpected destructive agency at work, human or natural. Of this, however, there is no mention : on the other hand, the main causes are lapse of time and neglect of kings and these are categorically stated. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to treat the whole epigraph as a piece of poetic exaggeration, the conclusion is irresistible that such a noble and stately structure could not have fallen into disrepair within the comparatively short space of thirty-six years.

It will be seen, then, that the actual words of the text and the implications arising out of the description of the temple clearly lead to the conclusion that the renovation was done not in 529 *Mtilava Samvatsara,*

20. silpavaptaih dhanasamudayaih pattavayairudaram
srenibhutairbhavanamatulam karitam diptarasmeh !
vistlrnatuhgasikharam sikhariprakasam
abhyudgatendvamalarasmikalapagauram |
yadbhati pascimapurasya nivisthakantha-
cudamanipratisaram nayanabhiramam [|

21. AG. p. 12-13.

but five hundred and twenty-nine years after its original construction. In other words, we assign the renovation of the temple to 493 M. S. *plus* 529 or 1022 M.S. which corresponds to 966 A.D. And to this period, therefore, has to be assigned Vatsabhatti, the author of the epigraph. Such a position is not inconsistent with the literary quality of the work, as described by Btihler, nor with the influences that he traces therein, such for instance as those of Kalidasa, Mayura or Dandin, and is quite in keeping with the temple building activities there and in other parts of India in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[22]

It may not be uninteresting to notice here the nature of the renovation work done by Vatsabhatti. The part of the temple which stood in need of repair was the *sikhara.* Originally they were *uttunga* and *vistirna,* i.e. broad and massive, but after renovation they were made taller and more beautiful.-[3] Another point that deserves to be noticed is the fact that the temple, at least the *sikharas,* must have been built of red sandstone. This apect is made clear by the description that the *sikharas* were similor unto the rays of the rising Sun ; and this is quite in keeping with the architectural remains of the place.[24] The presence of more than one *sikhara* in the temple also is noteworthy. Have we here a suggestion that the Sun temple at Dasapura consisted of more than one sanctum co*-jtorum ?[2"]

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Sisunaga—Nandavardhana and Kakavarna—Maha-nandhi (n)

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MY identification of the Puranic Sisunaga with the Puranic Nandi (-a-)-Vardhana and of the Puranic Kakavarna with the Puranic Maha-Nandi (n), as held by me in my *Chronology of Ancient India,* should be accepted as historical truths, and require detailed discussion.

The Jain source *Sthavirdvali-carita* informs us that, after the death of Udayin, the throne of Pataliputra was offered by the ministers, officials and citizens to a man who was, according to the *Sthavirdvali-carita,* the son of a courtesan by a barber and was named Nanda.[1] The *Mahd-vamsa* also states that the throne of Puspapura was offered to Susunaga (™ Puranic Sisunaga) by citizens, officials and ministers of Puspapura (=Pataliputra) after the reign of Nagadasaka who was, according to the Mahavamsa, the third in succession from Udayin.- Thus both the sources agree to the extent that the throne was offered by the ministers, officials and citizens to an outsider who did not belong to the royal line, but they differ as to who and what this outsider was, and as to the time when he was offered the throne. The *Mahdvamsa* virtually states that the throne was offered not immediately, but a few years after the death of Udayin,[3] during which the unimportant Kings Anuruddha, Munda and Nagadasaka reigned. The *Sthavirdvalicarita* omits these unimportant kings, and calls Udayin's successor by the name Nanda. The Puranas call Udayin's successor Nandi-vardhana or Nanda-Vardhana. It comes to this then that the man to whom the throne of Pataliputra was offered after the death of Udayin, or to be more precise, 32 years afer the death of Udayin, during which Anuruddha, Munda and Nagadasaka reigned, is called Susunaga in the Mahavamsa, Nanda in the *Sthavirdvalicarita,* and Nanda-Vardahna or Nandi-Vardhana in the Puranas. Thus one and the same person appears to have been named differently in three differ ent sources. Hemachandra, the author of the *Sthavirdvali carita,* or the

1. *Sthav. Car.* VI, 242-3.
2. MV. IV, 3-7 et seq.
3. Really 32 years according to the Mahavamsa.

sources from which he drew, have, afterwards, confounded this Nanda (-i-) Vardhana the successor of Udayin, with Nanda Mahapadma who was a bit later, and who, according to the Greek writers, was a barber by caste, and this confusion of Hemacandra has evidently arisen out of the two similar-sounding names Nanda (-i-) -Vardhana and Nanda. It may not at all be a confusion of Hemacandra for ' Vardhana ' in ' Nanda (-i-)-Vardhana' might probably have been ornamental as in ' Harsa-Vardhana ', ' Rajya-Vardhana ', ' Asoka-Vardhana ' etc. The Puranas also say that this Nanda (-i-)-Vardhana was the successor of Udayin. The Mahavamsa modifies the Puranas, and the *Sthavirdvali-carita* only to the extent that its Susunaga was not the immediate successor of Udayin but that the weak kings Anurudha, Munda and Nagadasaka intervened between him and Udayin. The Puranas having been finally redacted at a period much later than what we are speaking of, have forgotten that this Nandi (-a-)-Vardhana, the successor of Udayin, was the same as Sisunaga or had the surname Sisunaga, and thus have carried Sisunaga to the fourth step above Bimbisara ; but this attitude of the Puranas is absolutely untenable ; for according to the Puranas themselves, the total prestige of the descendants of banda Pradyota of Avanti was destroyed by Sisunaga, and this banda Pradyota, we know for certain, was a contemporary of Ajatasatru, the king of Magadha, as well as of Udayana, the king of Kausambi. Hence Sisunaga having been contemporary with a descendant of banda Pradyota, was surely contemporary with a descendant of Ajatasatru. Thus the Puranic order which makes Sisunaga a distant ancestor of Ajatasatru, is essentially wrong, for had it been right, the prestige of the last descendants of banda Pradyota, could not have been destroyed by Sisunaga, as it actually was, according to the Puranas themselves. Thus the very valuable Puranic synchronism that Sisunaga was contemporary with the last of the Pradyotas, falsifies the Puranic order of succession of kings here. We have come across many such instances of wrong Puranic succession in cases of kings of the Vedic Period, as we have shown in our *Chronology of Ancient India,* and hence cannot be misled by this particular case of the post-Vedic Period. Susunaga (=£isunaga) thus was the same as Nanda-(-i-) Vardhana who, according to the Puranas as well as the *Sthavirdvali-carita,* was the immediate successor of Udayin, while according to the Mahavamsa, which seems to have preserved a more detailed history, was the fourth in succession from Udayin, the unimportant kings Anuruddha, Munda and Nagadasaka intervening. The supposition that the throne of Magadha was offered twice to two outsiders, first to Susunaga and then to Nanda (=Nandi (-a-)-Vardhana) is really incredible.

There is a second reason for considering Nandi (-a-)-Vardhana identical with Sisunaga. We learn from the Puranas that the successor

of Nandi-(-a-)-Vardhana was Maha-Nandi or Maha-Nandin,[4] and the name means the great Nandin. Now according to Taranatha, the Arhant Yasas held a congress of 700 Arhants at the Kusumapuri Vihara in Vaisala when the king Nandin who belonged to the Licchavi stock, was the alms-dispenser.[5] This was the famous second Buddhist council which was, according to the Mahavamsa, held at the 10th year of the reign of Kalasoka, in the 100th year after the Nirvana of the Tathagata in the Valikarama in Vesali, being protected and patronized by the king Kalasoka, and the thera Yasa was one of the chief theras in that council, and the thera Revata chose 700 out of that multitude of Bhiksus.[6] The Samanta-Pasadika also says that Kalasoka, the son of Susunaga, was the patron of the second Buddhist council held at Vaisali.' It is at once evident then that the king Nandin of Taranatha was the same as the king Kalasoka of the Mahavamsa ; and that the great Nandin or Maha-Nandin or Maha-Nandi of the Puranas was no other than the king Nandin of Taranatha. The king Kalasoka was, according to the *Mahavamsa,* the *Mohdbodhinvamsa,* the *Sdmanta-Pasd-dikd,* the *Dipavamsa,* etc., the son of Susunaga, and this Susunaga was evidently the same as the puranic Sisunaga, whose son is named Kaka varna in the puranas as well as in the Harsacarita (Ch. VI). The Divyavadana (XXVI, p. 369) has the variant Kakavarnin for his name. It follows then that

Maha-Nandi (n) of the Puranas=Nandin of Taranatha
=Kalasoka, the son of Susunaga, of the *Mahavamsa*
r=Kakavarna, the son of Sisunaga, of the *Puranas* and the *Harsa-carita*
mKakavarnin of the *Divydvadana*

Hence Maha-Nandi (n) of the Puranas=Kaka varna of the Puranas. We shall henceforth call him Kakavarna-Maha-Nandi (n). Hence Kaka-

4. Maha-Nanditi vikhyato rajaniti-parayanah.
Katyayanasya sisyo'bhut.....................
Maha-Nandi Mahabhago bhuktva bhogam——' Bhav. Puran II, 5-6.

5. Alo der Arhant Yasas und die ubrigen 700 Arhants sie tadelten
Wurde im Vihara Kusumapuri Wahrend der aus dem
Geschlecht der Licchavi stammende Konig Nandin
Gaben-spender war.—Anton Schiefner, Taranath's Geschichte der Buddhismus in Indien, St. Petersburg Edition of 1869, Ch. VII, p. 41.

6. MV. IV, 8; 61-63. 4 Tesam Susunagaputto Kalasoka nama raja pakkho ahosi.—Introduction, Vol. III., Part I, p. 293.

varna-Maha-Nandi (n)'s father and predecessor must have been Sisunaga-Nandi (-a-) -Vardhana.

We cannot but sound a note of warning against the inclination of some writers[7] to make much of the following statement of Yuan-Chwang.

" To the south-west of the old Sarigharama about 100 li is the Sangharama of Tiladaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia). * * * It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisara raja (Pin-pi-sha lo))"—Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, Book VIII, p. 102. In the foot-note Beal conjectures that Tiladaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia) was probably Bimbasara's [1] descendant Nagadasaka who appears to have preceded the nine Nandas '. Beal puts forth a second guess, namely, that Tiladaka ' seems to be the same as Maha-Nandin' and asks us to consult Rhys David's *Numis. Orient,* pp. 45,50. Afterwards Beal again advances a third guess stating "Is he the same as Kalasoka ? " and asks us to consult Lassen, *Indische Atterthumskundte,* vol. I., p. 859 and Anh. p. XXXVIII.

As Naga-dasaka is the last parricide king of Bimbisara's line in the list of the *Mahavamsa,* Beal has conjectured that Tiladaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia) of Yuan-Chwang was probably identical with Nagadasaka. Afterwards relying on the Puranic genealogy which makes Maha-Nandin, the last descendant of Bimbisara, Beal put forth the second guess that Tiladaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia) was probably identical with Maha-Nandin. Afterwards relying on a wrong statement of Yuan-Chwang, which says that O-shu-kia was the great grandson of Bimbisara and flourished about the 100th year after the Nirvana of Tathagata,[8] Beal advances the third guess that Tiladaka was Kalasoka. Yuan-Chwang has evidently made a muddle of the lineage of Kalasoka by stating that O-shu-kia, i.e., Asoka was the great grandson of Bimbisara which O-shu-kia was surely not. He belonged to an altogether different dynasty which we call the. Sisunaga dynasty. The Mahavamsa also makes Kalasoka the son of Susunaga (=&isunaga), the minister of Nagadasaka. He was the famous Kakavarna Saisunagi of Sanskrit literature. We learn from

7. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1st Edition. H. C. Ray Choudhury, Political History of Ancient India, 1st edition. K. P. Jayswal, J.B.O.R.S. September, 1915.

8. In the hundredth year after the Nirvana of Tathagata, there was a king called Asoka (O-shu-kia) who was the great gandson of Bimbisara raja—Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, Book VIII., p. 85.

the *Mahavamsa*" enlightened with the Divyavadana[10] the Mahavagga,[11] the Cullavagga,[12] etc., that it was in the 10th year of the king's reign and in the 100th year after the Nirvana of Buddha that the second Buddhist council was held at Vaisali under the leadership of the thera Yasa. Taranatha calls the same king Nandin and says that he was the alms-dispenser, i.e., Asoka. Now if Ti-lo-shi-kia of Yuan-Chwang is identified with Darsaka of the Puranas and Nagadasaka of the Mahavamsa, as he has been by some writers, then Yuan-Chwang's attitude interpreted by these writers stands thus : Kalasoka was the great grandson and Nagadasaka-Darsaka was the last descendant of Bimbisara ; that is, Nagadasaka-Darsaka according to Yuan-Chwang, came after Kalasoka. That it is a serious error committed by Yuan-Chwang in the order of succession of kings will be admitted by all, for we know from the Mahavamsa that Kalasoka came two steps after Nagadasaka. Besides Yuan-Chwang has, as we have just now seen, made a serious mistake about the lineage of Kalasoka by stating that O-shu-kia, i.e., Asoka (=Kalssoka) was the great-grandson of Bimbisara raja.

It is now clear how unsafe it is to believe whatever is said by Yuan-Chwang [Vide Rama Shankar Tripathi, *Indian Historical Quarterly,* March 1932 ; R. P. Chanda, Prabasi, Vaisakha, 1339 B.S.]. It may now be pointed out that, on the strength of Yuan-Chwang's statement, Ti-lo-shi-kia, the last descendant of Bimbisara raja, can never be identified with Darsaka of the Puranas, even if Yuan-Chwang had said so after improving his indistinct Chinese pronunciation. We shall show in a separate paper that Darsaka came just after Bimbisara, and was identical with Ajatasatru.

There is an interesting agreement as well as difference between the account given by Taranatha and that of the Mahavamsa. According to Taranatha Ajatasatru's son was named Subahu and ruled the kingdom for 10 years[13] and Subahu's son was Sudhanu who reigned for more than 23 years,[14] Sudhanu's son was Mahcndra who, according to Tara-

9. IV, 8.
10. XXVI, p. 381 (Cowcll's edition).
11. I, 7, 1-15.
12. XII, 1, 1 et seq.; 2, 1 et seq.
13. Darauf hatte der Sohn Ajatasatru's Subahu Zchn Jahre lang die Herrschaft rend ehrte die Buddha-Lehre—A. Schiefner, Taranatha's Geschichte der Buddhismus in Indien, St. Petersburg edition of 1869, p. 10.
14. Einstmal nach dreinund-zwam-zigjahriger. Herrschaft ging Konig Sudhanu aus der zeitlichkeit. *Ibid.* Ch. III, p. 13.

natha ruled the kingdom of Magadha for 9 years and after Mahendra his son, Camasa, reigned for 22 years.[15] It is evident that

Taranatha's Subahu is identical with Udayin or Udayibhada
his Mahendra " " Munda of the Mahavamsa
his Sudhanu " " Anuruddha of the Mahavamsa and Munda-rajavagga of the Mojjhima Nikaya
and his Camasa " " Nagadiisaka of the Mahavamsa and Nagadasa of the Dipavamsa.

Taranatha says that when Camasa, the king of Magadha, was dead, leaving 12 sons behind him, none of whom occupied the throne, his brahman minister Gambhirasila managed the government of the kingdom of Magadha for one year. It was during this period of one year that the king Nemita of Camparna (or Champa-karna) ; was involved in a war with Gambhirasila, the ruling minister of Magadha. When the war between the two kingdoms of Magadha and Camparna spread far and wide, and battles were fought on the banks of the Ganges, and the six elder sons of the king Nemita of Camparna, namely, Laksmana, Rathika, Sarikhika, Dhanika, Padmaka and Anupa, were drawn into the fight, the king Nemita himself died suddenly. The king Nemita had already had by the wife of a merchant, a son named Asoka. After the death of the king Nemita, both the ministers of the royal house of Camparna, on the request of the inhabitants of Camparna placed Asoka on the throne of Camparna because the six elder princes were engaged in fighting the Magadhans on the border and were not available. These six brothers conquered the Magadhans and occupied the six towns of Rajagrha, Campa, Vaisali, Varanasi, Saketa and Sravasti which had been all apparently annexed to Magadha. They heard that their brother Asoka had become the king of Camparna, and they established themselves in the six towns conquered by them.

Asoka believed in those words which the Dakinis and Raksasas of Bhrgu race respected, and held Uma and the crematory-mothers as deities. As he passed one year with beautiful women in a pleasure-house, he was named Kamasoka. Then he was involved in hostilities with his elder brothers for many years, and at last killed them all and

15. Die zeit, wahrend welcher Upagupta das Lehrarnt verwaltete, fallt Zum grossten Theil in die Zeit, als in Aparantaka des Konigs Sudhanu Sohn Mahendra neun Jahre Und dessen Sohn Camasa 22 Jahr die Herrschaft ausubte.—A. Schiefner, Taranatha's G.B.I., St. Petersburg edition of **1869,** pp. **17-18.**

their 500 ministers, and conquered many towns and ruled over the whole country between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas.

Thus it will be observed that, while the Mahavamsa gives 8 years as the reign-period to Anuruddha and Munda jointly, and 24 years to Nagadasaka, thus totalling 32 years, Taranatha gives his Sudhanu (=Anuruddha) approximately 23 years, and his Mahendra (=Munda) 9 years, and his Camasa (=Nagadasaka) 22 years, thus totalling 54 years. While the Mahavamsa makes Susunaga (=Sisunaga) the minister of its Nagadasaka, Taranatha differs from it and says that the minister of Camasa, (—Nagadasaka) was a brahman named Gambhirasila who ruled the kingdom, of Magadha for one year after the death of Camasa (—Nagadasaka). Taranatha makes his Asoka, the son of the king Nemita of Camparna, but the Mahavamsa, the Dipavamsa, the Samanta-Pasadika. etc., make their Kalasoka the son of Susunaga. It is evident that

the king Nemita, the father of Asoka, of Taranatha = Susunaga, the father of Kalasoka, of the Mahavamsa, the Dipavamsa and the Samanta-Pasadika = Sisunaga, the father of Kakavarna, of the Puranas and the Harsa-carita, as Kakavarna was the same as Kalasoka.

Thus the tradition narrated by Taranatha virtually states that our Sisunaga—Nanda (-i-)-Vardhana was the king of Camparna and not the minister of the Magadha king Nagadasaka (—Camasa). Acccording to the Vayu[10] and the Brahmanda[17] Purana, Sisunaga after destroying the prestige of the descendants of banda Pradyota became the king of Varanasi, and his son occupied Giribraja. This agrees somewhat with the account given by Taranatha from whom we have learnt that the sons of the king Nemita (=Sisunaga = Nanda-Vardhana) occupied Varanasl, Rajagrha, etc. We know that Sisunaga transferred the seat of government to Vaisali.[18] We also know that VaisalT was the capital of the Licchavis. We know further that Vaisali was the capital of Licchavi king Cetaka, the maternal grandfather of Ajatasatru. We have also learnt from Taranatha that the king Nandin (= Kalasoka —-Kakavarna) the patron of the second Buddhist council held at Vaisali at the end of the 100th year after the Nirvana of Buddha, belonged to

16. 99, 314-5.

17. II, 74, 127-8.

18. Bigandet, *Lije or Legend of Buddha* II, 115; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* p. 37.

the Licchavi stock. Hence we hold that Sisunaga (=Susunaga) and Kakavarna (= Kalasoka = Nandin) were Licchavis and that the Sisunaga dynasty was, after all, a Licchavi dynasty.

In the Hindu Pantheon, Nandi(n) is conceived of as a devoted associate and servant of the great god Siva and his consort, the goddess Uma and her associates the crematory-mothers. Taranatha says that Asoka, the son of Nemita, was a votary of the goddess Uma and the crematory-mothers—which, we suppose, is an interesting hint that Asoka was a licentious man and was, for this reason, surnamed Kamasoka. The Harsa-carita (VI) also faintly remembers that Kakavarna (— Kalasoka), the son of Sisunaga (— Susunaga), was a licentious man and this weakness of his flesh ultimately became the cause of his death.

Hence we conclude that

Asoka, son of Nemita, of Taranatha ~- O-shu-kia of Yuan-Chwang

---Kalasoka, son of Susunaga, of the Mahavarpsa, the Dipavarhsa, the Samanta-Pasadika, etc.

— Kakavarna of the Divyavadana.

—Kakavarna, son of Sisunaga of the Harsa-carita and the Puranas.

=rNandin, the patron of the second Buddhist Council, of Taranatha.

--Maha-Nandi(n), son of Nanda (-i-) .Vardhana of the Puranas.

Hence Kalasoka — Kakavarna — Maha Nandin

and Susunaga ~- Sisunaga = Nanda (-i-) -Vlardhana — Nanda = Nemita.

Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi

THE RANI AND THE REVOLT : A HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

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TO-DAY, the 21st October, 1935, is the centenary of the birth of Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi. Her short career is a bright episode in the history of India. She was born at Benares on the 21st October, 1835, and died on the 18th June, 1858. She was only 22 years and 8 months when she met her death at the hands of a British soldier in the battle of Gwalior. Her name and fame spread throughout India and England during the short period of her meteoric career from the 7th June, 1857, when she undertook to rule Jhansi in the absence of any authority or administration, to the 18th June, 1858, when she fell fighting in the battlefield. Her character as a ruler and a soldier, as a patriot and a person, has evoked praise and admiration from her opponents, and respect and love from her countrymen. It is therefore necessary, in the interests of historical studies, to understand the nature of her struggle, the cause of her failure and the result of her revolt.

The Rani was a relic of the old royalties and loyalties. She represented the tradition of *Svaraj* and independence embodied in the house of Shivaji and his associates, followers and successors. The national value of the Maratha War of Independence begun by Shivaji (1630-1G80) was visible not only in his deeds, but was stated and visualised by the Maratha bards in their *pawadas,* by Ramdas in his *Dasabodh* and *Anandavanabhuvana,* by Ramachandrapant Amatya in his *Rajantti,* by Kavi Paramananda in his *Shivabharata,* and by Kavi Bhushan in his poems *Shivarajabhi'ishan* and *Shivabhavdni.* Shivaji himself stated his aims and ideals in his two famous letters, one to Mirza Raja Jaysing in 1G64, and the other to Emperor Aurangzeb in 1679. The same spirit of independence, love of religion and *Svaraj* developed in the latter half of the 17th amongst the Bundelas, Jats, Rajputs and Sikhs. The spirit of Chhatrasal (1650-1733) is found depicted in his letter to Bajirao I, and in the poem of Lai Kavi, and Kavi Bhushan, relating to Chhatrasal ; that of the Jats and Rajputs in the deeds of their heroes and in the annals of their bards, and that of the Sikhs in their martyrdoms and in Guru Govind Singh's (1666-1708) letter called *Zafarnama* (1706) to Aurangzeb and in his *Vichitrandtaka* (his autobiography 1705). The spirit of the Peshwas, who inherited and spread this feeling of independence, *Svaraj* and *Svadharma,* found expression in the *pawadas* of their

bards and in their letters and dispatches. One of their ambassadors, Govind Rao Kale, while at the court of the Nizam, wrote in a famous letter to Nana Fadnis in 1794 when all the Maratha powers had joined their forces to fight against the Nizam, " India is the land of the Hindus and not a land of the Turks. . . . For our achievement is not limited only to the acquisition of territory, merely material rule, but it also means and includes the preservation of the Vedas and the Shastras of Hindu civilization, the propagation of righteousness, the protection of the cows and the Brahmins, of the humble and the good, the conquest of an empire and material sovereignty, the diffusion of fame and far-reaching triumph ". We find this spirit embodied in a number of great Maratha heroines of royal virtues and noble character. Rani Jijabai (1595-1674), the mother of Shivaji, influenced his personal character and political aims, and ably carried on his administration during his minority, imprisonment or absence. Rani Tarabai (1675-1761), the wife of Shivaji's second son Rajaram, directed the affairs of the Maratha *Svaraj* as a regent from 1700 to 1707, after her husband's death during the War of Independence carried on against Aurangzeb's personal generalship and imperial might. She succeeded. She was a brave and able, but an ambitious woman. She organised and utilised the best, men of the period, namely, Ramachandra Nilkantha Amatya, Shankaraji Narayana Sachiva, Parashuram Trimbak Pratinidhi, Dhanaji Jadhava Senapati, and others. Rani Ahalvabai (1725-1795), the daughter-in-law of the famous Malhar Rao Holkar, ruled wisely and ably the Holkar state after his death from 1766 to 1795. She gave peace and prosperity, justice and protection to her kingdom in those troublous times, and built and maintained a large number of public works, giving food, shelter, clothing, water and means of communication to the people.

All these royal women showed their native ability, spirit and character when high responsibility fell upon them, and when their husbands were not there to help them. Such was the tradition and such were the ideals of rulerships inherited by Rani Lakshmibai. Her queenship of Jhansi reminded her of the ideal of Baji Rao I who rushed to help the veteran Chhatrasal (in 1729) to save his independence and the ideal of Chhatrasal to maintain it against the Turks. Her childhood at Kashi and Brahmavartta had inspired her with the stories of great Peshwas and great Maratha Sardars and heroes who fought for their kings and country. Kashi, a great centre of Sanskrit learning through the phenomenal scholarship and exemplary and inspiring character of great Maharastra pandits of the Bhatt, Paygunde and other families, was also a place of refuge and retirement in the early 19th century for Maratha princes and political families who were either deposed or deprived of their political power. There the Peshwa Amrit Rao—the elder brother of Baji Rao—lived from **1804** to 1824 ; Peshwa Chimnaji

Appa, the younger brother of Baji Rao, from 1819 to 1830, Raja Pratap Singh of Satara from 1839 to 1847, and a number of other families who had lost their political power and importance under the Company's conquests and annexations.

As Kashi was near to Jhansi and Brahmavartta, the relics of the once great Maratha power and tradition lingered and lived there also. There was regular communication, correspondence and social connection between the Maratha families established in these places. They naturally brooded, young and old, over their past glories and achievements, and their present plight and despair. Amidst such surroundings, influences and associations lived the family of Moropant Tambe who had known life in Svaraj before 1818. In Kashi he served Chimnaji Appa, and depended on his support. To him was born Manubai in 1833, who became Rani Lakshmibai in 1842. Manubai imbibed the atmosphere of Kashi, and, when her father shifted to Brahmavartta and stayed with Baji Rao till her marriage, she was brought up in the Peshwa's family and received all her cultural, political and martial education along with the sons of the Poshwa Nanasahib, Dadasahib, and Balasahib. There also she imbibed the atmosphere which was full of political hopes and despairs, as well as past memories and glories.

She was a precocious and bold child. She had courage and ambition. She respected honour, independence and glory. She possessed royal virtues. At the age of seven she was married to Garigadhar Rao, the Raja of Jhansi. Jhansi was the gift of Chhatrasal to Baji Rao I. Chhatrasal (1650-1733), the Raja of Bundelkhand, who had *met* Shivaji in 1670 and, under his inspiration and advice, had become practically independent, was threatened by Muhammad Khan Bangash with the loss cf his power. In 1729 he sought the help of Baji Rao I who defeated Bangash completely at the battle of Jaitpur and drove him out of Bundelkhand. Out of gratitude, Chhatrasal gave one-third of his kingdom to Baji Rao at the time of his death in 1733. His gift and gratitude were exemplary, and were remembered long as a piece of political ethics. Baji Rao divided his share into three portions, and gave one of the forty lakhs (Sangor) to Govindpant Kher, and the second of forty lakhs (Banda) to Samshere Jung, the third of twenty lakhs (Jhansi) was kept to himself and was managed from 1742 by the Peshwa's own Subadar. In 1770 Raghunath Hasi Newalkar, uncle of Gangadhar Rao was appointed Subadar. He was an able officer, and managed the affairs well from 1770 to 1795. He was brave and defeated the Orchha Bundelas who had an eye upon Jhansi. In 1795 his brother Shiva Rao succeeded him. He was " a man of head as well as courage ". He succeeded in making the subadarship hereditary in his family. He with the help of Bundela chiefs defeated the British attempts to conquer Bundel-

khand. Owing to the weakness of the central power, he became more or less semi-independent. The Company entered into a treaty of alliance with him on 18-11-1803, and, with his help, it was able to establish its supremacy in Bundelkhand. Consequently, another treaty of friendship was made with him on 6-2-1804. Shiv Rao Bhao helped the Company on a number of occasions, and General Wellcsley mentioned this fact in his despatches, and praised his services.

Shiva Rao died in 1814. His eldest son Krishna Rao had died in 1811. His grandson Ramachandra Rao succeeded him. Shiv Rao had two other sons, Raghunatha Rao and Gangadhar Rao.

Hari Rao

Raghunath Rao (1770-1795)

Shiv Rao (1795-1814)

Krishna Rao. died in 1811.

Ramachandra Rao (1814-1835)

Raghunath Rao. 1835-1837.

Gangadhar Rao 1838-1853.

Ramachandra Rao ruled from 1814 to 1835. During his period Baji Rao II gave up a large part of his kingdom outside Maharashtra to the Company by the treaty of 13-6-1817. According to the 13th article of that treaty, the Company acquired sovereignty over Bundelkhand which the Peshwa possessed. The Company therefore made a new treaty with Ramachandra Rao on 17-11-1817. In its second article the British Government acknowledged and constituted Ramachandra Rao, his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by Shiv Rao Bhao. The language of this treaty docs not show that the British Government made the grant of the territory of Jhansi to Ramacandra Rao, nor did it stipulate that it would lapse to the British Government on the failure of the heirs of the body of the Subadar. Ramachandra Rao helped the Company in its wars, and Lord Bentinck expressed the Company's gratitude to him in a public durbar, and conferred on him the title of Raja. He was also allowed to use *chhatra, chamar* and *nagara* as the emblems of his political power. He died childless. Therefore his uncle Raghunath Rao, the second son of Shiva Rao, succeeded him in 1835, and lived till 1838. Because of his misrule the Company took over the administration in 1837, and managed it till 1842. His younger brother Gahgadhar Rao succeeded him in

1838, and the administration was handed over to him in 1842 by the Company, and a new treaty of subsidiary alliance was concluded with him in that year. By it two and a half lakhs worth of territory was taken from him, and subsidiary troops were established at Jhansi. None of the articles, however, of the treaty of 1817, were abrogated.

Gangadhar Rao was a strict, able and just administrator. He managed his state affairs well. He was respected and feared by his Bundela subjects and neighbours. In 1851, a son was born to him, but he died after three months. This proved a great shock to him, and he soon fell ill. There being no chance of his recovery, he adopted, on the 19th November, 1853, a son named Damodar Rao of about five years according to the *Shdshtras* and sacred customs of his country. Mr. Ellis, the local Political Agent, and Major Martin, a military officer, were present at the ceremony. Gangadhar Rao on the same day sent two dispatches, one to Lord Dalhousie and the other to Major Malcolm, the Political Agent of Bundelkhand. Ellis also wrote a letter to Malcolm giving a full account of the adoption. Gangadhar Rao had requested the British Government to sanction the adoption under the Article II of the Treaty of 1817. But he died on the 21st November, without knowing the decision of the Government. On 25th November, Major Malcolm wrote a report to the Governor-General giving an account of the adoption, and recommending the non-recognition of the adoption, the annexation of Jhansi, and the grant of a monthly pension of Rs. 5,000 to the Rani. On the Kith February, 1854, the Rani herself sent a dispatch to the Governor-General, requesting him to sanction the adoption as it was done in the case of Orchha, Datia and Jalaon. Ellis also wrote to Malcolm to that effect ; but his letter was not forwarded by Malcolm to the Governor-General. Lord Dalhousie rejected the application of the late Gangadhar Rao and the widowed Rani, set aside the second Article of the Treaty of 1817 which still bound the government, and issued a minute, dated 27-2-1854, proclaiming the annexation of Jhansi on the ground that there was no heir of the body of the late Raja. The adoption was considered good for the conveyance of private rights, not the succession to the principality. The Treaty of 1817, however, did not contemplate any other law than the Hindu law of inheritance and succession. Metcalfe's Memorandum of 1S37 was misinterpreted in the case of Jhansi. Jhansi was not a jaglr granted by the British government. It was a hereditary principality in its own right. Its succession was also not confined to heirs male of the body. There was no paramount right of invalidating an adoption. There was no legal precedent in the history of Jhansi, or in the public law of India, for such an usurpation of public rights and annexation of principalities. There was no legal right of lapse in the case **of Jhansi.**

The Rani resented, protested against and felt the adverse decision, and declared " I shall not give my Jhansi." Major Malcolm had already posted troops near Jhansi before the annexation was announced. She was to be given a monthly pension of Rs. 5,000, and the palace in the city to live. Her son was recognised as heir and successor to the Raja's private estates and private savings in the treasury, and she was allowed to retain her private savings and jewellery. The fort with its palace was taken by the Government. The balance of rupees six lakhs in the treasury was kept in the Government's hands to be handed over to Damodar Rao when he would come of age. Adequate forces, British and Indian, were kept in the fort, and the administration was carried on by the Company's officers. Thus Jhansi passed into British hands from its rightful rulers.

The Rani appealed to the Company's authorities in England by way of protest. She sent two representatives—one Bengali and one English —to plead her case before them. Their mission was a failure. Her constitutional methods failed. The treatment was even worse. After the annexation, she was asked to pay the public debts of the principality from her private savings and personal property. She could not, and her pension was not paid to her. What ethics, law or logic was behind it, it is difficult to know.

She wanted to go to Kashi to perform the widow's hair-cutting ceremony according to religious injunctions, but she was not allowed to leave Jhansi,

Two villages and their revenue which were an endowment to the public temple of Mahalakshmi at Jhansi were confiscated by the Company. Lakshmi was her family goddess. This was an act of spoliation and encroachment upon the religious endowments and sentiments of the people.

Cow-killing was newly permitted in Jhansi. It was a great sin to be allowed in a Hindu state

In spite of all these acts of annexation and spoliation, which overwhelmed her ideas of right and wrong, and in spite of her grief for her dead husband and her anxiety for the uncertain future of her adopted son, she led a simple quiet and religious life. Major Malcolm refers to it admiringly.

In 1855, when her son was seven years of age, she asked one lakh of rupees from the amount which the Government were holding in their hands on behalf of her minor son, for performing his sacred thread

ceremony. The request was refused on the ground that the amount was to be given when he came of age. When she asked for a loan, she was asked to give sureties ; and then only was the loan given, and the ceremony performed. In this matter she felt greatly insulted and humiliated.

Then came in June 1857 the Mutiny of Indian Sepoys and the revolt of some deposed and humiliated rulers, some discontented Jaghirdars, and some ill-treated families who were deprived of their occupations and stations in the political life of the country. There were two distinct currents in the conflict of 1857-58. We must keep them separate in understanding the nature of that conflict. No doubt they seemed to amalgamate or ally with each other in the days of their needs or the moment of their trial. But their grievances, aims and methods were not at all common or congenial. If the Sepoy wanted to rebel and take revenge for his religious or other grievances, to massacre and to loot, he had no definite aim or ideal of any new public order of government except a vague idea of an undisciplined and mercenary life under a Nabob or an emperor. But if the ruler or jaghirdar wanted to fight, he had no idea of massacre or loot except what actual war necessitated or gave. He fought to maintain or to acquire his rights under the public law or custom of the land which was ancient, accepted and historically sacred. He had tried constitutional methods and failed. He was humiliated, and he suffered in honour and reputation. What was the course open to him ? His humiliations and deprivations rankled in his heart. When force of circumstances brought him in contact with a new situation, in a moment of hope he was tempted to fight, and the fire of independence which burned in his heart made him stake his all. Let us therefore not mix these two currents and attribute the crimes of one to the other.

The massacres of men, women and children who were innocent and non-combatants after or before the battle, whether committed by Indian sepoys or English soldiers, were heinous, unjustified, and are severely to be condemned. Those who ordered them, supported them, connived at them or carried them out were equally guilty, whether they were punished or praised.

English writers give a number of causes for this conflict without separating the two currents mentioned above. The cries of greased cartridges or of religion and society in danger affected mostly the Sepoys in the British army. Dalhousie's annexations, unjust revenue settlements, confiscations of inams, property and pensions, affected princely families and jaghirdars. They saw great injustice done and brutality shown in forcibly trampling upon their sacred rights of succession and inherit-

ance, upon the honour and self-respect to which they were entitled, even after their defeat and deposition, under the treaties entered into and under the public law of the land. The Company, however, rode roughshod over all of them, and hence the resentment, the use of a new opportunity and the revolt for independence. There may have been also a general unsettling influence exercised by a foreign Christian government and a Christian missionary propaganda. In addition to this there was no identity of interests and outlook, and no question of natural loyalty between the rulers and the ruled. Nor was any as yet created owing to any great measures of welfare, or due to any lapse of time. The Company had destroyed not only the political map of India, but also the economic life of the people resulting in the loss of indigenous industries and crafts.

There was a feeling among the Mariithas at that time that a systematic attempt was being made to annex their kingdoms one after another on some pretext or another, and also to reduce the importance of their great families by confiscating their pensions and jagirs and refusing them employment in the army and administration because they had been the real opponents of the British rule, and loved independence and produced men of courage, character and culture.

The Rani had nothing in common with the Sepoys either in aims or methods. She was surprised and unprepared when the Sepoys rose in Jhansi on 1-6-1857, and massacred British officers and soldiers. She, on the contrary, helped the English with provisions for two or three days. She could not do it openly for fear of the Sepoys who would have killed her for helping the enemy. She helped in disposing of the dead, who were the victims of the mutineers. Mr. Martin, who was amongst those saved by her, wrote that the Rani was not connected with the Mutiny at all.

When the mutineers left for Delhi, Jhansi was left without any administration or authority. Consequently, the Rani had to undertake the task of administration till the British authority was again restored. She also warned the British Commissioner at Saugor about the mutiny. Hence there was no disturbance at that place.

She carried on the administration well, and regularly informed the British Commissioner of what she was doing. It lasted from 7th June, 1857 to 20th March, 1858 in the name of the Company. Both the State flag and the British flag flew from the fort. She also protected the State from Bundela attacks and defeated them. But the defeated General Nathe Khan took revenge by informing the British Commissioner falsely that the Rani had joined the rebels, and thus poisoned the British mind. The dispatches which she sent of her administration and fights

were intercepted on the way, and never reached the British Commissioner. Her own accredited agent never went to the British authorities, but wrote false letters of having done so from the way.

The mind of the British being poisoned and being suspicious of her intentions and actions, they considered her to be a rebel leader. The massacre at Jhansi was sufficient to inflame their minds. They also believed that the Rani wanted her kingdom back and therefore must have joined the rebels. They unjustly connected her with the aims and methods of the Sepoys, for which she had no sympathy.

It was the confusing of issues, motives and methods by the British officers of the time that made the Rani fall under their suspicion. Sir Hugh Rose came with 60,000 troops to conquer Jhansi where there was only a friendly administration, and there were no rebellious or murderous Sepoys.

Why did the Rani fight ? We have seen that she was discontented at the Joss of her son's legitimate hereditary rights to the principality of Jhansi, at the subsequent treatment awarded to her and at the failure of her constitutional representation. She had however kept loyal, and helped the British when the Mutiny came, and in their absence carried on the administration on their behalf. But in spite of all this, she was falsely suspected of rebellion as the Raja of Satara was of conspiracy, and was falsely charged with the guilt of the mutineers. She could not suffer this aspersion on her honour and innocence, and felt that her reputation was at stake. She remembered the gratitude of Chhatrasal for the help rendered by Baji Rao I, and contrasted it with the ingratitude, bad faith and injustice of the Company. Therefore she felt that she must fight either to win, or to die for the sake of protecting her honour and her national heritage. To a woman of her nature there was no other honourable course open. Surrender she never could. It would have brought humiliation, disgrace and also failure. Success and honour did not lie that way.

Sir Hugh Rose wanted her to surrender eight of her best and nearest men and, amongst them, her father Moropant. They were to go to his camp unarmed and unconditionally. She refused this humiliating surrender, and avoided the possibility of treachery and danger to their lives. She chose the only alternative—the battlefield—where success or failure were both honourable, in spite of immensely superior forces, weapons and equipment of the enemy.

She fought three battles at three places with the British, the first at Jhansi, the second at Kalpi, and the third at Gwalior. In all the three battles she was ultimately unsuccessful, and the reasons were evident. But her courage as a soldier, her organisation as a commander of her

forces, and her skill as a strategist, were remarkable for her age and experience.

The first battle of Jhansi lasted from 23rd March to 3rd April 1858. The Rani's army was small and inexperienced, her equipment old and insufficient. But her skill, organisation, courage and leadership, together with the forest, made her give the toughest resistance. In these straits she sought the help of Rao Saheb Peshwa who was encamped at Kalpi. It was a clever device, but Tantia Tope who came with the troops to help her was defeated by the superior British artillery, discipline and equipment. On the 12th day, the British entered the town, looted it, and massacred the people indiscriminately for seven days. The Rani saw the inevitable defeat, and left the fort with a few followers on the 4th April at midnight, broke through the British besieging lines, evaded the pursuers, and on the 5th April escaped to Kalpi, a distance of 102 miles, in about twenty hours. It was a feat of marvellous skill and daring, not at all surpassed even by Shivaji's escape from the fort of Panhala through the lines of Siddi Johar in 1660, or from Agra at Aurangzeb's orders for imprisonment in 1666, looking to the vigilance, agility, equipment and immediate pursuit of the British. She had her son of about ten years at her back, and a few select and trusted servants and soldiers with her.

The second battle with the British was fought at Kunch and Kalpi. Rao Saheb Peshwa's army was undisciplined, unorganised, ill-equipped and ill-led. It had no modern artillery and weapons. The Rani was not allowed to organise and to lead it. Her warnings were neglected. She, however, with 200 soldiers fought extremely well, and checked and disorganised the forces opposed to her, but ultimately she had to retire before the superior strength and discipline of the British army. The battle of Kalpi lasted for eight days from the 16th May to 24th May. Rao Saheb was unfit to command and had no resourceful mind.

While the Peshwa and his army were in a state of despair, it was the Rani's resourceful mind which suggested the march on Gwalior, and the plan of fighting with the resources of the Gwalior state, army and fort. It was a clever piece of advice which alone showed the way out. Jayaji Shinde and his Diwan Dinkar Rao Rajwade, who were pro-British, would not agree with Rao Saheb's request to join them. Shinde, on the contrary, attacked their forces at Morar, but was defeated by the bravery of the Rani and Tantia Tope on 1-6-1858. Jayaji and Rajwade fled to Agra for shelter with the British. Rao Saheb, instead of organising and disciplining his and Shindia's forces, spent the time in establishing the Peshwa's throne at Gwalior (30th June), holding darbars, making gifts, and having feasts and festivals, with thorough indifference to the needs of war. The Peshwa's heirs had become too

incompetent to lead and to organise. They neglected their duty, and, though warned by the Rani, the army remained indisciplined and unorganised, and strategic points unguarded.

Sir Hugh systematically prepared for every aspect of his warfare, so as to finally destroy the nascent power of the Peshwa. He captured Morar and all the strategic points about Gwalior, while the Rao Saheb was feasting himself. The Rani saw that it was to be her last struggle and death.

The third battle at Gwalior lasted for two clays, 17th and 18th June 1858. The Rani fought and protected her side very bravely and well, but she was overwhelmed by superior forces and artillery, and was surrounded by the enemy ; and Rao Saheb could not help her. She performed great deeds of heroism, but was now helpless. She, however, did not lose courage, but decided to break through the enemies' forces, and to join the Peshwa's forces. She bravely fought through them, and escaped with a few followers, but was pursued by a few English soldiers of Hussar cavalry. This escape is also one of the daring exploits of the Riini. Her pursuers overtook her near a flowing rill over which her new horse refused to jump. One of them closed on her, and struck her from behind on the head. Her eye came out. Another gave a thrust on her chest. Even then she killed the soldier who had hit her. But then she began to collapse, gave directions for her cremation and for taking care of Damodar Rao, and died. She was immediately burnt by her faithful followers. In such a one's life there lived the highest aspirations of our country at that time. The English General remarked that the Rani was the best and the bravest military leader of the rebels. Rao Saheb and Tantia Tope lost the battle of Gwalior. They had neither the generalship nor the following to give them any success.

Though her fate and historical logic went against her, the Rani's fight and failure were both in the interests of the country. If the revolt had not taken place, the public law of India relating to States *and* people's rights could not have been recognised and established. Her failure was also in the interests of the development of political unity of the country, because at that time no Indian power was able to unite politically and to administer efficiently the country from one centre. If she had not fought, there would have been no Rani, no Jhansi, and no war of independence. The Rani is the last of the heroines and her revolt is the last of the old political conflicts in India. In studying her career and interpreting her feelings, thoughts and deeds, history at once gives **a** stimulation to, and a satisfaction of, our intellectual and moral curiosity. It rises from the scientific process of collecting facts and understanding the forces of the time to the philosophic process of studying the moral values and ideals of **a** people.

The Origin of Chandragupta Maurya

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A CRITICAL and comparative study of all the available traditions from different sources will throw new light on the obscurity and vagueness that still surround the origin and early history of one of the greatest rulers that India has seen. These sources, as is well known, are Greek, Sanskrit, Buddhist, and Jain ; but the relevant contents of each of these sources have not been subjected to a thorough examination so as to ascertain the extent and measure of their agreement, on the basis of which final historical conclusion may be framed.

We may begin with the Greek and Roman sources and relevant extracts from these, which are given below :

(1) *From Cnrtius* : Porus informed Alexander " that the present king (i.e. the Nanda king who was supplanted by Chandragupta Maurya) was not merely a man originally *of no distinction,* but even of the very *meanest condition.* His father was in fact a barber " who became the Queen's paramour and treacherously murdered the king. " Then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, he usurped the supreme authority, and, having put the young princes to death, begot the present king who was detested and *held cheap* by his subjects."

(2) *From Diodorus* : Porus informed Alexander " that the King of the Gangaridai was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber."

(3) *From Plutarch* : " Androkottos (i.e. Chandragupta) himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country (of the Gangaridai and the Prasii under the Nanda king), since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin."

(4) *From Justin* (writing in the 2nd century A.D. on the basis of a Greek work of 1st century B.C.): " India, after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus (Chandragupta) was the leader who

* The author uses *ch* for c in this article. There are some other differences also.

achieved their freedom. . . . He was born in humble life but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen. . . . By his insolent behaviour he had offended Nandrus[1] and was ordered to be put to death when he sought safety by a speedy flight."

These extracts from the classical writers show that, according to the Indian tradition recorded by them *on* the basis of the reports of the Greeks who had been with Alexander in his campaigns in the Panjab, the then reigning Nanda king was a man of base origin, being the son of a barber or a Sudra. They also show that no such disreputable origin can be alleged against Chandragupta. Plutarch makes Chandragupta himself report to Alexander that the Nanda king was hated by his own people for " the meanness of his origin." It, therefore, stands to reason that one who was making political capital out of the base origin of his enemy and rival could not himself be base-born. Justin no doubt records that Chandragupta " was born in humble life ". But this in the context only points to his *lowly* and not *low* origin. Justin's statement amounts only to this that Chandragupta was not a prince but a commoner who was only ' aspiring after royalty '. But he was not even remotely of any royal blood, and had no sort of claim to be a successor of the Nanda king by any kind of blood-relationship, remote or illegitimate. He could only oust him by force and war, as he did. He already had apprized Alexander (apparently from his personal knowledge) of the rottenness of Nanda's empire, and the ease of its conquest when it lacked the best defence, the support of its people who clearly hated this king as a usurper of low origin and a correspondingly low character. But the facts on which Alexander could not act on account of the mutiny of his own following, Chandragupta acted most effectively. He fully exploited the unpopularity of the Nanda king by overthrowing his sovereignty at once. Thus a man who was counting for his support on the moral opinion of a community, outraged by the disreputable origin of its ruler, must have a clean record of lineage for himself.

Who then started first this bogey of a base origin for Chandragupta Maurya ? It was started by a commentator of the Puranas, and his comment was perhaps seized on by the author of the much later work *Mxidrardkshasa* in making certain allusions to Chandragupta which are reasonably interpreted to be not very complimentary to his lineage. But these interpretations deserve scrutiny, and it will be found that they are not quite sustainable, so that the *Mxidrarakshasa* may be absolved from the charge of giving publicity to a piece of false calumny against

1. " *Nandrnm* has been here substituted for the common reading *Alexandrum* which Gutschmid has shown to be an error." (McCrindle, p. 327 of his *Invasion of India by Alexander).*

Chandragupta. In that case, the commentator on the Puranas remains as the sole calumniator of Chandragupta.

But even this commentator has left a way of escape from this charge. His sole comment on the passage of the Purana concerned is : ' Chandraguptam Nandasyaiva patyantaram Mura samjnasya put ram Mauryanam prathamam ' ; " Chandragupta is himself a son of Nanda by his other wife named *Mura,* and is the first of the *Mauryas."* But this passage by itself says nothing about any degraded origin of Chandragupta, or the caste of his mother. Perhaps the commentator was more anxious to comment on the origin of the term *Maurya* than for any historical truth. He thinks he can derive the term from *Mura,* not suspecting that even there he is not on safe grammatical ground. Strict grammar would yield from *Mura,* the term *Maurcya* as the offspring of Mura, and not *Maurya.* Thus the Purana commentator was innocent of both grammar and libel against Chandragupta. But a commentator has a commentator. Dhundiraja, writing in the eighteenth century in the *Upodghata* of his commentary on the *Mudrarakshasa,* represents Sarvarthasiddhi as the father of Nanda by his wife Sunanda, and of another son called *Maurya* by his junior wife *Mura.* who at last is described by him as a *Vrishaliitmajn.* the daughter of a Vrshala or Siidra woman. Thus the story of Chandragupta's base origin was again revived.

We must now leave the commentators to themselves and turn to the texts themselves, the *Purana* and the *Mudr&rakshasa,* for the truth of the matter and recover trustworthy history at its source uncontaminated by later interested interpretations.

The Puranas are more concerned with the origin of the Nanda than that of Chandragupta. They are very much concerned at the end of the Kshatriya rule in India, and the inauguration of the Sudra rule under the ' infamous' *(adharmikah)* Nandas. The literal translation of the passage concerned is as follows : " As son of Mahanandin (last of the previous Sisunaga dynasty of Magadha) by a &udra woman will be born a king (or ' born as a portion of Kali' or ' enveloped by fate ') Mahapadma Nanda, who will exterminate all Kshatriyas. Thereafter, kings will be of Sudra origin. . . . He will uproot all Kshatriyas. . . .

" A Brahmana Kautilya will uproot them all; and, after they have enjoyed the earth for 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas.

" Kautilya will anoint Chandragupta as King in the realm *(rdjye 'bhishekshayati).*"

This text of the Puranas tells its own tale in no uncertain terms. Two propositions it clearly establishes : (1) that the Nanda kings were

of base origin, and inaugurated illegitimate and unrighteous Sudra rule against the *Sastras ;* (2) that it remained for a militant Brahman like the redoubtable Kautilya to rid the country of its Sudra usurpation and restore it to the lawful rule of the Kshatriyas ; and (3) after the Sudra rule was " uprooted ", Kautilya's choice fell on Chandragupta whom, as a true-born Kshatriya, he formally consecrated to sovereignty by performing the ceremony of *abhisheka* prescribed for the purpose. How can there be any suggestion in such a context that Chandragupta was himself a base-born Sudra ?

The true meanings and implications of the Purana text are rendered more explicit by Kautilya himself in his *Arthasdstra.* There it is stated how "the Arthasastra has been compiled by one who forcibly *(amarshena)* and quickly *(dsu)* achieved the liberation, from the grip of the Nanda kings, of the mother country, with its culture and learning *(sastra)* and its military science and arts *(sastra).*" This emphasizes that Kautilya as a Brahman considered it to be his moral obligation to take steps to put an end, as soon as possible, and even by violent means, to the unlawful rule of Sudra kings who are not competent custodians of either the spiritual and cultural, or even the military, interests of the country. The social order for which Kautilya stands is the *Varnasrama-dharma* which rules out royalty for the Sudra and reserves it to the Kshatriya, whose prescribed professions are military *(sastra-jiva)* and administrative *(bhutarak sh an am).* The Kshatriya king is to function as the *danda* or the Executive to uphold and enforce this *dharma* as the ultimate sovereign. It is thus quite absurd to suppose that Kautilya, who was out to enforce and restore such a system, could possibly have chosen as the instrument of such a restoration one who would himself be inherently disqualified for it. He could not consecrate to sovereignty one Sudra in place of another. His mission in life was the restoration of the country to lawful Kshatriya rule in place of Sudra usurpation. Nay, the choice of Chandragupta by Chanakya for sovereignty is itself the best proof of Chandragupta being a true-born Kshatriya.

We shall now deal with the traditions as recorded in the *Mudrd-rdkshasa.* These are usually interpreted so as to support the theory that Chandragupta was a man of base origin. The theory rests on the meaning of the epithet *Vrishala* which has been applied in several places in the drama to Chandragupta. This term is taken to mean * the son of a 6udra'. But this is not the only meaning which the term can bear. It may bear another and a completely complimentary meaning which will depend on the context. It will appear that the term *Vrishala* in most cases is used in the drama by Chanakya as teacher for Chandra-

gupta as a pupil as more like a term of endearment or a personal name. The complimentary sense of the term is also pointed out definitely in the drama in a passage (III, 18) which deliberately explains the term *Vrishala* as the *Vrisha* among kings, i.e., ' the best of kings.' It is used as a term of contempt against Chandragupta only by his declared enemies (as in VI. 6), and that by way of a pun on his personal name or nickname *Vrishala.* Besides, this term *Vrishala,* for which the sense of opprobrium is thus not established, there is the epithet *kula-hhia* applied to Chandragupta (in II, 17), and this epithet is supposed to point without doubt to Chandragupta's ' low lineage '. But the context of the passage rather shows that the epithet should mean *lowly* and not *low* or degraded lineage, and does not cast aspersions on his pedigree at all. It practically indicates what Justin has stated, viz., * that he was born in humble life '. The fact is Chandragupta is described by his enemies as a *kula-hina* in contrast with the Nandas who are described as *prathita kidajdh,* ' of illustrious lineage \ In another place the epithet *' uchchairavijanam '* (VI, 6), 'of high birth ', is applied to the Nandas. The point of his enemies against Chandragupta is that he is an upstart, of a family unknown to name and fame *(aprathita),* who has no trace of royal or aristocratic blood in him, and as such unworthy of the throne. Thus, while the Puranas condemn the Nandas as a race of base-born Sudra kings, the author of the *Mudrdrakshasa* builds on a totally different basis and invents for the Nandas a proud pedigree, leaving all the odium of a degraded origin to the person whom Kau^ilya sets up for the throne against the Nandas. But dramatic partisanship should not count as history, nor should a late play like the *Mudrdrakshasa* prevail against the Puranas as a historical source.

It may also be noted that the attitude of the drama towards Chandragupta is not always consistent or constant. Sometimes, it is anxious to describe him as a scion of the Nandas, a *Nandanvaya,* while Rakshasa, the faithful follower and minister of Nanda, describes himself as Chandragupta's *pitriparydydgata,* i.e., as the hereditary minister of his family, and refers to Chandragupta as his *svdmi-putra,* his master's son. Here also the drama departs from the tradition of the Puranas which do not connect Chandragupta by any kind of blood-relationship with the Nandas.

In this connection, another point of divergence between the two traditions may be noted. While the Puranas know of 9 Nandas, the *Mudrdrakshasa* introduces another Nanda in the person of Sarvarthasiddhi whom it calls a *Nandavamsiya* and whom Rakshasa places on the throne after the death of Nanda, so that the enemy whom Chandragupta and Chanakya have to fight is not the Nanda king proper, but one of his relations. The drama in fact opens with the statement of

Chanakya that he has already accomplished the destruction of the Nanda family, " exterminated the nine Nandas from the earth, and rooted out the stem of Nanda (Nandam maya sanvayam .... simhasanat patitam samutkhata Nanda nava . . . bhuvah). But he fears that he cannot consider his work to be finished so long as there still survives a single offshoot of the Nanda family " *(kasmimschidapi jivati Nanddnvayavayave),* and so in that view he did not refrain from accomplishing the murder of Sarvarthasiddhi, then living in the forest as hermit, because he was the last surviving ' shoot of Nanda's stem'.

Now, as regards the parentage of Chandragupta, though Sanskrit tradition is silent, Buddhist tradition gives definite details. It represents Chandragupta as a scion of the Kshatriya clan of *Moriyas*, a branch of the illustrious Sakyas, of whom was born the Great Buddha. His father was the chief of the tribe, and was killed in a battle by a border chief. His helpless widow then escaped to Pushpapura (Kusuma-pura or Pataliputra) where she gave birth to Chandragupta. The orphan was then removed to a cow-pen by a cowherd who brought him up there and sold him to a hunter by whom he was employed to tend cattle. At the village common, the boy Chandragupta used to play at kingship *(raja-krida)* with his comrades, administering justice in a mock court got up for the purpose. This sport was noticed by Chanakya, a native of Taxila *(Takshasilanagara-vasi),* who had been to Pataliputra and the court of Dhana Nanda, but was coming away from there in revengeful rage at the insult offered to him by the king. Chanakya detected in .that obscure boy signs of royalty, and chose him as his instrument for the accomplishment of his designs against King Nanda (see Tumour's *Mahc* Pywiso, p. x). It is stated that he bought the boy of his foster-father fo- 1,000 *Karshapanas,* and gave him education, specially military educa on, for 7 or 8 years, at Taxila, its chief centre in those days.

Buddhist tradition is also not troubled to discover the derivation of the term *Maarya.* It uses the term *Moriya* for *Maurya* and derives it from *Mora, Mayura,* i.e., peacock. The story is that the Sakyas, who had separated from the main body when it was invaded by the Kosala King Vidudhabha, settled down in a Himalayan region which was resounding with the cries of peacocks, whence they were called *Moriyas.* Another version of the story derives the term *Moriya* from the city called *Moriya-nagara* because it was built with * bricks coloured like peacocks' neck '. The people who built the city were called *Moriyas.* It may be noted that a tribe of the name of *Morieis* is also mentioned by the Greek writers on Alexander's campaigns.

The connection of the Moriyas or Mauryas with the peacock is attested by interesting monumental evidence. One of the pillars of

Asdka shows at its foundation the figure of a peacock, while the sculptures on the great Sanchi Stupa depict the peacock at three places. Both Foucher and Sir John Marshall agree with Grunwedel that this representation of the peacock was due to the fact that the peacock was the dynastic symbol of the Mauryas.

Now to sum up : The Greek accounts agree with the Puranas in ascribing a low origin not to Chandragupta, but to the Nanda king. They describe the last Nanda as the son of a barber, while the Puranas describe the Nandas as Sudras. But while the Puranas trace their base origin to their Sudra *mother,* the Greek accounts trace it to their Sudra *father,* a handsome barber with whom the Queen of Nanda fell in love and intrigued to get her husband out of the way through murder. The *Mudrdrakshasa,* however, turns the tables and fastens the infamy of base origin on Chandragupta, and proclaims a noble lineage for the Nandas. The *Mudrdrakshasa* also suggests a Nanda origin for Chandragupta, but, if we may believe in Plutarch, he cannot have any such connection when he himself proclaims Nanda's ' meanness of birth \ because it would be proclaiming his own ancestral ' meanness ' which would also be *his* with vengeance. The Puranas confirm Plutarch in treating Chandragupta as the founder of a new dynasty whom the Brahman Kautilya anointed to sovereignty as a fit and proper person to replace Sudra rule by Kshatriya rule. Lastly, Buddhist tradition gives details to show that Chandragupta was definitely a Kshatriya and was born as a prince, though by the malice of fate he had to work his way up from the humblest of conditions. It was literally a rise from the log cabin to royalty.

The True Inwardness ol the Hindu concept of the State

BY

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IT is one of the shibboleths of modern western historical criticism, especially in its adventures in the eastern hemisphere, to inveigh against what it is pleased to call the theocratic conception of the State, and to insist upon the thorough dissociation of religion from politics and of politics from religion. But, though it is true that the confusion of the boundaries of politics and religion characterised primitive communities, and the demarcation of such boundaries went along with progress in civilisation, yet it is not wise to dissociate them altogether, if the highest purposes of human existence are to be achieved. It seems to me that India, in her periods of self-affirmation, preserved the golden mean between too much spiritualisation and too much secularisation, and that her special political ideas and institutions were due to this basic fact.

Europe and America have become thoroughly industrialised, and it was this fact that really led to a modification of the old concept of the State in the west. The industrial revolution brought the middle classes into power, and these are, in their turn, being superseded by the proletariat. The new gospel was and is the increase of power and production, and not the increase of harmony and happiness. England led the way in industrialisation and democracy. She, however, moved toward parliamentary democracy by easy and constitutional methods, by her unique way of counting heads instead of breaking them. France, on the other hand, preferred to break heads. In England the movement towards individualism was strong for a time, and then gave place to a movement towards collectivism in the form of socialism. Such was the swing of political thought in the nineteenth century. The newest roads to freedom, to use Bertand Russell's phrase, are being made in Russia, Italy and Germany, whatever be their fitness for the onward journey of the spirit of man.

Thus in the twentieth century we have been witnessing the slow supersession of Democracy by Dictatorship. The Fascist ideal of a totalitarian and co-operative State aims at making the State a centre of all the living economic and social forces of the national life, and to abolish the party system in the political sphere and the clash of capital and labour in the economic sphere. On the other hand, the communist ideal is not a question of administration, but a question of revolution. Com-

munism has got a frank contempt for parliamentary democracy, and aims at the destruction of private ownership and at the collective control and ownership of the means of production.

Let us, therefore, not fail to bear in mind that Europe and America have not at all attained the summit of human wisdom in regard to political institutions. They are themselves groping in the dark, and are being buffeted and pulled and pushed by blind and titanic economic forces. We in India should prove all things and hold fast to that which is good. We must refuse to be bound to the chariot-wheels of England. We must know our own nature *(svabhdva)*, and evolve in the manner which will best express it and help our uplift and the uplift of the world as well.

We can never understand aright the true inwardness of the Hindu concept of the State if we do not properly assess the true inwardness of the Hindu character. Sir Edwin Arnold has rightly observed in his *India Revisited* that " for all that strong survival of caste, the Hindus are a democratic and easy-going people." The Hindu does not worship wealth as the be-all and end-all of life. He has always loved the gospel of mercy, and is generally refined in his tastes, and religious in his nature. At the same time, the caste system, while securing unity within the caste and functional organization as well as individual and communal purity, and while helping to evolve a non-competitive organisation of society on the basis of apportioned services and regulated duties, has undoubtedly contributed towards an absence of national unity and cohesion. The Hindu has further exhibited, in some measure, a static temperament which has contributed towards his subjection to the tyranny of custom, though it is true at the same time that he has exhibited dynamic qualities as well. The ' unchanging East ' is a fiction of the Western historians, though it is true that India's motto has always been *Festina lente.*

It is noteworthy that almost all the diverse theories that have been propounded in the West regarding the origin of the state and of sovereignty have had their counterparts in India from very remote times. It is wrong to suppose from the theory of the divinity of kings that the theory of divine right of kings had any special importance or extended vogue.[1] The social contract theory was well known, and it was clearly asserted that the will of the people was the source of sovereignty and the ultimate and omnipotent sanction in the community. The *Saptanga*

1. Verses 303-10 in chapter IX of Manu's Code show that the famous theory that the king has within him the *amsa* of the eight *lokapala** implies that he must have shown their qualities. (d^Tt^n^ 7?S?^)

conception has a more than remote resemblance to the modern organismal conception of the State, and shows the prevalence of a psychic concept of the State. In fact, just as in the realm of aesthetics and metaphysics, so in the realm of politics as well, India has shown surprising fecundity of mind and activity of practical effort.

Even in the Rg-Veda we find India in a mood of political experimentation and in a state of political ferment. We find the monarchy co-existing with the popular assembly which exercised effective control over the royal power. In the last hymn of the last mandala of the Rg-Veda we find a prayer for concord along with free discussion in the Assembly. It says : " Assemble ; speak together ; let your mind be of one accord." In the Atharva-Veda (VII, 12, 1) we find the prayer : " let both Sabha and Samiti, the two daughters of Prajapati, be accordant and favour me." Some States were republics, while in some other States there was elective kingship ; but the norm was hereditary kingship. In course of time, the Hindus rose to the conception of a united India under a single ruler *(Sdmrdjya, Pdrameshtya, Adhirdja, Adhipatya,* etc.,). The Aivamedha and Rajasuya sacrifices were to be performed only by such suzerain kings. But all through India's history, there was the dominant concept of Dharma being the king of kings. The Brhadaranyaka Upanishad, for example, says : " Dharma is the kshatra of the Kshatra. Therefore, there is nothing higher than Dharma." Nor must it be forgotten that, through all the vicissitudes of India's history, the autonomy of the villages was kept intact. They were ruled by the village Panchayat or Council of Elders, which looked after all the affairs of the village. There were also important urban assemblies including guild assemblies. The urban assemblies were known as *Pauras,* and the rural assemblies as *Janapadas.* About these Mr. K. P. Jayaswal says well : " We had an organism or a twin organism, the *Paura-Jdnapadciy* which could depose the king, who nominated the successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was apprized by the king of the policy of the State decided upon in the council of ministers, who were approached and begged by the king in all humility for a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded as an essential for his appointment as Chancellor, who were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, who demanded and got industrial commercial and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, who were coaxed and flattered in public proclamations, who could enact statutes even hostile to the king, in fine, who could make possible or impossible the administration of the king. An organism with these constitutional attributes was an institution which we will be

justified in calling the Hindu Diet. The Paura-Janapada were a powerful check on royal authority." The king had further to act always **with** the approval of the council of ministers *(Mantri-parishad),* whose number varied from eight to thirty-two, and upon the advice of the eighteen heads of departments *(tlrthas).* Further, the subdivision of sovereignty into its legislative and executive and judicial aspects was known well enough. Nay, it was recognised better than in these days that the State had to provide protection and education and work for all.[2]

We must note further that the seed of Indian federalism was sown long ago. We must not import into the ancient Indian federal concept the elements of modern federalism such as written constitution, a clear demarcation and delimitation of spheres of power, etc. But we certainly find therein the vital element of federalism, viz., a combination of central strength and provincial autonomy. Professor Sidgwick says in his well-known work on *The Development of the European Polity* that the federal type of government provides the maximum of liberty compatible with order. All attempts which were made in India in the direction of the over-lordship of India kept in mind this combination of central strength and provincial autonomy.

Another important feature of our social and economic and political life in ancient India was the generally active spirit of co-operation. *Gana* typified an economic corporation, and *jdti* typified a social corporation. Though such a spirit of co-operation was not prevalent on a nation-wide scale, and hence the door was open to successful foreign invasions, yet the spirit was there, and was active in diverse ways. The various groups had settled functions in the body politic, and were inter-dependent, and worked in a spirit of harmony. As the entire fabric of life was based on the concept of Duty rather than on the concept of Right, the chances of social friction were slender and remote. Some guilds were very rich and prosperous, and it is said that the guild at Dasapura[3] built a magnificent temple to the Sun in 436 A.D.

Historical evidences like the Uttaramallur[4] inscription show how the Hindu polity was broad-based upon a well-designed democratic

2. Kalidasa says in a famous stanza in Canto I of his *Raghuvamsa :*

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणा द्भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तेषां केवलं जन्म हेतवः ॥

3. Mandasor in Malwa (Sindia's Dominion). (It may be pointed out that, according to some, this was Kalidasa's birth-place.—Ed.)

4. Madras Ep. Rep. 1899, pp. 24 ff ; V. Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Inscrpns.,* I, p. 390, pg. 5S9.

basis. Each village was managed by a village council which had **a** small number of committees, such as the judicial committee, the charitable and religious institutions committee, the irrigation committee, etc. The Uttaramallur inscriptions show that that village consisted of twelve hamlets and thirty wards. Each ward sent up a list of the names of the men who were fit for election to the village assembly. The tickets containing the names were placed in a pot, and one ticket was taken out for each ward. Only those who had property qualifications or educational qualifications were eligible for such election. It was laid down that the men who had one-fouth *Veli* of land or a house, and those who were learned in the sacred books, were the only persons who could stand for election. A very wholesome rule which is worth copying even to-day is that no one who was below thirty-five years of age or above seventy years of age was eligible for election. If an elected member was guilty of malversation or other misdemeanour, his near relatives could stand for election.

It must be remembered also that India's genius has always been a rural genius, and that the supersession of agriculture by industry, and of the rural economy by the urban economy, will never strike root in the Indian soil. The West is paying to-day a heavy penalty for its violation of the rural basis of life and for its ever-increasing urbanisation and mechanisation of life. Class-war and unemployment on an ever-increasing scale are becoming the normal feature of life in the so-called civilised countries of Europe and America. India should not go along the same road in a mad gallop, and meet a similar dire destiny. Though it is not possible to go here into all the elements of the Hindu concept of the State, I must mention a few other aspects here. The Hindu State was a civil polity, and not a military polity. Militarism which is such a dominant feature to-day was not then predominant at all. Nor was war then a clash of armed peoples. It was a clash of the military castes alone, the bulk of the people following their peaceful and vital avocations. The crown of conquered countries was always given back to the dethroned king. The overlordship of the victor never overthrew the autonomy of the vanquished land.

It must be remembered also that the people had always the potent right of the removal of kings who acted against Dharma. Professor Sidgwick says : " A moral right of insurrection, as an ultimate resource against misgovernment, must be admitted in a democratic community, no less than under other forms of government." The right of removal of a bad king flows naturally from the view that the ultimate seat of political authority is the people. The famous declaration of Virginia " that when a government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath **an** indubitable, **unalien-**

able and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal," was familiar to Indian thought from very ancient times.

Though the *Artha-sastra* has achieved well-deserved fame as a great book on Hindu polity, it is but one of the many works revealing the Hindu concept of the State. All the works on Hindu polity show the error of the once-contemptuously propounded theory that the ancient Hindu empires were only tax-gathering empires. In fact, taxation was light and mild and well regulated, and went along with the proper spending of the taxes for the public weal. Kalidasa says in his *Raghu-vamsa :*

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं सतेभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुण मुत्स्रष्टु मादत्ते हि रसं रविः ॥

The Artha-sastra shows that Chandragupta's empire was not only a warlike State, but was also progressive in every way. Irrigation was well attended to. Proper attention was paid to the methods of cultivation and the improvement of livestock. There were excellent roads and waterways. Production, distribution and consumption were well-organized and properly inter-related. Education, sanitation, and medical aid were in a proper and flourishing state. A register of births and deaths was kept, and there was also a periodical census. All these facts show the progressive and enlightened character of the Hindu concept of the State.

Thus, the great advantage which is enjoyed by India to-day is that the constitution-making going on to-day and partially accomplished by the recent Constitution Act is not really a transplantation of political institutions from Britain in an alien soil, but only a broadening and deepening of the pre-existing political ideals of the people, and an expression of the same through western political institutions suitably adapted to the genius of India. I do not mean to say that Britain is proceeding consciously in such a direction. But the stress of events, as guided by Providence, tends in that direction. Rural economy will undoubtedly persist in India, and Indian urbanisation and industrialisation will eventually turn away from the slum life of western cities. The democratic sense of the people will express itself successfully through the caste system which is only a means of social co-operation, and even in spite of the caste system if the latter does not lead to social co-operation, India will not allow the laws of Man to abrogate or injure the laws of God (Dharma). Thus the bad theocracy, which means blind obedience to unworthy claimants of divine authority, and " the right divine of kings to govern wrong," will go ; but the good theocracy, which keeps the vital laws of God-revealed Dharma intact, will never go.

More than anything else, it is important to remember that the federal ideal is bred in the bones of the people. India has been straining her energies towards it. The new Constitution Act of India is but a fruit deriving its vital life from such a root. Professor Sidgwick has said well that the new political aggregate will be formed on the basis of a federal polity. He points out that a federal union enables its members to enjoy most of the military and economic advantages of large States, with the minimum sacrifice of local independence and individual freedom. He says also that the inconveniences of a federal state are, chiefly, the weakness of internal cohesion and the diversity of localised legislation. We have to avoid the dangers of federalism, and maximise its good effects. In this respect our past experiences, inclusive of achievements and failures, will be of great use to us to-day. The Hindu concept of the State is as useful to-day as it ever was before, in building up a united and regenerated India.

Al Ghazali

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PERSIA, in the second half of the 11th Century, was under the sway of the Seljuks and this was comparatively an era of peace and prosperity. The Seljuki kings were great patrons of art and learning, and so we find many eminent men of letters flourishing in that period. Though outwardly it was all quiet, inwardly a great intellectual unrest was disturbing man's peace of mind. The world of Islam at that time, and as a matter of fact for many centuries previously, was not that world of satisfaction when no doubt ever existed in the minds of the followers of the Prophet as regards the interpretation of the Holy Word of God. To them everything was explained by the Prophet himself, and the Arabs paid no attention to the philosophy of their religion. But as time passed on, the people came in contact with foreign culture and foreign ideas, and they had the wealth of the intellect made available to them through translations. At the time of Mamu Rashid, an academy was established which brought the wisdom of Greece and Egypt to the doors of the Arabs. The result of this was an increasing tendency on the part of the philosophers to interpret the Quran in terms of Greek philosophy. We may call them by the name of pro-Greek philosophers. As there was no correct Arabic or Persian version of Plato and Aristotle, these interpretations also fell short of Greek ideas. As the Muslims of this school of thought were not critical students of the Greek philosophy, and were merely imitators, they made many serious mistakes. They thought the */Enid* of Plotinus to be the work of Aristotle and called it the Theology of Aristotle. In this way they wanted to bridge the gulf between Aristotle and Plato—an impossible task. What can be the fate of the culture, as far as philosophical studies are concerned, that depends on the expounding of such people ? Islam was getting away from its true picture, and was being submerged into Aristotelianism and Platonism. It was time that some one should arise and purge Islam of all foreign influence. Fortunately there appeared a sect of Ashaira, and sometime later a person, who may be called one of the greatest philosophers of Islam. His name was Abu Hamid Mohd. Ghazali. He was born in 1058 in a village in Tus. It is very often said, especially by European critics, that Ghazali tolled the knell of Philosophy in Islam. But this is a mistaken idea. As a matter of fact, pro-Greek philosophers in the real sense of the word gave the world

no new system of 'thought. They did not put forth any valuable criticism of Plato and Aristotle. To them these two persons were almost infallible. They would have even called them prophets. But Ghazali was a man of a different type. He would not take anything for granted unless there was some valid reason for accepting it. He clearly saw that the pro-Greek philosophers were leading the world astray, and had a false sense of security. In order to demolish their so-called citadel he had himself to study philosophy first, and when he became quite efficient in that, he pointed out the mistakes of these people. Anybody who carefully studies his arguments will find that he has done full jusitce to the subject. The people call it a destructive criticism. But he destroyed so that a new edifice might be built in place of an ugly and inadequate one ; and he succeeded in his mission. The thinkers that followed him in Islam have given us some beautiful original ideas. For details the reader may consult the " Development of Metaphysics in Persia " by Sir Mahomed Iqbal and other books on the subject.

It is said that Descartes was the founder of the ' Method of Doubt'. But many centuries before him Ghazali had to face the same problems. How to arrive at the certainty of human knowledge was a problem which agitated his mind from the very beginning. He knew that he got his knowledge by means of senses. Could he rely on the testimony of his eyes, ears, nose, etc. ? " It seemed to me ", he says, " that certain knowledge is that which uncovers the thing known in such a way that there does not remain with it any doubt nor accompany it the possibility of error or illusion, nor can the mind conceive such . . . . so I examined all the things which I knew and found that I had no knowledge which could be described in this way, except sense perceptions and necessary intuitive knowledge . . . . so I must test these first . . . . so I turned zealously to consider the objects of sense and necessary knowledge and to try whether I could bring myself to doubt them. And doubt reached the point with me, that I could not permit myself to extend trust even to the objects of the senses. I said to myself :—How can you be sure of the object of sense while the strongest of the senses is vision and it looks at a shadow and sees the shadow standing unmoved and judges that there is no motion . . . . In such cases senses decide in one way but reason in another . . . . so I said, my trust in the object of the senses, too, is gone, perhaps there can be no trust save in those intellectual results which are axiomatic as our saying that negation and affirmation cannot exist together in one thing. But the objects of senses said, " What assurance have you that your trust in conclusions of reason is not like your trust in the object of the senses. You used to trust in me, then came the test of reason and gave me the lie . . . . Then perhaps behind the perceptions of the reason there is another test; whenever it appears

reason will be given the lie by it .... That such a perception has not appeared does not prove its impossibility .... Do not you see that in sleep you believe in certain things and you imagine conditions and you believe that they have reality and in that state you do not doubt them ? Then you wake up and you know that to all your imaginations and beliefs there was neither foundation for use. Then how are you sure that all which in your waking time you believe in, because of either sense or reason, is not fact simply in relationship to your then condition" ? (Translated by Macdonald). This made him a sceptic, but unlike Greek sceptics he remained in this condition for a short time. He soon found a way out of this. Leaving aside the outward senses he found the true knowledge in the inner perception. He became a mystic and in this condition he was face to face with Truth. We are not here concerned with the fact whether or no his solution of the problem has any validity. At any rate, this gave him calmness and peace of mind.

It is very difficult to give an account of the various aspects of his thought in this short article, and so wc coniine our attention to his views on the nature of the soul, which will give the reader an idea of the sublime character of his thought. In his treatise called " Hall-i-Masail-i-Ghamiza" he discusses the nature of the human soul. He maintains that the soul is a spiritual substance incapable of division. In divisibility one part may be conscious, and the other part unconscious of the same object simultaneously, and this is impossible in the case of the soul. It is not spaeial, because anything that occupies space *cannot be called indivisible.* The soul does not fill the body, and is at the same time not outside the body, because these terms can be applied only to the corporeal substances, and have no meaning in regard to the soul. Its relation to the body is that of an image to the mirror. Just as a piece of iron when polished is capable of receiving images, so the particles of inanimate matter, passing through the vegetative state, enter the human body and are converted into blood and are thus rendered fit for the reception of the soul at the proper time. In this way the body of an unborn child acts like a mirror. In existence it is not prior to the body to which it belongs. When the body is made, the soul comes into existence. Had the soul any prior existence, it would have been either one or many. The soul cannot be a unity, because after its connections with so many bodies it could neither retain its unity for fear of leading to a common cognition, nor become many, because it has no magnitude, and is consequently indivisible. Had there existed many souls prior to their connection with the bodies, they must be either differentiated or undifferentiated. The latter is impossible,

because it means unity. As regards the former state the souls will be either different in essence or different in accidents. The souls are not different from each other substantially.

In this way he develops the theory that the souls have no existence prior to the bodies. So we find that he comes very close to the evolutionists of modern times, who believe that in the process of evolution life appears somehow or other at some stage. Ghazali differs from them in maintaining that the cause or the source of the whole process is God. Here he disagrees with the orthodox view that the souls were created prior to the bodies, and they affirmed the existence of the Creator. There is a tendency in modern Muslim theologians, especially those who have got Western training, to bring about a reconciliation between science and religion, and to interpret the Islamic doctrines rationally. The same tendency is visible in Ghazali at such an early date. Ghazali tried to bring the Islamic world to that cultural level, where the modern Muslim is desirous of seeing it. This was really a great service to Islamic culture, and the Muslim world owes a deep debt of gratitude to him.*

NOTE BY THE EDITORS

[*The author's interesting paper is a well-needed corrective to writers like Canon Sell. The latter observes that " it is acknowledged that he (Ghazali) dealt a blow to philosophy from which in the East it has never recovered ; that is, so far as the Muslim world is concerned. His course marks a reaction of the exclusively religious principle of Islam against philosophical speculation, which, in spite of all accommodation, never made itself orthodox." Ghazali, who was born in Khurasan in 1058 and who was a profound scholar, traveller and extensive writer, was at first a sceptic, then a Sufi, and then a constructive defender of Islam in works like *Tendency of Philosophers, Destruction of tlie Philosophers,* etc. Ghazali is credited with having withdrawn some of his views against philosophy in order to placate the orthodox ; but the truth lies in the view taken by Dr. Rashid Ahmad.]

Marwar's Timely Services to Mewar

BY

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THOUGH the magnanimity of the Maharanas of Mewar has been widely known all over India, yet the tanely help they received from the rulers and the nobility of Marwar has remained obscure for want of relevant historical facts. Some evidence lending full support to the above statement is being furnished below :—

(1) In his old age Maharana Lakha cherished a keen desire to marry Hansabai, the daughter of Rao Chunda of Marwar. At the time of the betrothal, however, her brother, Prince Ranmall (Rinmul of Tod), laid down the condition precedent to the marriage that, in case a son were born to his sister, he was to be declared the heir-apparent to the throne of Mewar even though he might be the youngest of all the sons of the Maharana. As Maharana Lakha was very keen on this marriage, his eldest son, Prince Chunda (Chonda of Tod), partly in concession to the wishes of his father, and partly in consideration of the remoteness of the possibility of the birth of a son to the Maharana in his old age, agreed to the condition.[1] Accordingly, on the death of Maharana Lakha,[2] between Samvats 1476 and 1478 (1419-1421 A,D.), Prince Chunda had to forego his right of succession ; and Mokal (Mokul of Tod), the son of Hansabai, at the age of eleven, was installed on the throne of Mewar. But the activities of Chunda, who had been entrusted with the administration of the country, aroused Hansabai's suspicions. So he had to leave Mewar, and to seek shelter with the Sultan of Mandu, a natural enemy of the Mewar house.

In this state of affairs, Hansabai called in the assistance of her brother, Rao Ranmall. For seven years he carried on the administration of Mewar, and then returned to Mandor, his ancestral capital, in V.S. 1484 (1427 A.D.).

1. For quite a different version of the motives and circumstances of the marriage see Tod's *Rajasthan,* 1899 Edn. I, pp. 290 ff.

2. Tod places this event in A.D. 1398.

(2) In V.S. 1490 (1433 A.D.), Chacha and Mera, the half-brothers of Maharana Lakha, as a part of their deep-laid plot,[3] killed Maharana Mokal, their nephew, and besieged the famous fort of Chitor. As at that time Kumbha, the eldest son of Maharana Mokal, was only seven years of age, and no one among the nobility was forthcoming to avenge the death of their ruler or to rescue Chitor, the situation grew very critical. Hansabai, the grandmother of Maharana Kumbha, again looked up to her brother, Rao Ranmall for help. On his arrival at Mewar, with a band of 500 Rathors, Chacha and Mera fled towards the hills of Paikotra. Rao Ranmall gave chase to them, and, after six months' strenuous efforts, in the course of which he had once even to risk his life while procuring the help of the Bheels, he succeeded in avenging the death of Mokal, and in suppressing the revolt. Only, Parmar Mahapa, one of the ring-leaders, who escaped in disguise and reached Mandu, was helped by Rao Chunda in getting refuge with the Sultan.

After this, Rao Ranmall set right[4] the machinery of the administration of Mewar, and attacked with success Sultan Mahmud of Mandu, for having sheltered Parmar Mahapa. Though Rao Ranmall was treacherously murdered,[5] in V.S. 1495 (1438 A.D.) by the conspirators led by Parmar Mahapa and Eka, the son of Chacha, yet the inscription dated

3. [Tod assigns this event to A.D. 1419]. "Though the murder of Mokal is related to have no other cause than the sarcasm alluded to, the precautions taken by the young prince Kumbha ('Koombho'), his successor, would induce a belief that this was but the opening of a deep-laid conspiracy. The traitors returned to the stronghold near Madri, and Kumbha trusted to the friendship and good feeling of the prince of Marwar in this emergency. His confidence was well repaid." *[Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthaji,* Vol. I, pp. 332.] [The sarcasm alluded to is described in Tod (1899), Vol. I, p. 298.—Ed.]

4. [The bardic historians, says Tod, "do as much honour to the Marwar prince, who had made common cause with their sovereign in revenging the death of his father, as if it had involved the security of his crown. But this was a precautionary measure of the prince, who was induced thus to act from several motives, and above all, in accordance with usage, which stigmatises the refusal of aid when demanded." It will be seen that the author of the article takes a different view.—Ed.]

5. The historians of Mewar, being ashamed of this heinous crime, the treacherous murder of Rao Ranmall, have tried their level best to conceal this unholy sin by accusing Rao Ranmall of the idea of usui'ping the throne of Mewar. But they could not achieve success. Had Ranmall really such an idea, he would have neither allowed Maharana Mokal nor Kumbha to grow in age and power as is evident from the history. This is also corroborated by the following lines of the 'Virvinod,' the official history of Mewar:—

"After the murder of Rao Ranmall, Hansabai called her grandson Kumbha, and told him that, though Ranmall had killed his father's assassins Chacha and

V.S. 1496 (1439 A.D.) of Ranpur is an incontcstible proof of the honesty and valour with which he discharged his duties as a regent.

In V.S. 1496 (1439 A.D.) Maharana Kumbha was only thirteen years of age,[6] and therefore the credit for the conquests of Sarangpur (Malwa), Nagpur, Gagraun, Narana (Jaipur), Ajmer, Mandor, Mandalgarh, Bundi, Khatu, and Chatsu (Jaipur), mentioned in the above inscription, goes undoubtedly to the regent, Rao Ranmall, who led the armies of Mewar against those districts.

(3-4) In V.S. 1577 (1520 A.D.), when Maharana Sanga went against MuzafTar Shah of Gujarat,[7] and in V.S. 1584 (1527 A.D.), when he himself was attacked by Babar,[8] he received a substantial military help from Rao Gariga of Marwar.

(5) In V.S. 1624 (1567 A.D.), when Emperor Akbar attacked Chitor, Maharana Pratapsingh, along with his family, was obliged to retire among the mountains for shelter, and the charge of defending the fort against such a formidable enemy as Akbar was given to Rathor Jaimal[9] of Marwar and Patta of Mewar. It is evident from the ' Akbar-nama ' that, no sooner was Rathor Jaimal killed, than the fort fell into the hands of the enemy.

(6) In V.S. 1748 (1691 A.D.) Amarsingh, the eldest son of Maharana Jayasingh, revolted against his father, and the Maharana, being unable to check this trouble from within, sought shelter with Rathor

Mera, defeated the Mohmedans and raised the name of Mewar, yet he has also been murdered."

This shows that Rao Ranmall never had any bad motive in helping Mewar, [See Tod (1899), I, p. 294 for the description of what he calls the ludicrous death of Ranmall.—Ed.]

6. According to the old chronicles, on the birth of Kanha in V.S. 1465 (1408 A.D.), Prince Ranmall, being asked by his father Rao Chunda of Marwar, abdicated his right to the gadi, and went towards Mewar. Soon after this, Maharana Lakha married his sister Hansabai, the mother of Mokal born in V. S. 1466 (1409 A.D.). This proves that Mokal could neither have been more than 11 years of age when his father Maharana Lakha died in about V. S. 1477 (1420 A.D.), nor more than 24 years when he was murdered in V. S. 1490 (1433 A.D.). Further, in the same manner if we presume the birth of Maharana Kumbha to have been in V. S. 1483 (1426 A.D.), when his father was 17 years of age, he could neither have been more than 7 years of age when his father Maharana Mokal was murdered in V. S. 1490 (1433 A.D.), nor more than 13 years of age when the Ranpur inscription was engraved in V. S. 1496 (A.D. 1439).

7. Maharana Sanga pp. 79.

8. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 953.

9. राजपुतानेका इतिहास जिल्द,

Gopinath at Ghanera, and sent a request to the court of Maharaja Ajitsingh of Marwar for help.

No sooner did Rathor Durgadas and other nobles of Marwar arrive there, than the prince was obliged to make a compromise with his father, the Maharana.[10]

(7) In V.S. 1752 (1695 A.D.), Amarsingh again raised his head, but as the Maharana at once called Maharaja Ajitsingh to marry his niece, the prince could not succeed[11] in his plans.

(8) In V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.), Maharaja Arisingh, threatened with the internal intrigues, sent an humble-worded petition to Maharaja Vijayasingh of Marwar for help, and presented him with the rich district of Godwad which is a part of Marwar to this day.

M.M. G. S. Ojha, in his 'History of Rajaputana,'[12] writes that the Maharana addressed a letter to Vijayasingh, the Raja of Jodhpur, in which he asked him to keep a cavalry force, 300 strong, at Nathadwara for suppressing Ratnasingh, and in return allowed him to take the income of Godwad for the maintenance of the garrison so long as it was stationed there. But at the same time he pointed out that the nobles of the district would remain under the direct control of the Maharana.

How far this version is correct will be seen from the letter reproduced below: —

Transliteration

Obverse

१. श्रीमाहाराज बीजेसिंघजीह
२. जूर राणा अडसीरोमुजुरो मा
३. लमवे अप्रंच आपमासुकि·
४. रपाकरी जोध्रपुर २खेपेरहक
५. कीदो मारोभली हुवेजोविचारो
६. जीऊपरमे आपरी नजर गोडवा
७. डमजर कीदीहे सोहुमा रोबेटो
८. मारा वंसरो वेसी सो ईवातमे

10 अजितोदय, सर्ग १५, श्लो१—१७, और वीरविनोदमें का मारवाड का इतिहास।
11 अजितोदय, सर्ग १५ श्लो. २८—३५, और राजरूपक, पृ० १५१
12 जिल्द २, पृ० ९७०

९. तफावद पाडसी तीन पर एक
१०. लिंगजीरी आणहे मारी मारा रा
११. जरी सरम आपने है जादा कां
१२. ही लखा परमेसर उपरे कामना
१३. नमत परोग करे जाही कामनाचे
१४. ने ईसवर हेथारथ जपनाम पु-
१५. नकरे है तो ईसवर सारी काम-
१६. नामनोरथ सारो पूरवे है जुमे
१७. आप ऊपर भागता राज ओराज मे
१८. आपरा खोलाह आछीजाणमैक
१९. रेपण ढीलनपे अबार मारा राजरो

Reverse

२०. हाल सरुप हेजो मालम हु-
२१. सी आप करता सो आसान है
२२. सारोमीटाय वेसी मारेभ
२३. रोसो आपरो है समत १८२७ रावे
२४. साख वद ११

Translation

Shri Maharaja Bijaisinghji may accept the compliments of Rana Adsi. You have been good enough to identify the cause of Jodhpur and Udaipur. Find out a way of my welfare, for which I have presorted you district of Godwad and if I, my son, or any one else of my family repudiates this, the curse of Ekalingji may fall upon him. My dignity as well as the dignity of my kingdom lies with you. What more shall I write ? One who performs a ceremony with a certain object keeping faith in God gets his desired object. And *one* who repeats the name of God and bestows charity in his name, the Almighty fulfills all his desires. Similarly, keeping faith in you, I have placed this kingdom in your lap. Do what you think proper, but do not be slack. You might be knowing the present condition of my kingdom. For you, everything is easy, and therefore you will remove all my difficulties. I am depending on you.

(Vikram) Samvat 1827, Vishakh Vadi II

These are some of the broad facts. Besides these, there is some more documentary evidence which proves that, for certain reasons, Marwar rulers were always alert in defending the cause of the Maharana of Mewar against the Mughal influence.

The Tuluva Gramapaddhati

BY

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OF much interest to students of South Indian history in general and of unique importance to those of the history of Tuluva in particular is a work called the *Gramapaddhati.*[1] The word literally means usage *(paddhati)* of the village *(grama).* But it is much more than a mere collection of antiquated rules pertaining to the villages : it is a work which contains the classification of villages in ancient Tuluvanadu (modern South Kanara district) with the names of all important households in them, rules of social etiquette, and various other details which give a comprehensive idea of the village organisation of ancient Tuluva.

I have secured seven versions of this useful work but the best is that which hails from the Puttige Matha at Udipi. It is written in the Tulu script but in the Sanskrit language with a few passages in Kannada. It comprises forty-nine complete palm leaves written on both sides with lacunae here and there. In the Puttige Matha collection it is marked *u.vi* (tthala) which is the sign of that Matha and it is numbered 66. This excellent version was secured through the kind offices of my eld colleagues Vidvan Pandits Nidamburu Raghavendra Ballala and Venkatadasacarya of Udipi to whom my indebtedness is due. Likewise r m l grateful to my friend Pandit Knnarakuduru Bhatta Ramakrsnayya who has sent me two other versions of the *Gramapaddhati* and who had aided me in various ways in regard to the history of Tuluva.

The Udipi Puttige Matha account of the Tuluva *Gramapaddhati,* like all other versions of the same work, begins with portions of the *Sahyadri kanda* of the *Skanda Parana* of which it is said to be a part. It contains twenty-six chapters which deal with the following topics : Chapter 1. The origin of the creation of Parasurama. Chapter 2. The origin of the family of the Kadambas and of the building of the city of Jayantipura. Chapters 3—5. The allotment of thirty-two villages

1. This work has been amply utilized by me in my book entitled *Ancient Kamataka* Vol- I, *History of Tuluva.* But it will be published by me in detail separately in due course. The Tuluva *Gramapaddhati* is not to be confounded with the *Tulu-de'savamanam* and such other works which are found in the *Mackenzie Collection,* although both contain some points of similarity.

among the different households by Mayuravarma, the Kadamba king. Chapters 6—13. The story of the social excommunication of some families in the Pancagrama Modagrama, the twenty-four Tottilu grama and in other villages. Chapters 14—15. General matters. Chapters 16—17. Description of the Hoyyakki and Kajagada people, Chapter 18. General topics. Chapter 19. Description of the Sahavasi people. Chapter 20. This chapter contains lacuna? and ends abruptly. Chapters 21—26. The Utpattipaddhati, the Gokarnapaddhati, the Desapaddhati, the Ahicchatrapaddhati, the Desotpattipaddhati, and the division of some houses in various parts of Tuluva.

The Tuluva *Gramapaddhati* may seem at first sight to be something like the *Keralottpatti* of Kerala. Indeed like the *Keralottpatti* the Tuluva *Gramapaddhati* contains much legendary matter which is rather unintelligible. And the fact that it forms a part of the *Sahyddri-kanda,* as the unknown compiler of the *Gramapaddhati* puts it,[2] detracts to some extent its value as an historical work of first-rate importance. In spite of these defects it is a valuable source for constructing the ancient history of Tuluvanadu. Over and above the few points we have given at the commencement of this short paper, we may note that the Tuluva *Gramapaddhati* contains sketches of the working of the great village assemblies of Tuluva and an admirable pen-picture of a great Madhva ascetic who seems to have been no other than the celebrated Madhvacarya himself with an account of the methods adopted by him for recruiting people into his fold. All these details which are not found in the other known sources of information, make the Tuluva *Gramapaddhati* a work of much importance for the history of this hitherto unexplored district of Western India.

EDITORS' NOTE

[It may be pointed out that the Mss in the Mackenzie Collection to which the author refers include a *Tuluvanddu-utpatti* in palm leaves and Telugu character ; and a Tamil palm-leaf Ms. called the *Tuluvadesakatha* which is a later one as it gives an account of Tuluva from the time of Aurangzeb and Sivaji's descendants. The *Tuluvadesa-varnana,* to which Dr. Saletore refers, is a Kanarese MS. in palm-leaf and describes the temples of the Tuluva country and the Saivite cults including the VIra-Saivism of Channa Basava]

2. K. M. Das Prabhu, Publishers, Mangalore, published some time ago a version of the Tuluva *Gramapaddhati* written, as they said, by a Bhattacarya. But the other versions of the work do not give the name of any author. In my *History of Tuluva* I have endeavoured to fix the date of *Gramapaddhati* based on its internal evidence. While it undoubtedly contains matter of an earlier date, its composition can be dated only to the later half of the fourteenth century A.D.

The Poona Residency Correspondence and its value to History

BY

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STUDENTS of history are generally aware that, when the Maratha Raj came to an end at the beginning of the nineteenth century, all its past records were secured and carefully housed at Poona by the British Government and came to be subsequently known as the *Peshwas' Daftar,* of which the late Mr. Jackson, a scholar of repute, wrote, that " no government in India owns a collection of vernacular State papers that approaches in interest or importance those of the Poona Daftar and it is, I venture to think, the duty of Government to make them available to all students of Indian history." These Marathi records were recently explored by a body of experts under Government direction, and 45 volumes of selected historical papers have been already before the public.

But these records of the Peshwas come to an abrupt end with the exception of a few papers about the year 1782, because Nana Fadnis, who was then in sole charge of the Peshwas' government at Poona, received and looked after all the despatches and State-papers that reached the capital. When he died in 1800, his widow removed all those papers to her husband's country residence at Manavli near Wai, whence they found their way to Satara and came to be partly published by the late R. B. Parasnis. They now form the principal contents of the Satara Historical Museum.

Thus the lack of original Marathi papers after 1782 was keenly felt by all lovers of history, but has fortunately been amply supplied by the records existing in the English language which accumulated at the British Residency at Poona, and the surviving portion of which is now lodged in the same building where the Peshwas' Daftar is kept.

The treaty of Salbye (Salbai) which closed the first Maratha War between the English and the Peshwas' government in 1782, provided that Mahadaji Sindia was to be a guarantee for the proper observance of the stipulations on the part of both the English and the Court of Poona. This gave rise to the appointment of a permanent British Resident representing the Governor-General at the Court of Sindia in North India. David Anderson who had negotiated the treaty, continued to

work as Resident and remove the various causes of friction to which the vagueness of some of the articles subsequently gave rise. In this way Mahadaji Sindia came to assume an extra-ordinary importance in Maratha politics, thereby throwing the court of Poona into the background then represented by Nana Fadnis. In such a predicament Nana began to seek means for opening direct dealings with the Governor-General and throwing away the medium of Sindia. The result was the appointment of Charles Warre Malet at Poona as the first British Resident in 1785.

Malet had come out to India in 1770 and been for some years in charge of the factory at Cambay under the Bombay Presidency. Before joining his appointment, he was ordered to make an overland tour through Northern India and visit the Governor-General at Calcutta to receive direct instructions from him about his duties at Poona, which he joined on 3rd March, 1786. For thirty years thereafter, four gentlemen of pre-eminent ability worked in succession as British Residents at the Peshwas' court, and left behind a record of their official transactions, which is now found to be of immense historical value as it supplies the only available material dealing pointedly with the last days of the Maratha empire, and covering the eventful period of over thirty years. Malet's three successors were Palmer, Close and Elphinstone.

These Poona Residency Records consist of about a hundred files, each containing from some 700 to 800 pages in manuscript, and came to be saved from the fire set to the British Residency by Bajirao II when he took up arms against the British in the last Maratha War. The files remained secluded at the Poona Alienation office for over a hundred years, and as they were undergoing a rapid decay, Government took measures to have them all typed in four copies at the expense of the Kolhapur State, and thus made it possible to have them read and studied for purposes of selection and publication. This task has now been undertaken.

Students of history will be glad to know that these records possess a scope far exceeding mere official transactions of the British Residents at Poona. They relate to the political affairs of almost all parts of India covering a period of 33 years from the appointment of Malet in 1785 to the annexation of the Peshwas' dominions and the formation of the present Bombay Presidency in 1818 Strictly speaking, these records consist of (1) despatches sent by the successive British Residents, minutely describing the situation of the central Maratha court, together with that of its various confederate members ; (2) Instructions received by the Residents from the Governors-General dealing with questions of policy and execution; (3) Despatches and news-letters sent to the Poona Resident by the British Residents at the courts of **the** Nizam,

Sindia, Bhonsle of Nagpur and others ; and (4) Copies of correspondence between the Governors and Governors-General and the Residents and other British officials stationed at various places. Such copies were purposely sent to Poona to keep the Resident fully informed of the affairs, and of the measures adopted by British policy in different parts of India.

These Poona Residency papers form a mine of information of the highest value in point of originality and detail concerning the internal affairs not only of the Marathas, but of the various other Indian powers, end thus they constitute the principal basis of history for practically the whole of British India. This vast source has not been tapped at all, if we except the few papers of Cornwallis published by Ross and even the ampler ones of Wellesley published by Martin. For the affairs of Tipii Sultan, the Nizam, the Rajput States, and the various Maratha chiefs and confederates, these papers offer a virgin field to the resereh student, and when published, they would render the present standard works of Anglo-Indian history mostly obsolete.

Several topics of importance more or less unknown to students will be found dealt with in this Residency correspondence. For instance, the French intrigues at Poona and in South India generally during the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century are nowhere else so fully unfolded. Many gaps in our present knowledge of the Central Provinces, Mysore, Hyderabad and Rajputana can be supplied by means of these new records : and as they are all in English, they possess a peculiar advantage over contemporary Marathi papers, in that they reach readers of all nationalities in India, ignorant of Marathi.

The series of Residency Records proper is followed bv a mass of manuscript documents written by the early British administrators of (he Deccan known as the Deccan Commissioners, during the early years following the annexation of the Maratha dominions. They illustrate not only the conditions and problems that faced the British officials when they first took over charge, but also their early administrative experiments and policy. What is of still greater value to the historian is that they illuminate for us the social and economic back-ground on which the new British system was planted, and thus tell us of the detailed working of the Peshwas' system of rule, and of the local customs as observed and described in full by expert administrators of European experience. Especially valuable are the vivid pictures they give of the old village communities of the south, the working of the indigenous system of local self-government and the economic organisation, besides several other topics such as internal communications, rates of commodities, coinage and exchange, etc. Thus from the point of view of the

historian, the economist and the sociologist alike, the publication of the English records at Poona is necessary in order to complete and supplement the information already available.

From ten to fifteen volumes (each of about 500 pages) of historical content and a few more of an economic and administrative character, can be easily compiled from these materials. The Government of Bombay are equally interested in this useful work, and have undertaken to print and publish whatever responsible honorary workers would select and prepare, under the general supervision of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The work has been already taken in hand, and four volumes dealing with the eleven years' period of Malet's regime (1786-1797) are now printing in the Government Central Press, Bombay, and are soon expected to be out. The work requires voluntary and able workers, who are prepared to live at Poona at their own expense and put in patient labour for months before any single volume can be completed. Let us hope the undertaking will not be left incomplete for want of workers !

The Date of the Arthasastra

BY

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THE controversy regarding the date of the Kautiliya-Arthasastra is still going on. Relying on the Puranic statement that Chanakya installed Chandragupta on the throne of the Nandas, some have assigned the work to the 4th century B.C. Others take as late as the 4th century A.D., on the ground that, as Kautilya is spoken of in the third person in the Arthasastra, it must necessarily be the work of a school founded by Kautilya, and that it can not be far earlier than Dandi and Kalidasa who refer to, or quote from the Arthasastra, in their own works. The other reasons that have been adduced in addition to the above on each side are so inconclusive that, unless a conclusive evidence is adduced in support of the earlier or later date, the controversy is not likely to terminate. Such an evidence is, I think, furnished in the 2$ttl-Chapter entitled " The Measurement of Place and Time " in the 2nd Book of the work.

In this chapter, the author gives us a brief description of the beginning of the solar year, of the location of the solstices, of the increase and decrease of the days and nights, and of the five years' cycle with its two intercalary months to adjust the lunar with the solar year. This almanac appears, on close examinaton, to be a reproduction of the then current Vedangajyotisa. It is also more or less similar to the almanac of the *Suryapragnapti* of the Jainas. The Vedangajyotisa locates the summer and winter solstices in the middle of the Aslesha and the beginning of the Dhanishtha constellations. This position of the solstices is correct only for the 11th century B.C., and not for the 4th century B.C. or for the 4th century A.D. Taking the precession of the equinoctial and solstitial points to be a degree in the course of 72 years, the solstices may be located somewhere about the last quarter of Pushya in the 4th century B.C., and in the first quarter of the same in the 4th century A.D. The *Suryapragnapti* actually locates the summer solstice in Pushya (pp. 225-226) and also at the end of Punarvasu (pp. 197-8). It says (pp. 225-6) " iha suryasya dasabhirayanaih pancha suryanakshatra-paryayah labhyante. dvabhyam chayanabhyamekah.. tatra-uttarayanam kurvan sarvadaiva abhijita nakshatrena saha yogamupagachhati. dakshinayanam kurvan pushyena." Translated into English, this means—" Here, by the ten Ayana movements of the sun, we get five solar revolutions.

* The author uses *ch* for c in this article. There are other variations too.

By two Ayanas, one revolution. In these revolutions the sun makes the winter solstice arriving at the Abhijit (Sravana) constellation and the summer solstice arriving at the Pushya constellation." On page 106 it says that Abhijit is identical with Sravana, and that it has no place of its own. On pages 197-8 it, however, shifts the place of the summer solstice to the end of Punarvasu. It follows, therefore, that the ancients were aware of the shifting of the solstices. Kautilya, however, makes no mention of the constellations in which the solstices were located. Leaving the precession of the solstitial colure to its own course, Kautilya confines his attention to the traditional months and dates which were authoritatively spoken of as the time of the sun's arrival at one or other of the solstitial points, when religious rites were performed probably then for the first time. Even new Hindu astronomers call the actual transit of the sun from one Zodiacal sign to another *Ayana,* and the traditional time of his transit from one sign to another sign or to a definite degree of another sign Samkramana which now takes place about twenty or twenty-two days after the Ayana transit.

The question at issue is not, however, the determination of the *loci* of the solstitial points at the time of the Vedahgajyotisa or of the Arthasastra. The purpose of this paper is only to show the identity of the almanac of the Arthasastra with those described in the Vedahgajyotisa and the Suryapragfiapati, and to determine the epoch when such an almanac was current in India. The system of the almanac described in these works is undoubtedly pre-Grecian and cannot be regarded as current later than the beginning of the Christian Era, when Greek astronomy is believed to have been introduced into India. In the introduction to his translation of Varahamihira's *Panchasiddhdntika* (p. 55) Thibaut says : " The late Prof. Whitney *(Suryasiddhanta,* p. 470) has expressed the opinion that the absence from the Hindu system of any of the improvements introduced into Greek astronomy by Ptolemy seems to favour the conclusion that the original transmission of astronomical knowledge into India took place before Ptolemy." According to Encyc. Brit Vol. 20, P. 87, Ptolemy's first observation was made in 127 A.D., and his last observation was in 151 A.D. It follows therefore that the improvement in the system of calendar after the Greek model came into use in India about the beginning of the Christian Era, and an improved calendar was substituted for the old calendar of the Vedangajyotisa. It also follows that before the Christian Era the Vedahgajyotisa calendar and the Arthasastra calendar, which is a copy of the former, held the ground. Hence the Arthasastra which reproduces the Vedahgajyotisa almanac in its pages cannot be taken so far late as the third or the fourth century A.D., when a reformed calendar after the Greek model was current in India. Had it been compiled so late as the fourth century A.D., it

would have copied the reformed almanac, but never the obsolete Vedangajyotisa calendar.

The estimation of the longest day at eighteen Muhurtas and the shortest day at twelve Muhurtas recorded in the Arthasastra is also an additional evidence proving that it was compiled before the introduction of the knowledge of Greek astronomy into India. The late Dr. Thibaut holds the same view ; He says in his Notes on the Vedangajyotisa (P. 12) as follows : —" The estimation of the longest day at eighteen Muhurtas and the shortest day at twelve Muhurtas, and the simple rule for finding the length of any day during the year appear to have generally prevailed in India before the influence of Greek science began to make itself felt." Hence it may be concluded that the traditional account that the Arthasastra was compiled by Chanikya is reliable.

For facility of comparison the required passages of the Arthasastra and the Vedangajyotisa are quoted below : —

Artha.

maghah phalgunascha sisirah.
sravanah proshthapadascha varshah.
sisiradyuttarayanam.
varshadi dakshmayanam.
panchasamvatsaro yugam.
divasasya haratyarkah
shashthibhagamritau tatah.
karotyekamahaschhedam
tathaivaikam cha chandramah.
evamardhatritiyanam.
abdanamadhimasakam.
grishme (paushe)[1] janayatah purvam.
panchabdante cha paschimam.

trimsadahoratrah prakarmamasah.
sardhassaurah.
ardhanyunaschandramash.
saptavimsatih nakshatramasah.

panchadasamuhurto divaso.
ratrischa chaitre masyasvayuje.
masi bhavatah. tatah param.
tribhirmuhurtairanyatarat.
shanmasam vardhate hrasate cha.

Vedanga

prapadyetesravishthadau
suryachandramasavudak
sarpardhe dakshinarkastu.
maghasravanayossada
maghasuklaprapannasya
paushakrishnasamapinah
yugasya panchavarshasya
kalagiianam prachakshate
yatkritavupajayate
madhye'nte chadhimasakam.

trisatyaham sashatshashthih
abdasshat chartave'yane
masa dvadasa suryssyuh
etatpanchagunam yugam.
savanendustrimasanarn.
shashthissaikadisaptika.

gharmavriddhirapam prasthah
kshapahrasa udaggatau
dakshine tau viparyasah
shanmuhurtyayanena tu

1. *Paushe* ought to be the correct meaning.

The first day of winter (Magna) is winter solstice.
Magha and Phalguna are winter.
Sravana and Proshthapada are the rains.
The first day of the rains is summer solstice

The sun and the moon start northward at the beginning of Sravishtha.
At the middle of Aslesa the sun starts southward, always in the months of Magha and Sravana respectively

Five years make a yuga.
Each day the sun carries off one-sixtieth of a day, and in the course of two months he makes an excessive day.
Likewise the moon makes one day. (that is, falls back from the Savana year of 360 days.)
Thus in the course of 2^{2}/£ years they make one intercalary month, the first in the Pausha month, and the last at the close of the five years.

They teach the knowledge of the time of the cycle consisting of five years which begins with the white half of the month Magha and terminates with the dark half of the month Pausha.
On account of this there are formed in addition two excessive months in the middle and at the end of the Yuga.

Thirty days and nights make one Savana month.
The above with half a day more makes a solar month.
The above less by half a day makes a lunar month.
Twenty-seven days and nights make one Nakshatra month.
In the months of Chaitra and Asvayuja the day and night are each of fifteen Muhurtas (that is, in those months there occurs an equinoctial day of 15 Muhurtas and its night of fifteen Muhurtas). Then after in the 6 months of the Dakshinayana the day increases by three Muhurtas, and in the other 6 months it decreases by three Muhurtas.

Three hundred and sixty-six days, one year, six seasons, two Ayanas (the northern and the southern progress of the sun), twelve months, are to be considered as solar ; this taken five times is a cycle. There are in one yuga sixty-one Savana months, sixty-two lunar months, sixty-seven Nakshatra months.
The increase of the day and the decrease of the night during the northern progress of the sun is one Prastha of water; the reverse is the case during the southern progress. A period of six Muhurtas is the result during one progress.

For efficiency in conducting su special government activities, as agriculture, mining, metallurgy, mai acture of cloth, liquor **and** other

commodities, and trade, the author of the Arthasastra lays it down as a rule that the services of specialists *(Tadgna)* should be availed of. The preparation of an almanac specifying the days of religious festivals, the days of submitting accounts to the government (the full moon day of the month of Ashadha closing the year), the days of payment of salaries and of holidays, and the like, both for government and public use, is no exception to the above rule. It follows therefore that in enunciating astronomical principles and maxims necessary for framing a calendar, the compiler of the Arthasastra had the assistance of expert astronomers of the time. If, then, the Arthasastra were compliled in the 3rd or the 4th century A.D., as supposed by some Oriental scholars, the Siddhanta principles of astronomy would have been enumerated in the chapter on time in the Arthasastra. But on the contrary the chapter on space and time contains only the pre-Siddhanta, that is, pre-Grecian principles of astronomy described in it, as pointed out above. Hence it may be concluded that the Arthasastra is a work of the pre-Christian period, and belongs to the epoch of the commencement of the Mauryan period B.C. 300-327.

Mahmud Gawan's Political Thought and Administration

BY

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MAHMtJD GAWAN'S EARLY LIFE

KHWAJA-i-Jahan Mahmud Gawan's personality is one of the most attractive in the history of the Deccan. He was born at Qawan or Gawan in the kingdom of Gilan on the Caspian Sea in 1405, and was the son of Shaikh Mahmud Gilani, the tutor of the prince who later ascended the throne of Gilan as Sultan 'Alau'd-din.[1] He says that his ancestors had filled high office and even ministries in their country and had moved in close proximity to the rulers of the land,[2] while his own uncle, Shamsu'd-din held the post of a minister, and he himself helped him in the performance of his onerous duties.[3] It might thus be said that he was already versed in the art of government when he arrived in India in 1455. The reason for his leaving the land of his birth seems to be that a poweful clique had sprung up there which envied the rise of the Khwaja's family,[4] and although he had every chance of acquiring a high position in his own land, he says that ' his shoulders could not bear the burden of high governmental office,[5] and he left the country thoroughly disgusted with the atmosphere of intrigue round him. What seems to have happened was that the Commander-in-Chief, Haji Muhammad, and the Minister, 'AH, who had both been *proteges* of Mahmud's family, had become its deadly enemies,[6] and perhaps feeling that he could not cope with the situation, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca[7] never to return. Instead of going back he adopted trade as a profession, and was successful to the extent that he was able to engage in overseas dealings, landing at Dabul in 1455 and wending his way to the metropolis of the

1. [Unless otherwise mentioned, the references are to the collection of Mahmud's letters, named *Riadhu'l-Insha,* Aslfiah Library No. 140 Insha, Daftara-i Diwanl No. 8. The numbers refer to leaves in the former and pages in the latter.] To Sultan of Gilan; A. 107, D. 188.
2. Introduction to Riadh; A. 4, D. 8.
3. *Ibid.*
4. To King of Guan; A. 50, D. 90.
5. Intr.; A. 4, D. 8.
6. To *Ali el-Yezdl, A. 29, D. 56.
7. Intr.; A. 4, D. 8.

Deccan. The immediate cause of his coming to Bidar was that he wanted to sit at the feet of Shah Muhibbu'1-lah, son of great *saydt* Shah Ni'mayul-lah Kirmani, who had come and settled down there.[8]

BIDAR AND THE BAHMANI KINGDOM ON HIS ARRIVAL

The Bahmani kingdom was governed by 'Alau'd-din II,[9] who was immediately impressed by the worth of the Gilani. Mahmud praises "Alau'd-din in one of the letters he wrote to the Sultan of Gilan, where he attributes the kindness with which he was received at Bidar to the Hands of the Divine Providence, and says that it was due to " the ointment of the goodness of His late Majesty that the wound of migration from home was healed.[10] In the same letter Khwajah is P11 praises for the much-maligned Humayun Shah Bahmani,[11] who really *1* discovered ' Mahmud as a general and administrator, put him in position of responsibility and command and willed that he should act as a co-regent during the minority of his son Nizam SHah.[12] It was an unfortunate occurrence that there should have been so many rebellions during the short reign of the former king, followed by harsh measures taken by him ; otherwise his administration could not have been so bad, as is obvious from various facts. Firstly, he was assisted in his task by his great queen, one of the most sagacious women India has produced, Mafc/iduma-i Jahan Nargis Begam. Secondly, he left his kingdom consolidated and secure enough to be ruled by his son, a young boy of eight ; and lastly, he knew the true character of men, and showed his foresight in appointing Mahmud to be co-regent with Malik SHah, Khwaja-i Jahan, under the supervision of the Queen. It was probably during this regency, short-lived like Humayun's reign, that he was requested by the king of Gilan to come back to his erstwhile home ; but Mahmud respectfully replied that he was too much overwhelmed by feelings of the kindness shown to him by the Bahmani sovereigns to have any desire to leave India, which he must continue to serve to the end of his day, allowing his son 'Ubaydu'1-lah to represent him at Gilan instead.[13]

PARTIES AT BIDAR

When Mahmud arrived at Bidar, the Bahmani kingdom was rent asunder by the rift between the 'AfaqI and ' Dakhni.' The * Dakhnis '

8. Ferishtah.
9. 1434—1457.
10. To the Sultan of Gilan ; A. 50, D. 90.
11. 1457—1460.
12. 1460—1462.
13. A. 50, D. 90.

included, besides the original inhabitants of the land, those who had been living in the country for some time as well as the Negro or Negroid * habashis,' while the ' gharlbs ' or 'Afaqis ' (' Cosmopolitans ') consisted of fresh immigrants mainly from Persia and Central Asia who came either on the invitation from the king or else as adventurers[14] and generally ended their lives in the service of their adopted country. The first time we hear of this antagonism was in the reign of Ahmad SHah,[15] who was really helped to the throne by an Afaqi, KHalaf Hasan of Basran, whom he gave the title of Maliqu-t-tujjar or 'Prince of Merchants,' a title which finally descended on Mahmud Gawan himself. It was really the great heights to which KHalaf Hasan reached which was an eyesore to his opponents, and a party sprung up at the court, the avowed object of which was the annihilation of the power of the so-called 'Cosmopolitans' sometimes without the knowledge of the king and sometimes even against the personal feelings of the ruler. As matters stood, the rulers of the Deccan from Ahmad SHah Wali down to Humayun had a strong bias for these 'Afaqis,' and Ahmad tested the loyalty, and the potentialities of his 'Afaqi' courtiers time and again, and finally, when they were successful against Vijianagar in 1423, he ordered a special corp of archers from 'Iraq, KHurasan, Transoxania, Turkey and Arabia under Maliku't-tujjar, who subdued the country round about Daulatabad and earned the honours bestowed upon him by his master. Perhaps the next great influx of the 'afaqis' was after the reception of the sons of Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani in 1430, when one of them became the son-in-law of the king, and the other that of the Crown Prince 'Alau'd-din.[1<!]

The same policy persisted during the reign of 'Alau'd-din II as well who made Dilawar KHan Afghan his Wakil-i-kul, Khwaja-i Jahan Asterabadi his Wazir-i-kul, and 'Imadu'1-mulk Ghori his Amiru'l-umara,[17] all of them being ' Afaqis.' The purely ' Dakhni' party sided with Prince

14. It is wrong to translate 'Afaqi' as 'foreigners' as Sir W. Haig has done in Cambridge History of India, Vol. III. Ch. 15 and 16, as most of them had made the Deccan their home and were just as much or as little ' foreigners' as the Normans of the time of Henry II and Henry III, the Franks of the time of Hugh Capet, or the Turks of the time of Suleyman the Magnificent.

15. 1422—1434.

16. This account down to the advent of Mahmud Gawan on the stage of politics is taken mainly from the *Burhdnu'l-Ma'athir* (MSS. Ad. 198 Camb. Un.) the phototype of which was kindly lent to me by Mr. Hashimi, Assistant Home Secretary, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, and from Ferishtah.

17. Wakll-i-kul, or Wakll-i-Saltanat generally looked after foreign affairs, while Wazir-i-kul supervised home affairs; the Amlnu'l-umara was the Lord Chamberlain. The officers are well described in the Urdu work, Aziz Mirza, Slratu'l-Mahrmid, Budaon, 1927.

Muhammad who caused his opponents, the ghorl and the Khwaja-i Jahan *to* be put *to* death. When war was declared with KHandesh and KHalaf Hasan Basri was deputed to command the Bahmani forces, he requested the king to send only Mughals and Arabs with him as, according to him, in former campaigns, such as that of Mahim,[18] the Bahmani arms were unsuccessful owing to a cleavage between the 'Dakhni' and 'Afaqi' soldiery. Anyhow the campaign was enormously successful, the KHandcshis being routed at Ronkhed Ghat, and the commander-in-chief had a rousing reception at Bidar, resulting in the issue of a royal decree that on all state occasions the 'Gharibs' should occupy the position on the king's right and the 'Dakhnis' and 'Habashis' on his left. Ferishtah says that this occasion was the beginning of even a greater animosity between the two sections of the population.

Basri was again victorious with his * Afaqis' against Vijayanagar, but was deluded by his enemies during an expedition in the Konkan. He was trapped by Rai Sirkah in a wood, where he had been taken by a ruse, and then by his own soldiers who surrounded the remnant of the 'Gharibs' in the fort at Chakan, did not allow their petitions to reach the king's presence, and killed them almost to a man.[10] When 'Alau'd-din came to hear all this, he had the ringleaders severely dealt with and promoted a number of 'gharibs,' such as Qasim Beg Saf-shikan who was created Maliku't-tujjar and commander of Daulatabad and Junair. It was about this time that Mahmud Gawan was given a *mansab* of 1000 and saw his first campaign—that against Malwa. When 'Alau'd-din saw that his end was near, he willed Mahmud should be created Maliku't-tujjar and Governor of Bijapur, and Malik SHah Turk should be given the title of Khwaja-i Jahan and be made Governor of Tilangana.

On Humayun's accession to the throne, the party cleavage took a dynastic turn, the 'Dakhni'-Rajput party siding with the pretender, Sikandar Khan, who was later overcome in the Nalgundah campaign, and when Nizam succeeded Humayun in 1460, the reins of the government came into the hands of Khwaja-i Jahan who became Wakil-i-kul, and the Maliku't-tujjar, Mahmud Gawan, the Wazir-i-kul. As has already been mentioned, the master mind which supervised the whole system was that of the Dowager Queen, who ruled the country during the short reign of her son, Nizam, and continued to perform her responsible duties during the earlier part of the reign of her other son, Muhammad.[20]

18. In 1430. This is the modern spelling ; in Persian works it is spelt "Mahaim".

19. The whole episode is dealt with in great detail by Ferishtah.

20. 1462—1482.

Mahmud became the sole minister on the order of Khwaja-i Jahan in open court in. 1464.

MAHMUD GAWAN'S CONDUCT AS A PARTY POLITICIAN

We have given this *resume* of party cleavages during the forty years which had elapsed between the accession of Ahmad SHah in 1422 and the elevation of Mahmud to the premiership in 1464 in order to gage the policy pursued by Mahmud in relation to party politics. If we follow this policy closely, we would find that he really knew no party in the sense that most of his contemporaries of either section understood by it, and whatever 'afaqism' there lingered in him was completely overcome by a sentiment of the most intense loyalty towards the dynasty he was serving and the country he had made his own.

As a matter of fact, attempts were made to make his *regime* a failure mainly by withholding supplies from him when he took command of the Bahmani forces against the Rai of Raingnan, and while he was actually engaged in the operation against the strong fort of Sangameshwar.[21] He bitterly complains to Maulana Muhammad Larl in a letter he wrote from his camp at Sangameshwar about depletion in men and money.[22] In another letter he says that he has to face not only the avowed enemy of the kingdom in the person of the Rai, but also those within the kingdom who were envious of his position in the State, and that although those in position of responsibility were withholding help at crucial moments, he was able to take possession of Goa in the name of his master all the same.[23] In another letter he says that his opponents were carrying on a malicious propaganda against him,-'[1] even to the extent of poisoning the ears of the king.[25] No doubt afTected by the machinations of his enemies, his son, Maliku't-tujjar, writes to him pleading for harsh measures against those who were sowing disensions in the realm.[20] But the father was built of a different stuff, and he struck a distinct line for himself completely ignoring the machinations of his opponents. He writes to Nizamu'1-mulk that whatever had taken place (i.e., the shortage of supplies to the battlefield) was really due to the intrigues of the followers of the Musnad-i 'All, although the interests of the Musnad-i 'Ali and himself were really one and the same, and pleads for the union of the two parties which, he says, " is bound to lead to a

21. *Vide,* my paper of " Mahmud Gawan's Campaigns in the Maharashtra " read before the first All-India History Congress, Poona, 1935.

22. A. 88, D. 212.

23. To Nizamu'1-mulk, A. 116, D. 202.

24. "To certain ministers", A. 132, D. 231.

25. " To one of his friends ", A. 113, D. 198.

26. A. 140.

large amount of good, and the destruction of the real enemies of the realm."[27] We must here remember that it was not merely in theory that the Khwajah was pleading for a truce between the two groups for the good of the kingdom, but when it came to a distribution of places of profit and authority he held the scales evenly between them, setting an example for the future potentates of the country. Thus (whatever the immediate cause of each appointment might be), he recruited an equal number of Habashis and Dakhnis on the one hand, and immigrant Central Asians and Circassians on the other, in the royal bodyguard, put a pure dakhiri, Nizamu'1-mulk, in command of the army of Orissa, and later to the command-in-chief of Tilangana, while in the case of the new governorates he took care not to show any partiality towards any part of the population of the Empire at the expense of the other, making Nizamu'1-mulk and 'Imadu'1-mulk, both Dakhnis, governors of Rajamahendri and Gawil; Dastur Dinar and KHudawand khan, both Habashis, governors of Gulbargah and Mahur ; Prince A'zam KHan, a descendant of 'Alau'd-dln II, governor of Warangal; and the Afaqis, Yusuf 'Adil KHan and Fakhru'1-mulk governors of Daulatabad and Junair ;[28] keeping Bijapur for himself.

This ' balance of power' on the part of the Khwajah was due partly to his intense loyalty towards his sovereign, and partly to the need he felt for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. The collection of his letters is full of communications to his friends, Ministers of State, foreign sovereigns, and the Sultan of the land of his birth, Gilan. He left no stone unturned to show in the addresses his profound feelings of gratitude and affection for his Bahmani master, and to recount the great work which was being done by his adopted country.[20] In one of his letters he shows the great esteem with which he held the memory of Humayun SHah[30] and in another gives vent to his intense grief at the death of the dowager queen, saying that, although his age[sl] and bodily infirmities would not have allowed him to continue to perform his duties, which had become doubly onerous by that terrible event, yet he considered it his bounden duty to act according to the dictates of his royal master.[32] There is no letter written to a foreign potentate, may he be the Sultan of Gilan or the Sultan of Turkey, where he does not recount the greatness of the

27. A. 115, D. 201.
28. This distribution will be found described in Ferishtah.
29. *Vide* Sherwani, " Deccani diplomacy and diplomatic usage in the middle of the fifteenth century", a paper read before the History Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore Session, 1935.
30. A. 90, D. 158.
31. A. 102, D. 179.
32. A. 102, D. 179.

Bahmani Empire.[33] He writes to the ambassadors of the sovereign of Malwa that the Bahmanis are not rulers of the Deccan merely by an accident, but that their rule is based on sheer right, and that the empire of Deccan is " like the Sun in the firmament."[34] After the conquest of the territory of Goa, he writes to Maulana Jam! that, whatever parts of the country have come under the Bahmani rule, have become the abode of the men of God and the refuge of the learned and *savants* of the earth ;[35] and to a learned man of KHurasan he writes that " the land of the Deccan is better than any other land,[36] and to the king of Gilan that there is no object for the performance of which enough material is not found in his adopted country.[37] It is really impossible here to give even a moderate list of the letters in which he has described his affection for the dynasty and the country, for these sentiments are interspersed practically right through the collection of his letters and in practically all the actions of his life.

MAHMUD'S POLITICAL THEORY

Not only does the Khwajah display this patriotic *motif* in his letters, but he sometimes discusses actual theories of politics in them. In a letter addressed to the Sultan of Gilan, after relating how there is " a fresh victory to the Bahmani arms every year," he says that he has been pondering over the principles of justice and the causes of domination and subjection," and has come to the conclusion that " those who, of their own free will and without any compulsion, act according to the principles of the Book (Qur'an) and the News (Hadith), wear the turban of freedom, those who put a cap of pride on their heads with the hands of denial, fall from the steed of authority, while again some pass through the stage of subjection to elevated pedestals and high office, while others through good fortune, even sit on the heights of royal thrones."[38] From this analysis a number of things appear. Firstly, that in spite of intense monarchical leanings, Mahmud was a democrat at heart in that he, like the author of *Qdbus-namefa,* believed in the possibility of those from the ranks attaining the highest honours in the realm even to the extent of becoming kings.[39] History shows instances, almost in every country of the Islamic world, where men, from the lowest rungs of society, even slaves, rose step by step, and founded dynasties through

33. *Vide* " Deccani diplomacy " etc.
34. A. 48, D. 87.
35. A. 79, D. 141.
36. A. 84.
37. A. 104, D. 182.
38. A. 35, D. 64.
39. For a study of this valuable work of the XI century A.C., *vide* Sherwani, "el-Mawerdi and the *Qalius-namah",* Hyderabad, 1934.

sheer merit,[40] and this was indeed the same principle which was enunciated in four pithy words, *'la carriere ouverte aux talents'* by a great Corsican who became the arbiter of Europe through personal ability and nothing more. Personal worth is always militating against accidents of birth, so that men with a broad outlook and societies with a democratic trend are always laying stress on the former. Mahmud was one of those who, while believing in a monarchical form of government, also thought that mere accident of birth should not come in the way of the attainment of the highest reward by those who, though perhaps humble and lowly, are best fitted to serve the State.

Besides birth and native ability, there is a third possible course leading to the attainment of honour and authority, and that is industry. Mahmud is alive to the proper position of this element in human progress. He writes to his son, Ulugh KHan[41] that those who take life easy are not to be seen among the great, while those who have high ambitions and are industrious sit with kings and Sultans. He gives the instance of the crow and the kite which are content with what they get and always look downwards, with the result that they are regarded lowly and only fit to be driven away, while the falcon, which has the courage to look up and uses his wings with industry, always suffering great hardships of hunger and fatigue, is rightly called 'the king of birds ' and deservedly sits on the hand of the high and the mighty.

In a letter to his son 'All, surnamed the Maliku't-tujjar, the Khwajah lays stress on the qualities for an average man's rise in status and honour, and they show us the diplomatic morality of the age in its best colours.[42] First and foremost, he says that one must forestal consequences in the light of past experience. It is well known that history in its broadest connotation is a guide to future conduct only in the sense that it gives us instances of numerous causes and effects, and leaves us to try and judge the future in the light of the past. No doubt such a judgment can be at its best, only approximately correct; still there is no other way to have any idea of the future except in the dim light of the past. Mahmud advises his son to treat everyone according to his station in life in order to obviate any unnecessary rancour, and to exercise one's power of forgiveness as often as possible. He reiterates what he had said in his letter to Ulugh KHan[43] when he tells 'All that there

40. The Mamelukes of Egypt and the Slave Kings of India are cases in point. Recently we have had an instance of an ordinary man becoming emperor of an ancient nation in Riza Shah Pahlevi of Iran.

41. A. 58, D. 101.

42. A. 67, D. 120. The latter is reproduced *verbatim* in 'Aziz Mirza\ *op. cit.*

43. Ulugh Khan (MSS. Daftar-i Dlwani) is named Alaf Khan in the Asafia MSS but the latter seems to be a mistake. *Vide* Ferishtah, where he is named

are some who are above others in intellect and reason, and a high officer should take care to promote them according to their worth. Lastly, the ruler should divest the country of all causes of disorder, should not exert himself on anyone too much, should be good and kind to all, whether high or low, be brave in time of need and always industrious and hard-working. Such are the precepts which the KHwajah considers necessary to act upon, if one wants to brave the pitfalls of the world and rise in the estimation of men ; and we have no doubt that it was these qualities which made the KHwajah himself what he was.

We might wind up the whole spirit of the KHwajah's thought in the witty epigram he used in the letter to his son, Ulugh KHan,[44] that on common sense depends the fulfilment of all objects, on knowledge the highest station in life, and on the way of living the treasures of the best qualities of virtue and character.

THE KHWAJAH'S ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES

Before Mahmud Gawan's reforms, the administrative system of the Bahmani kingdom was based on the principles laid down by Muhammad Shah,[45] son of the founder of the dynasty, who had divided the kingdom into four *atrdf* or provinces with a *tarajddr* at the head of each. The kingdom then comprised the tableland of the Deccan mainly up to the Western Ghats, a part of the Tilangana, and the Raichur Doab, and the provinces were called Berar, Tilangana, Gulbargah, and Daulatibad. The progress of the kingdom during the last hundred years had been immense, and the Bahmani arms had reached the Konkan coast in the West, Goa in the South-west, and the utmost limits of Tilangana and a part of Orissa in the East. In spite of this no attempt had been made to recast the provincial administration and the former divisions had been suffered to remain as before, comprising largely extended areas, with the result that the *tarajddr* of each province had become a small potentate within his territory, sometimes even ready to withstand the orders of the central government itself. It was after the last Maharashtra campaign[46] that the Khwajah completed his scheme for reform of the provincial administration on a more scientific basis. Instead of the overgrown four *atrdf*, he re-divided the Empire into eight provinces of moderate size, viz., two provinces, Gawil and Mahur, carved out of the old 'Berar'; Rajamahendri and Wararigal from the old 'Tilan-

Ulugh Khan. The late 'Aziz Mirza has called him Alaf Khan. For reference, *vide* note 41 supra.

44. A. 123, D. 214.

45. 1357—1374.

46. *Vide* Sherwani, Khwaja-i Jahan Mahmud Gawan's campaigns in the Maharashtra, *op. cit.*

gana'; Daulatabad and Junair comprising the old 'Daulatabad'; and Bijapur and Gulbargah representing the old 'Gulbargah.' He, thus nearly halved the old provincial area; and not content with that, he removed certain localities from the jurisdiction of the *Tarafddrs* bringing them directly under the control of the king himself, thus putting a strong royal check on the power of a *Tarajddr* in his own province.

This was also insufficient for the reformer's hand. It had been the rule almost since the foundation of the Bahmani state that there was no limit to the authority of a *Tarafddr* over the military affairs of his province, as not only could he appoint commanders of the garrison in the different forts, but was at liberty to keep as many men on active duty as he liked ; and while he was the sole authority on all military matters he could save a large amount from the *mansab* he received from the central treasury even to the extent of depleting the military forces which might therefore not be able to withstand the dangers which beset the Empire.

Mahmud revolutionised the whole system of military administration. He made it a rule that in the whole province there should be only one fortress under the direct command of the *Tarafddr,* while the *Qiladdrs* of all the other forts should be appointed by the central authority, thus completely centralising the military administration. Having an eye on every detail of the administration, he knew the great corruption and mismanagement caused by the system whereby each commander was given a certain mansab without much reference to his abilities, and although the amount was originally fixed in proportion to the troops at the command of the *mansabdar,* the system had become very lax in course of time and jagirs had been granted without much regard to the duty of keeping any fixed number of troops. The KHwajah reformed the system in a thoroughgoing manner. He decreed that every mansabdar was to be paid at the rate of a lakh of Huns (later on raised to be a lakh and a quarter)[47] per annum for the rank of every 500, and if jagirs were granted in lieu of cash payment, the *jdgirddrs* were to get the outstanding amount from the royal treasury. But with this regularity of payment a regularity in the amount of forces to be collected was also made obligatory, and if a *mansabdar* or *jagirddr* failed to recruit the stipulated number of soldiers he had to refund the proportionate amount back into the treasury.

We might say that the direction of Mahmud Gawan's military reforms took more or less the same turn as those of William the Conqueror of England, for both these men wished to curb the power of the big

47. A hun = about Rs. 4. These reforms are mentioned in the Ferishtah and the Burhan.

lords, both divided the large fiefs into smaller bits, and both brought them more directly under the central government, while Mahmud went a step further and made the jagirdars accountable to the central government in the matter of expenditure on the feudal army. He himself set an example of integrity and responsibility by refunding the amount saved from his military fiefs after military disbursements, never spending anything out of it on his own person. It is related that after his death his personal treasurer told the king how he continued to trade with the capital he had brought from Persia thirty years before, and how the profits accruing from it were his sole means of livelihood even when he was serving the king and his country !

There is one other matter in which the Khwajah's work might be compared to that of William the Conqueror. He was one of the first in Medieval India to have ordered a systematic measurement of the land, fixing the boundaries of different villages and towns, assessing the revenue more or less in the same way as the Conqueror had done in some parts of Britain. Ho thus, on the one hand, made it easy to determine the income of his royal master, on the other he further reduced the power of the nobles, and forestalled the land reforms later effected by Raja Todar Mai by about a century.

FATE OF THE KHWAJAH'S REFORMS

These beneficient reforms affected by the KHwajah came to nought after him. The chief cause of their failure was precisely the height which the KHwajah had attained. After the death of his patroness, the Dowager Queen, in 1472, he was without doubt, and in every sense, the dictator of the Bahmani Empire. As is well known, it is the weakness of all dictatorial institutions that there is no guarantee that a dictator's successors would be as far-seeing, as patriotic and as loyal to the cause as the dictator himself. Mahmud's strength lay in his great qualities of head and heart, and the weakness of his system lay in that there was no one else in the kingdom who could be his fit successor. The man who had been in the position of his ward for years, and whom he had trained in the art of government almost from his boyhood, was the very man who was made a tool by the discontented faction to put an end to the Khwajah's life,[48] and although it is possible that he might have carried forward the KHwajah's system, he himself died not many months after the end of the man he had caused to be murdered. The result was the disruption of the Empire into a number of independent principalities, and finally its end even in name, a little more than forty years after the fateful 14th of April, 1481.[49]

48. Muhammad Shah Bahmani, surnamed Lashkari, **1462-1482.**

49. The date of the Khwajah's murder.

The Khanderi Expedition of Charles Boone

BY

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A DARING sailor was Kanhoji Angria. His prowess brought him eternal fame and untold wealth. Master of the Konkan littoral, lord of the neighbouring waters, he defied the country powers and challenged the might of the merchant nations of the West. The Siddis and the Savants, his immediate neighbours, felt the weight of his arms ; the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese found the Arabian sea unsafe for their merchant men, while Kanhoji's fleet rode there. In 1713 the English concluded a treaty with the Maratha chief, and the outstanding differences were settled apparently for good and to the satisfaction of the contracting powers. But lasting peace is not possible where conflict of interests exists, and both the parties were sullenly biding their time. Hostilities were renewed when Charles Boone (1716-1720), a masterful man, took charge of the Government of Bombay. Kanhoji held that the country boats freighted by the Bombay merchants were not covered by the agreement of 1713, and formed good prizes so long as they were unprovided with his passes. Boone strongly protested, and when protests proved of no avail he decided to retaliate in kind.[1] Thus began the war which lasted till 1756 without any interval, and ended with the capitulation of Gheria.

The first important episode in this stubborn contest was Charles Boone's expedition against Khanderi or Kenery, a small island which commands to a certain extent the harbour of Bombay. The island was occupied by a Maratha force in 1679 despite English opposition, and though the hastily improvised rampart of dirt and stone was fiercely bombarded by the English and their Abyssinian allies, the defenders doggedly held on. The English found their resources hopelessly inadequate for a prolonged war and the Marathas were left in possession of their much valued prize. In 1713, Kenery was transferred to Kanhoji's care by his grateful sovereign,[2] and when war broke out Boone naturally tried to chase the enemy off his doorsteps.

1. For a detailed discussion see, Sen *Military System of the Marathas* pp. 196-202. [For a realistic description of Kanhoji's exploits see Douglas' Bombay *and Western India,* P. I, pp. 113, and 115-6].

2. Biddulph {*Malabar Pirates,* p. 122) is wrong in suggesting that this happen-

The first published account of this expedition is from the pen of Clement Downing, an English sailor, who possibly took part in the assault. But accuracy was not his *forte.* Downing's memory was not as strong as he believed, and as he kept no notes, confusion of men, events and dates necessarily marred his narrative. Colonel John Biddhuph consulted the contemporary records, but he did not hesitate to borrow freely from Downing's *History* whenever he found the details likely to prove interesting. A very brief outline has been given in Sir William Forster's introduction to Downing, where many of the adventurous sailor's misstatements were for the first time corrected. A detailed account of the Khanderi expedition may not therefore be absolutely without interest. Luckily a day-to-day record of the operations is still available, the authenticity of which is fairly unimpeachable. Governor Boone himself assumed the chief command of the land and marine forces employed on the expedition, and he hoisted his flag on the *Addison* then commanded by Richard Gosfright.[3] The log of the *Addison* (India Office No. 7034) gives a detailed account of the manoeuvring, cannonading, and assault in which the British fleet was engaged, and finally its discomfiture.

The fleet and force commanded by Boone were in number quite formidable from the Indian standard of those days. On the 1st November, 1718, the *Addison* weighed anchor at 2 in the afternoon " in company with the *Dartmouth, Captain Carter,* the *Victoria,* the *Revenge* and *Defiance* grabbs, the *Fame* gully, the *Hawke* ketch, 2 Bomb ketches and 48 gallivats". On the 3rd November, the bombardment of the island began in right earnest. The *Fame* left for Chaul with six gallivats, but the " Bomb began to play " at 3 a.m. and " continued till 8 ". The ghurabs fired from day-light till ten and were answered by the enemy. Angria's men could bring only 3 guns into action, and they did no execution. But it is difficult to accept Col. Biddhulph's assertion that the British men-of-war failed to make any impression on the garrison, because the distance was so great that nothing was affected but waste of ammunition."[4] The log of the *Addison* positively states that the ghurabs (grabbs), *Victoria, Revenge* and *Defiance* " were ordered to goe within gunn shot of the S°, most part of the island and their ancher." And this they apparently did before, not after Col. Biddulph thinks, the cannonading commenced. The *Dartmouth* also ran close to

ed in 1710. See Sen, *Military System of the Marathas,* p. 199. Foster, *Downing's History of the Indian Wars,* p XII.

3. Foster, *op. cit* p. 36. F. N. Not Capt. Hicks who died on the 7th September, 1718.

4. *Malabar Pirates,* p. 123.

the island, fired a broadside and some of the military officers went round with a pilot to find a suitable landing place. At two in the afternoon Kanhoji's fleet came into evidence. What their objective was it is not possible to surmise. From the beginning Boone had taken care to cut off all supply of men and munitions from the mainland and it is not unlikely that Angria's gallivats made an attempt to reopen communication with Kolaba, Kanhoji's headquarters on the opposite shores. But the *Victoria,* the *Revenge* and the *Hawke* (ketch) began a chase which had to be abandoned at 4 when fourteen of the enemy gallivats were perceived. The ketch continued to ply her shells all night and early in the morning (4th Nov.). Bombardeer Mule was accidentally hurt.

It was then decided to land two assaulting parties under cover of fire from the ghurabs. The grenadiers and the marines held themselves ready as early as 4 in the morning to land on the eastern shores of the island while a party of 558 Sepoys under the command of Captain John Miles was to land on the opposite side. The *Fame* returned from Chaul with the attending gallivats at 2 in the afternoon and went in the evening with the *Victoria* and the *Revenge* to the eastward of the island. The *Defiance* was posted to the S.E. and the *Hawke* to the N.W. of Kenery " The Vessells cannanaded the island very hott, lykewise the Island them, they having about 12 gunns on that side the Island ", as we learn from the log of the *Addison.* The grenadiers and the marines were landed but the Sepoys could not be made to follow their example. Intimidation was tried and several of them were killed and wounded " but all to no purpose."

On the sixth[5] *Morrice* joined the fleet and at noon three hundred grenadiers and marines made two attacks but they were beaten off " more by the force of stones hove from the rocks than Tier armes." Kanhoji's men signalled this success by hoisting a red flag which appears to have been the Angrian ensign. The British ghurabs were badly battered and had to leave their previous position to attend to their leaks.

On the 7th the ghurabs opened a brisk fire at 6 in the morning which was answered by the islanders with equal vigour. A small party of marines succeeded in landing in spite of a strong current. They ran directly to the gates and had almost cut them open[6] but as their efforts

5. Biddulph is wrong in saying that the 6th was occupied in making preparations for another attack {*Malabar Pirates*, p. 124). The log of the *Addison* mentions the above-mentioned operations. The casualties were—" killed; white 3, black 15; wounded; white 20, black 30." Also see Foster, *op. tit*. p. XIV. Biddulph was apparently misled by C. Downing.

6. Downing says that John Steele, Carpenter's Mate of the *Morrice,* "had cut the Bar which went across the outer part of the Gate almost asunder."

were not adequately supported they had to fall back, " the enemy at the same time playing very hott with putheridge (partridge) small armes and continually heaving stones." All attempt to land the sepoys proved futile as on the 5th. The casualty was rather heavy and the ghurabs suffered grievously, " the *Revenge* having received several shott between wind and water ". On the 8th a council of war was held and " agreed to goe down to Calube with the grabbs and gallivats leaving only the *Defiance* and 4 gallivats between the Island and the Main ". Thus ended an expedition designed to humble the proud Maratha sealord and to demonstrate the might of Britain in the eastern seas. The reason was obvious, civilians seldom make good military leaders, and Boone was no soldier. The British force consisted mainly of raw recruits, and their morale had been badly impaired by the failure of the Karwar expedition of the previous year. As Colonel Biddulph observes, " It was the old story, repeated so often on these occasions ; a badly planned attack carried out half-heartedly by undisciplined men, under one or two resolute leaders ; as soon as the leaders were disabled, the rest retreated with more or less loss."

But contemporary feeling was not so easily appeased. The Bombay authorities sought a scapegoat, and found one in Ramaji Kamathi, an opulent Brahman resident of Bombay. He was accused of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Angria. Though there was hardly any evidence to support this charge, the unfortunate Hindu was condemned to life-long imprisonment, and his property was confiscated.

Clement Downing attributed Boone's failure to the treachery of a Portuguese renegade. According to him Manoel dc Castro, a deserter from Kanhoji's service, claimed an intimate knowledge of Angria's ports and was appointed admiral of the British squadron by Governor Boone notwithstanding the protests of the officers who knew him better. This story has been accepted in toto by Colonel Biddulph, though " no trace of this appointment has been found in the Consultations."[7] Biddulph repeats Downing's story.—that, " Manoel de Castro, with his squadron of gallivats, had been ordered to lie off the mouth of the harbour and prevent reinforcements reaching Kennery. Notwithstanding, he allowed five of Angria's gallivats to slip in ammunition and provisions for the besieged, of which they were believed to stand much in need."'[8] No reference to this incident is made in the log of the *Addison* where we read that while the ghurabs withdrew (6th November) to attend to their damages, " Captain John Miles lay all night with 6 gallivats between

7. Foster, *op. cit.,* p. 35.
8. *Malabar Pirates,* p. 124.

Hanary and Cannary to prevent any supply coming from the Main." There was not a breath of suspicion against Miles who was employed on diplomatic missions to Kanhoji's headquarters on more than one occasion. Clement Downing never missed an opportunity of harping upon the prevailing ill-feeling between the Portuguese and the English in India, and the story of Manocl de Castro might have been invented to add a point to his favourite theme. It is improbable, on the face of it, that Boone should appoint a complete stranger whose antecedents were more than shady to an office of such responsibility as that of the Admiral of the Fleet when he assumed in person the chief command of the expedition on the success of which he had doubtless set his heart. Ramaji Kamathi suffered in his person and property and Manoel de Castro in his reputation because somebody in high position had committed a blunder, while Kanhoji went merrily on with his marine projects. Such, indeed, is the irony of fate !

EDITORS' NOTE

[The opulent Brahman 'Ramaji Kamathi,' referred to in p. 141 was a Shenvi (Panca-Gauda) Brahman whose ancestors had originally come to Bombay from Goa in the time of the Portuguese; and held high position under the English when they got Madras. Rama was in command of Indian troops under the Company and served mainly in the Madras wars of the time. He built the celebrated Walkeshwar (Valukesvara, the Lord of the sands) temple. He built a temple in the fort of Bombay which exists even to-day and has a car festival. James Douglas, referring to the trial of Rama Kamathi for treason and conspiracy with Angria, gives it as an example of the early Englishman's indifference to personality when a question of justice was involved. Rama's land in the Fort was confiscated and sold for Rs. 20,000. He was sentenced to life-imprisonment, and he died in prison after eight years in 1728. The conviction had been obtained by screwing irons on the thumbs of a certain witness and bringing him to a confession! The authorities discovered after Rama's death that the letters given as evidence against him were forgeries and his seal had been used by some one to blacken his name ! Government paid a sum of money to his son by way of reparation. A descendant of Rama is a trustee in the above-mentioned temple. See J. Douglas' *Bombay and Western India* (1893), I, pp. 94-5. Boone was condemned for sanctioning torture which, ever since the Act of Parliament in 1628, was illegal; and the Deputy Governor Parker refused to sit in the Council as he could not approve the Governor's procedure. To the archaeologist and antiquarian Boone's figure is interesting for the fact that he was the first to send pictures of Elephanta to England and that he, besides completing important sections of the Bombay Fort wall, gave some donations to the cathedral, a bell amongst other things which is used even to-day. The term *Kdmdti* has come to be used in Madras in the sense of a ' fool'.]

Recent Advances in Indian History and Historiography

BY

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THE initial date for this study is 1919 when Vincent Smith published his Senior Oxford History of India, and the final one is 1936.

The advances may be reviewed conveniently under fresh discoveries, new theories, new view-points, details of the old, and odds and ends.

The excavations at Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro constitute the greatest discovery in recent times and we added an epoch to our national history in the hoary past. It remains a point of dispute whether, with this discovery, we should make a jump of only a couple of thousand years or of many more, as also whether we should imagine the civilisation of the epoch as a part of a greater whole or as an independent one. The whole of India is working at this problem. The general hope is that the final analysis will exhibit India as the cradle of world's civilisation. A few scholars have lately discovered in Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, and Celebece, remains of a Hindu civilisation and established beyond doubt the existence of a Greater India in historical times, the sole purpose of which was the civilisation of the original inhabitants in those regions less by government than by religion and trade. A third set of investigators tried to discover in the far north-west and the west traces of a Hindu influence before the rise of Islam, even to the length of showing Pythagoras as a Hindu and of claiming a strong Hindu influence upon Hippocrates. But all these require further scrutiny.

A discovery of a somewhat revolutionary kind was lately made by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, which if settled would entitle him to be placed in a high rank among the historians of ancient India. His History of India from 100 A.D. to 350 A.D. hopes to remove the dark age of the Hindu period, and his account of the Maurya coinage before the Royal Asiatic Society heightens the glory of that age.

A few old theories have been knocked down by patient research. It is now asserted that democracy was not unknown throughout the ancient history of India ; that the third battle of Panipat did not give the death-blow to the Maratha power ; and that the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 can never be described as a national revolt against the Company's authority nor justify the radical change in the behaviour of Britain to India in later

years. Mahmud of Ghasna was a friend of culture and civilisation, Shivaji was an ideal ruler, and Warren Hastings saved the empire in India—these are also discoveries of the last fifteen years.

Regarding the changes in view-points, there are only two or three fit to be noticed. The late Mr. E. B. Havell's Aryan theory failed to be popular, although the point of view was considered as intelligent. Mr. G. S. Sardesai's view that the Maratha Empire was not federal has not been denied so far. Professor H. H. Dodwell's enunciation that the Indian states are internal and not external to the constitution of India, has been accepted and incorporated in the new Government of India Act.

The majority of devoted students, however, engaged themselves in amplifying the old subjects. Sir B. N. Seal gave his account of the positive sciences of the ancient Hindus, Sir P. C. Ray compiled a history of Hindu Chemistry, and members of the Indian Mathematical Society presented their studies of Hindu Mathematics including astronomy. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy interpreted the Hindu art and stimulated others to think on the same subject. The Oriental conference, by bringing together professors of different subjects, promoted a detailed study of the Vedic and Epic histories, besides doing other services. Dr. F. W. Thomas' survey of the Mauryas was masterful, and Mr. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar supplemented it with an elaborate analysis of the Maurya polity. There has been a long debate on the details of the Gupta imperial history, the professors at Madras being conspicuous among the debaters. But the late Mr. R. D. Banerjea consolidated his ideas and published the results in the Age of the Imperial Guptas. More than one scholar has attempted to re-write the history of Harsha. Mr. C.V. Vaidya completed the three volumes of his studies on Mediaeval Hindu India. The Dekhan and South Indian histories have been rewritten by a number of scholars. Mr. Cousens made a splendid survey of the Chalukyan Architecture. But monumental work has been done in the history of Vijayanagara Empire. Starting with the compilation of its sources (by Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati), researches were carried in the origin, dynastic histories, social and economic life, and decline of that empire. But more remains to be done, and it is a history which offers still a very large scope for research. The history of the Mughals was written by a division of labour. Messrs.Qanungo, Dr. Beni Prasad, Saksena, and Jadunath Sarkar (Kt). specialised in the reigns of individual sovereigns, leaving Akbar to be approached by a variety of admirers (like Vincent Smith, Binyon, and translators of Jesuit records. Mr. C. A. Kincaid and R. B. Parasnis (the late) completed the History of the Maratha people in three volumes and their work was supplemented by the publications of the Peshwas' Daftar, the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, the Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, and individuals like Dr. Surendranath Sen.

The Dutch records as well as those of the East India Company have been published *on* a generous scale, thanks to the wise guidance *of* Sir William Foster in the India office on the one side and of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the other. There have been several studies of Modern India profusely since 1927, the majority confining themselves to the evolution of a new India. A great many of these are biographies, personal recollections and diaries. To these should be added the annual digest of history prepared for the Governments in India and England, tommencing from 1919 (the initial date of this review), and also numerous books on limited topics by the younger generation.

In no decade and a half of modern times, other than the one under review, can one find so much of substantial progress in the acquisition of historical knowledge. It may be of value to explore the causes for this splendid achievement.

Until 1919, research was individualistic. Elphinstone, Sewell, Vincent Smith, Tod, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Ranade, Jayaswal, Narendranath Law (to name only a few) had made historical research a labour of love, a splendid hobby, and persons like E. J. Rapson, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, Dubreuil, Haraprasad Shastri, and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar were professors who did considerable teaching in their institutions and whose researches were not in the least a part of their paid work. But, from the above date, collective work started. The editor of the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India* said rightly in his preface that that series " marks a new departure. The literature of the subject has become so vast, and is still growing with such a rapidity that the best type of securing a real advance in the study now lies in the division of labour among scholars who have explored at first hand 'the main sources of information." It may be noted in connection with this remark that the division of labour is becoming more and more territorial and provincial than personal.

A second prominent cause, on the side of writers, is a desire to write objectively and scientifically, a willingness to spend freely out of private resources, a readiness to investigate at the sources. Travelling for the sake of history has become a fashion. Even private excavations as in the Narbada and the Brahmaputra valleys have become common, just in the manner in which private museums of historical manuscripts, e.g., Parasnis* at Satara, are being organised. Concurrently with the above, love of quality reigns supreme.

Readers of Indian history have made varying demands upon the writers. In 1919, Vincent Smith draws attention to the fact that' the public addressed by a modern historian differs essentially in composition and character . . . ' and that ' a new book on Indian history . . . must be

composed in a new spirit, as it is addressed to a new audience.' Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thought similarly in 1933 at Baroda, when he said that the history of India still remains to be written.

On the one side there has been a demand for a cultural, institutional, and biographical bias in history. Calcutta, Madras, Mysore, the Osmania, and London universities, as well as the Royal Asiatic Society, took the cue, encouraged that bias, and planned treatises on the above topics.

On the other hand, provinces have put forward a claim to the writing of their own histories, as far as possible in the Vernaculars, in order that the masses who are ignorant of English may still have the benefit of historical instruction. The Marathas and the Andhras set the example in this direction and are now in possession of many valuable books and manuscripts. Their southern neighbours have just begun to pick out the Dravidian elements in the Aryan culture or to order the writing of authoritative accounts of ancient Tamils and mediaeval Karnatakas, while their northern collegues are just planning a Bangiya Sahitya and monographs on Nalanda, Ujjain, Kanauj, etc.

The contact of India with the west created a desire for an economic history of India, with a view in all probability to provide a background for current policy. The Hindu period, especially the age of Kautilya, has been studied for this purpose by a number of writers. The economic history of the Mughals and of more modern times has been thoroughly written and published in India, Europe, and the U. S. A.

But subtler causes have been at work in the progress of historiography in India. First of all, there is the influence of the Cambridge Modern History on one and all in the matter of form and authoritative writing. Then, the attitude of Indian and English Universities in regard to historical research needs to be noted. They provided not only libraries and professorial chairs, but also publication funds, endowments, prizes, scholarships, and degrees. The School of Oriental Studies attached to the London University is not only a place for specialising in Indian history, but also a meeting-place of the young Indian aspirant with the most representative scholarship in Britain. The Sir William Meyer studentship in Indian History and Geography available in the London University College is a source of material help to many poor students at London. Fourthly, the government records have been made available in all parts of India and in Whitehall up to a certain date in recent history, thanks to the resolutions and recommendations of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The facilities in the form of guide-books, catalogues, press-lists, etc. are ample. Simultaneously, improvements have been made in the administration of Archaeological Departments both

in British India and the States. Fifthly, private enterprise has been active and fruitful in encouraging research into the past history of the country. The Greater India Society was added to the long list of historical societies in the country. Several new journals were started the latest being *Indian Culture.* The Poona people celebrated the Shivaji Tercentenary. The Haklyut Society continued its publications, and a Broadway Travellers' Library was organised. The houses of publishers increased, the most noticeable among the new being the Panini Press, the Aryabhushan Press, and Banarsi Das. Sixthly, the propagandists literature, so common in the eve of constitutional reforms in any country has supplied many fresh veins of thought to serious students. Lastly, the stimulus given by the fourth estate and by the Inter-University Board of India in giving scope for expression and exchange of ideas and in publishing the original works from time to time with reviews thereon or without should not be overlooked.

It is necessary to remember also the reaction on history of discoveries in connected subjects, like philology, literatures, religion, philosophy, education, fine arts, sociology, economics, politics, and military science. Even the census of India, dealing with the present, throws light on the long past, especially on anthropological matters.

As a result of all these, history of India has extended its scope in all directions and assumed a comprehensive character. Indians have understood the science of history as well as the art They have developed the habit of pursuing truth and nothing but truth and of looking at things in an impersonal and a dispassionate manner. But they are taking a long view and keeping the complete picture in our mind still at the threshold of knowledge. Texts are being collected, translations made, and rare editions re-printed. Chronologies are being attempted of all ages, and the available data are just being interpreted.

The Committee System of Village Administration in Cola Times—An Interpretation

BY

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IT is now a commonplace of South Indian history that there was a highly developed system of village administration in Cola times in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The discovery of this feature we owe to Mr. Venkayya, Government Epigraphist, Madras, in the closing years of the last century. The essential features of that administration as were evidenced by inscriptions at Ukkal and Uttaramallur (two villages in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts) were:—

(i) The South Indian village was governed by the village assembly.

(ii) The village assembly had under its control a number of committees notably the " Tank supervision ", *Panca-vara-vdriyam ".* " Garden supervision," " Gold supervision," " Supervision of Justice " and " Annual supervision " committees.

(iii) These committees were elected ; and

(iv) Certain qualifications were prescribed for membership in these committees.

The assemblies and the committees together exercised a number of functions, such as looking to the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, management of temples, selling and purchasing lands, collecting and remitting taxes, altering the classification of land, management of charities, taking charge of deposits of money, lending and borrowing money, levying fines, controlling village servants, and leasing lands.

After discussing these points elaborately and also referring to the existence of some committees in the Telugu districts, Venkayya expressed the opinion that, until the contrary is proved, it may be assumed that the system prevailed over a considerable portion of South India.[1]

1. *Annual Report on Epigraphy,* Madras, 1899, part ii, paras 58-73 ; Cg. 589 in V. Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Madras Inscrns.* I, p. 580.

Since he wrote, many new inscriptions have been discovered, the notable advance made being the mention of other committees, such as the Fields Committee, the Land Survey Committee, the Accounts Committee, the Sluice Committee, and the Temple Committee, and more details relating to the constitution of the village assembly and its relation to the committees.

But the student of history does not feel satisfied with this information ; he would like to know the raison de'etre of this system of village administration, i.e., what explains the prevalence of the system over a considerable portion of South India, and why it was not prevailing elsewhere.

The enquiry becomes of absorbing interest when he learns, from known evidence, that the system was peculiar to South India. Professor Altekar assures us[2] by a critical examination of the evidence relating to Western India that the South Indian system of village administration was not prevalent in that area. And from what wc know of Northern India, we may say that the elaborate system of committee-administration was not prevalent in that area.

A proper approach to the study of this interesting question must be inductive, i.e., it involves an analysis of all the known inscriptions relating to South India. From such a survey it appears to me that a rather remarkable fact emerges, viz., that the committee organisation is confined to one particular type of villages, viz., the *Caturvedimahgalam.* The *Caturvedimahgalam,* as the term indicates, was a village inhabited by Brahmans who profess the four Vedas. Often it was denoted by kindred names, *Brahmadeya, Mahgalam, Agaram, Brahmapuram, Agarahdrd, Agabrahmadeya, Agara-brahmadesa, Brahmadesam and Brahma-mahgalam.* It is not contended that a Brahman village included only those who belonged to the community of Brahmans ; on the other hand we have clear evidence to show that it accommodated other classes as well. Potters, blacksmiths., goldsmiths, washermen, and village servants also lived there, though in separate *Ceris,* close to the Brahman quarter of the village ; but it was a Brahman village in the sense that the land of the village was held by the Brahman community. This Brahman community was a landlord body over a class of tenants, who were bound to pay certain shares of the yield to their masters. This landlord body might hold all the land collectively, sharing the yield, or might hold individual allotments, with or without periodical redistribution,[3] with some portion of the village land held in common.

2. Altekar, *Village Communities in Western India,* pp. 20-30.

3. 205 and 213 of 1912, *South Indian Inscriptions,* II, 22, second tier, line 1—*Karaiyxd.*

It is not necessary for us to enquire, at this stage, how such joint villages arose : as we see them in our inscriptions, foundation by kings of villages under such conditions or grants of the income from villages were some causes. But in whatever way they arose, the resultant features of a joint village are noteworthy, viz :

(i) It was a settlement of a non-cultivating caste.

(ii) It was in general a settlement of a landlord class placed over a body of cultivating tenants.

(iii) There was some element of common ownership of land in the community.

It must be made clear that *all Caturvedimahgalams* were not necessarily of this type. It is possible 1hat *Caturvedimangalams* of THE JOINT TYPE OWED their origin to kings who consciously established such villages. Such foundations sprang up in many parts of the country, especially under the Cola, Pandya and Vijianagar kings. The community were allowed a large measure of control in managing local affairs, made necessary by the fact that the inhabitants of the village by the terms of the original grants or establishment of the village were bound to render certain dues and services to the landlord,body, and the latter was allowed to conduct the revenue administration in their own way.

It was to the interest of the landlord community to see that cultivation was properly carried on, irrigational facilities were provided, and the dues received in time. To this purpose the village committees were constituted to be in charge of different kinds of work. These committees were subject to the control of a public assembly of all the joint-body for whose deliberation important administrative and judicial acts were reserved and which met in the cpen or in the temple.

The proper conception of the Committee organisation as we find it mentioned in our inscriptions is thus as an agency for looking to the proper cultivation of the village lands and securing to the body of the landholders in a joint village their proper dues from the tenants, and generally to enable them to adequately fulfil their corporate responsibilities.

This characteristic is made clear by several facts : —

1. Such committees are found mentioned only in joint villages. It is arguable that this is at best negative evidence, but the fact that, out of nearly 30,000 inscriptions, we find such important features mentioned only in one particular type of village, raises a strong presumption in favour of the contention that such organisation was primarily economic in motive. The necessity for such developed organisations in villages of

the Ryotwari type where each holder was independent of the others in the management of his land is not so obvious.

2. The functions exercised by some of the committees are primarily those which a landlord body would be expected to gain by. Thus the *urvdriyam*[4] was a committee of officers whose function was evidently to see the lands of the village properly cultivated and *to* collect the produce. The functions of the " Wet Fields Committee "" and the Irrigation Committee are also closely related to the same purpose.

3. The membership of the committees was regulated by one prime qualification—that the member must have a share of land—in other words he must be one of the shareholders of the village.[6]

4. The qualifications for membership in the village assembly in such villages—and not merely the committees—include land-holding.[7] Thus it is stated, in one instance, of the children of *shareholders* in the village, that only one who is well-behaved and has studied the *Mantra-Brdhmana,* and one *Dharma* (code of law) may be on the village assembly to represent the share held by him in the village, and only one person of similar qualifications may be on the assembly for a share purchased, received as present or acquired by him as *stridhana.*

This is clear evidence to show that the village assembly and the committees were mainly concerned with the interests of the landholders in the village.

5. The joint responsibility for revenue imposed on such a village made it necessary for the body of landholders to have an efficient organisation to cope with it. This responsibility primarily meant that the joint village as a whole was assessed a certain amount by the State, for the payment of which the whole body was jointly responsible. The joint body was given freedom to control the distribution of the lump assessment among the shareholders, and the power to sell the lands of defaulters, and in general to do all things that would be consistent with their joint responsibility for revenue. If one shareholder was in default, the Government called upon the other shareholders of the village to pay the balance due by defaulting shareholders ; hence the right to sell their property was essential for the due discharge of their joint liability for revenue. The other powers of taxation claimed by the joint body included apparently the right to decide which lands should be

4. 269 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913,, part ii, para 23.
5. *South Indian Inscriptions,* III, 156.
6. *A.R.E.,* 1899, part ii, para 62.
7. ***A.R.E.,* 1913,** part ii, para **23.**

taxed. A Tinnevelly inscription[8] records the settlement made by the assembly of *Tirukkurralam* that taxes should be levied only on cultivated lands. Within limits, the joint body could also remit taxes; v/ithin limits because such remission should not ordinarily involve loss of revenue to the State ; when the village assembly remitted taxes on one piece of land on its own responsibility without receiving compensation in the shape of a capitalised amount, it had itself to pay, and this it could do only when the shareholders were prepared to make up the amount.

These details of assessment and collection of village revenue are significant as they emphasise the sense of mutual dependence among the members of such a joint community. The welfare of all is inextricably connected with the proper cultivation of village lands, the maintenance of irrigation works, collection and remission of taxes, controlling the village servants, etc. ; and it is not strange that an efficient committee organisation was developed to meet a felt need. It is significant that the mode of payment of taxes in *vella* vagai villages or Ryotvari is stated to be different from the method in vogue in the joint villages.[9]

6. Finally, it may be remarked that the distinctive nature of these villages is brought out by the significant Tamil term *" Taniyiir "*,[10] often applied to these villages. It is noticeable that the term *taniyiir* is not found applied in the inscriptions to any but *Caturvedimangalams.* It has been translated " free village ", a village unit, by itself an independent village, 'free' and 'independent' are vague terms which do not indicate the real character of the village. It seems more precise to say that the *Caturvedimangalam* was a distinctive type of village which was allowed a large measure of control in managing local affairs—made necessary by the fact that the inhabitants of the village, by the terms of the original grant or establishment of the village, were bound to render certain dues and services to the landlord body and the latter was allowed, nay required, to conduct the revenue administration in its own way —and that this landlord body was united by some elements of joint-ownership, either whole or partial.

To sum up then, we may say that the *Caturvedimangalam* was, from the economic point of view, a community of landholders, united together by the fact that they owned all or some land in common, and that they were a landlord body, placed over a body of tenants who were bound to render certain services and dues to them, and that the Iandlord-com-

8. 430 of 1917.
9. *South Indian Inscriptions,* III, 205.
10. e.g., 167 of 1915.

munity had a large discretion in managing the affairs of the locality—which they did through a highly developed system of committees, subject to the village assembly.

In the present state of our evidence, it is difficult to say that such a highly developed government by means of committees existed in all villages in South India. It is permissible to assume that it existed in those villages where some element of joint tenure existed, necessitating joint partnership in deciding affairs which vitally touched all. In other villages, i.e., Ryotwari—and it is to be remembered that most villages belonged to this type—it is probable that there was an influential body of elders who considered and decided questions concerning all, such e.g. as the conduct of temple affairs, looking to works of irrigation, etc. No regular constitution as we find to have existed at Uttaramallur seems to have existed in such villages, nor was it necessary. The regular constitution in villages of the type of Uttaramallur owed its origin to certain features which were peculiar to them. When a body of independent cultivators looked after their own lands, the common needs of the village were looked after by an informal meeting of the village elders, or the villagers generally. In this sense, it was in keeping with the rest of India, village affairs being generally looked after by a Panchayat or an assembly.

Indeed, if we are to view the local administration of South India in its proper perspective, we must firmly grasp the fact that the elaborate development of the Committee organisation was prevalent only in a particular type of village in South India, viz., the joint village, and, as far as our evidence goes, the *Caturvedimahgalam* type of joint village, and not, necessarily, over the whole of South India.

If this interpretation is correct, can we draw any useful conclusion from the past for our guidance in the present ? Here was self-government on small scale, local autonomy, as the term *Taniyur* suggests. We, too, have our problems of self-government, both provincial and local. Can the past give us any guidance in solving our present problems ? This is an absorbing theme. Into the detailed discussion of this I do not feel myself competent to enter now, but one line of thought may be suggested. In the community of which we spoke, there were all the conditions present to develop a sense of responsibility in those in whom the power of government was vested. The successful management of the affairs of the village depended on the sense of responsibility felt by the members of the village who had a right to be present in the village assembly, and had a right to be elected to one of the committees. That they all belonged to one caste, they had, from the economic point of view, to gain or lose by attending to their village affairs enthusiastically or

otherwise, they had administrative responsibility, and they had leisure—these are all factors which could help to develop a corporate will, a will ot the community for the common good. In other words there were all the natural and artificial bonds which were necessary to knit them into a body with a oneness of purpose. The oneness of religion and language, the sense of kinship, economic benefit, and administrative responsibility were all harnessed together to one central purpose, the efficient management of village affairs for the common good of all; the sense of neighbourhood and the opportunity for leisure helped the process.

The success of our modern democracies depends to a large extent on the sense of responsibility that the citizen is able to develop. To that end, local self-government is surely the best training ground. No doubt the present conditions are radically different from those in the joint community of which we have spoken. The intensification of private property and competition makes public power a ready hand-maid to private profit; communal and linguistic rivalries divide the members of the body politic one from another ; and there is hardly leisure for the mass of the people to consider common affairs. The existence of these differences, which are really obstacles, only implies that the method of approach to re-vitalise the village must be different. To recreate old conditions is simply chimerical, nor does it seem necessary. Under altered conditions, a new method must be discovered of achieving the same objective.

Perhaps, a healthy, broad-based co-operative movement, embracing within its scope not only credit but other aspects of village life, including purchase and sale of commodities and insurance, may have potentialities, not dreamt of by us ; but surely it cannot be beyond the ingenuity of statesmanship and the earnest student of the social sciences to find out a good way of achieving the object, viz., how to revitalise village life by developing the corporate sense of responsibility in the villager for the welfare of the village, so that it may be a happier place for him to live in.

Mahendragiri, Ruler of Pishtapura

BY

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IN 1. 19 of the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta occurs the passage *Paishtapuraka-Mahendragiri-Kautturaka-Svamidatta-* which has been most indifferently dealt with by antiquarians and epigraphists. Grammar, however, requires that the words comprising it should be divided, as I have just done it. We have in the first place to remember that none of the king's names is coupled with more than one locality, as Fleet himself has aptly remarked. Secondly, the name of every locality is marked with *vriddhi* at the beginning and with the suffix *ka* at the end. If these two points are to guide us in the division of the words of this passage, I am afraid it is not possible to divide them otherwise. This is admitted by Fleet even. For, he rightly says : ' The first inclination then might be, divide the text thus, *Paishtapuraka-Mahendragiri-Kautturaka-Svamidatta ;* and to translate, " Mahendragiri of Pishtapura, and Svamidatta of Kottura[1]" '. It is a great pity that Fleet did not stick to his first inclination, which is perfectly in accordance with grammar and common sense. The reason he specifies for giving up this view is that " though *giri* or gir is a very common termination of proper names in the present day,. . . . . .it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only *to* the names of Gosavis, and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Dasanaml-Gosavis. . . I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogous instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a king's name ". Fleet therefore divides the passage into *Paishtapuraka-Mahendra* and *giri-Kautturaka-Svamidatta.* This procedure sets the rules of grammar completely at naught, because the *vriddhi* in *Kautturaka* clearly shows that the word *giri* preceding it is to be connected with Mahendra. Again, if *giri* had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler Svamidatta was, we should have had *Gairikotturaka* instead of *giri-Kauttiiraka.* Secondly, it is not necessary to take *giri* here as a denominational suffix similar to that of *giri* or *gir oi* Gosavis, as Fleet has done. It is best to understand the whole of Mahendragiri as one name and as the proper name of the ruler of Pishtapura. If the names

1. Corpos. Ins. Ind., Vol. HI, p.7, *note* 2.

of the sacred rivers have been adopted as individual names among Hindu females, the names of the sacred mountains have similarly been adopted among Hindu males. Thus mountain names like Himadri, Hemadri, and Seshadri are found used as proper names not only in modern but also in ancient India. If Seshadri (=Verikatagiri) is a sacred mountain in the Tamil, Mahendragiri is so in the Tclugu country. And if Seshadri can be the name of an individual, there is no reason why Mahendragiri should not be so.

EDITORS' NOTE

[That Prof. Bhandarkar's argument cannot be refuted is obvious from similar examples found in inscriptions. There was among the Kondavidu Reddis, for example, a *Srigiri* who lived about A.D. 1400. See *Madras Topo. List. Inscrns,* II, Nl. 321. Another member of the clan was called Kumaragiri (1381—1407), who founded the Rajamahendra branch of the Reddis by handing over that tract to Kataya Vema. *Ibid,* Gd. 17. Similar examples are available in Svetagiri, Vedagiri, Bhadragiri, etc., though the fuller form in regard to these names is got by adding *Indra, Natha, Isvara,* etc., to the main stem.]

The Key to Indian History

BY

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WE seek to honour a distinguished South Indian historian, South Indian not only in the sense that he belongs to South India, but also in the sense that South India has been the chosen field of the research and the writings by which he has won distinction. Can we find any better tribute than to make our own humble contributions to South Indian History ? In this brief paper the writer cannot hope to " advance the bounds of knowledge ;" it must suffice if it does something to stimulate activity in the prosecution of those studies in which Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has been a pioneer.

The time-honoured *datum* of Indian History—the Aryan Migration—has not been swept away, though the need for its re-valuation in the light of recent discovery is generally recognised. But what follows the Migration ? Hitherto the story has usually been unfolded in the light of a dominating conception—the Aryanisation of India. Quite apart from any revision of facts, it will modify the tone of many passages if we suggest that the process may no less truly be stated as the Indianisation of the Aryans.

Space does not permit an exposure of the old fallacy of confusing race and language. Nor should it be necessary : it is sufficient to name it. But is no caution needed against the fallacy of names—the notion that a name is a guarantee of identity ? To keep clear of Indian controversies, take a case from the West. The northern barbarians who first brought the language into the Aegean area may reasonably be called ' Greeks' or Hellenes.' (It is difficult, without either pedantry or question-begging, not to give them the name). But we cannot proceed to equate these ' Greeks ' with the Greeks who fought at Marathon and Salamis, who built the Parthenon, and gave us *The Bacchae* and *The Crito.* That is like assessing a man by his father's qualities only, and forgetting that he had a mother, or (to take a crude but relevant example) discussing a mule as if it were merely an ass, without saying a word about the horse in its ancestry.

All through history we find that the tests men have most readily accepted (because they were most easily applied) to discriminate between themselves and ' foreigners' have been language and religion.

As a preliminary to a more searching inquiry, apply these rough tests to the supposed Aryanisation of India. In language, it is obvious that South India remains to this day un-Aryanised : its speech is persistently Dravidian.

The test of religion is not so easy to apply : the complexity and variety of all that is vaguely summed up under the term ' Hinduism' present endless difficulties. But a partial clarification is possible. To begin with, the high philosophic doctrine which scholars quite intelligibly tend to put in the forefront, can we legitimately speak of it as Aryan ? To say it is ' Vedic ' is not enough—even if the term were more precise than it is. Is it found in the Hymns ? Until it can be shown that it antedates the Migration, it would be rash to say it is Aryan. The part played in the development of the doctrine in historic times by Sarikaracharya and Ramanujacharya gives further food for thought. On the face of it, the South has had something to say in the story : just how much is a question that must wait.

When we turn to the popular cults which bulk so large in work-a-day Hinduism, the result is much the same. To be frank, they are amazingly unlike anything we can, on independent grounds, label as 'Aryan '. A few points must suffice. A student of the Hinduism of the masses is certain to be struck by (1) the veneration of the cow, (2) the popularity of Ganesa and (3) the ubiquitous appearance of the bull and the snake. Is there a hint of any one of them in a context incontestably Aryan ? They fit the ideas of the Indianisation of the Aryans more readily than anything we can call the Aryanisation of India.

Even more telling is the consideration of certain elements which rise above the temple cults and in some measure mediate between them and the philosophies—*Ahimsd* and the doctrine of Transmigration. Neither has the air of being originally Aryan. The jovial flesh-eaters of pre-Migration days might be expected to pay about as much heed to the claims of *Ahimsd* as the Homeric Achaeans or the writers of John Company. But if these things are not Aryan, we have not simply to ask next, ' Whence did they come ? '; we have also to ask, ' what then do we mean by the Aryanisation of India' ?

In passing, it is pertinent to glance at the thorny problem of caste, though it is too vast for even a preliminary discussion here. While the actual castes of to-day can only be affiliated to anything ' Vedic ' by a veritable *tour-de-force,* they have affinities which seem to reach far back in the life of South India. Is not that true also of Ahimsa and the closely related ideas of Transmigration ?

If the necessary re-orientation of Indian History is to be effected, we need first a searching examination—or re-examination—of all ele-

ments which are not demonstrably "Aryan" (i.e., which cannot be proved to be characteristic of the Aryans *before the Migration*),* and still more of any elements which are (even *prima facie)* non-Aryan. Thus, to use examples already mentioned, a critical and historical investigation of (1) the cow-cult, (2) the worship of Ganesa, (3) *Ahimsa* and (4) Transmigration, is urgently needed, and might be expected to yield valuable results. To add (at some risk) an instance that comes very near home—What is the historical significance of the distinction between Terikalai and Vadakalai ? "Every schoolboy knows" that they differ on important points of theology. But as an answer to the question, this is no more convincing than to say that the schism between East and West in Europe was due to a difference of opinion on the *Filioque* clause.

The thrilling discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro must be noted, since they obviously confirm the view that the full interpretation of Indian History demands attention to the non-Aryan elements no less than to the Aryan. Unfortunately for the present argument, they still have the effect of concentrating interest in the North. The plea for greater attention to South India is not to be dismissed or discounted as a piece of local or parochial enthusiasm. It rests on solid historical principles. To unravel the process indicated as the 'Indianisation of the Aryans' nothing can help us more than a careful, detailed study of pre-Aryan or non-Aryan India. To say that South India has not been Aryanised at all is much too sweeping : but obviously it has only been Aryanised to a limited extent. By studying India where it is least Aryanised—in the South, and especially in the Tamil country—is the most hopeful line of approach to the fuller revelation of pre-Aryan India. The key to Indian History lies in South India : and it is for us—the writers and readers of this Festschrift—to take up the challenge.

•Quite obviously, to prove that a Norman family in England in the twelfth century followed a certain custom is not an adequate proof that it is a Norman custom.

Irrigation under the Vijayanagar Kings

BY

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ONE of the important duties of a State is to enhance the economic prosperity of its people. In an agricultural country like India this can be done by helping the people to increase their agricultural resources ; and that in its turn can be achieved by two methods : one by destroying forests and forming new villages in which fresh lands could be brought under cultivation, and the other by affording greater facilities for growing larger quantities of corn in the older villages.

The Vijayanagar sovereigns realised the importance of improving irrigation facilities for agricultural improvement. Krsnadeva Raya, the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings, says in his Telugu work, the *Amuktamalydda*, that, if the empire of a ruler is too small to be expanded, the tanks and other irrigation works within the State should be improved so that prosperity could increase.[1] Such an improvement would also cause an increase in the yield from the land. The construction of great irrigation works was generally undertaken by the Government. It also encouraged private initiative, and at times gave concessions and remissions in the matter of taxation on the lands so irrigated.

CONSTRUCTION.

The Vijayanagar inscriptions are replete with instances of the rulers' anxiety to give irrigational facilities to the people. According to an epigraph of 1368 A.D. Bhaskara Bavadura, a prince of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, constructed a huge tank with many sluices in the modern Cuddapah district, one of the famine-stricken areas of the Madras Presidency. The inscription describes the way in which it was made. It says that a thousand men were employed in the work, that a hundred carts were used for getting stones for the walls that formed part of the masonry work, and that it took two years to finish the work. The dam was 5000 *rekha-dandas* long, eight *rekha-dandas* wide, and seven high.[2] The tank remains even to this day in sufficiently good order and use and speaks well of the labour and money spent on it. In 1388, under the

1. Amukta—Canto. 4 st. 236.
2. E.7. XIV p. 99.

orders of Bukka II, the Hydraulic Engineer *(Jalasutra)*, Singa Bha^ta by name, led the river Henne through a channel to the 6iruvara tank apparently for affording irrigation facilities/[1]

The Vijayanagar sovereigns realised the value of converting valleys into tanks for irrigation purposes. Thus during the time of Narasinga-raya Maharaya a valley in the Anantapur district was converted into a tank and named Narasambudhi.[4] Similarly, in A.D. 1533 a big tank was formed from the river Arkkavati, and it will be interesting to note that this tank is now the source of water supply to Bangalore/'

When Paes visited Vijayanagar, Krsnadeva Raya was constructing a big tank near his capital to provide irrigation to the fields and to supply water to the new city of Nagalapura. The chronicler describes[0] it in the following terms :

" The king made a tank there which, as it seems to me, has the width of a falcon shot and it is at the mouth of two hills so that all the water that comes from either one side or the other collects there ; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures ; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice fields. In order to make this tank the said King broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been 15 or 20,000 men looking like ants so that you cannot see the ground on which they walked, so many there were : this tank the king portioned out among his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work and that the tank was finished and brought to completion." Nuniz also mentions the construction of the tank, and says that Krsna Raya was assisted in the work by Paoa della Ponte, a greater Portuguese worker in stone.[7] He made many sluices in connection with the tank, and constructed many pipes by which water was let out when necessary. Nuniz further says that by means of this water he made many improvements in the city and many

3. *E.C.* X., G.D. 6.
4. 710 of 1917.
5. *E.C.* IX, N.L. 31.
6. Sewell—*A Forg. Emp.* pp. 244-45.
7. *Ibid* pp. 364-65 ; He says that Krsna Raya did not first succeed in his attempt and since he was told by a few people that his failure was due to the fact that the Gods were not pleased with him and suggested that he should appease them by offering sacrifices to them, he offered a sacrifice of those prisoners in his empire who, he thought, deserved death.

channels by which they irrigated rice fields and gardens. Krsnadeva Raya also gave them lands free for a term of nine years in the portions irrigated by that tank, so that they could make improvements[8] on them.

The State also encouraged private initiative in such irrigation works. This encouragement generally took the form of *Ddsavanda* grants to such public-spirited men.[0]

Thus when one Harinideva Vodayar constructed a tank in a particular place in the Mysore district, he received a grant from Deva Raya. and when subsequently he extended the tank, he was granted another village.[10] In 1513, one Sovarya received a *Dasavanda* grant in consideration of his having constructed a tank.[11] Similarly, the Mahajanas of Bhupa-samudra made a *kodege* grant of wet land to a certain person for his having executed some work in connexion with the big tank of the village.[12]

The small common channels in the villages, however, appear to have been dug by the local people themselves. In 1486-87, for instance, the residents in and around Tiruvamattur (N. Arcot) sold portions of their lands to the local temple treasury for the purpose of digging a channel from the river leading to the irrigation tank of the village.[1:1]

MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR

The maintenance and repair of irrigation works are as important as their construction, and great attention was paid by the Vijayanagar rulers to such works. The common method of providing for them was the provision of servants and necessary materials for such works. In 1367 provision was made in the following way for the maintenance of a tank in the Arasikere Taluq. A buffalo man with his cart was appointed for it, and it was ordered that for oil, wheel, grease, crow-bar, pick-axe, etc., every cart-load of the original tenants had to pay two *tdra* and every load of areca-nut, betel and oranges was to pay also two *tdras.*™ In certain cases whole villages were granted for the maintenance of tanks. When for instance in 1513 two tanks in the Chennapatna Taluka of the Bangalore district went into repair, a village was granted for the maintenance of these tanks, and it was ordered that six carts were to be kept

8. *Ibid.* p. 365.

9. For an interpretation of the term *Da&abanda* in the different periods of Indian history see an article by V. R. R. Dikshitar in *J.l.H.* 1934.

10. *E.C.* Ill, My. 77.

11. 398 of 1896.

12. 782 of 1917.

13. 7 of 1922.

14. B.C.V., A.K. 115.

for their maintenance, four for one and two for the other, that earth should be put on the bunds every year and the tanks kept in good condition.[15] The State at times helped the people in maintaining such irrigation works in proper condition, remitting certain taxes payable to the palace, such as *Vibhuti-kanikai, Jodi,* and *&ula-vari.*[Ui] Concessions were also shown to the people in the matter of taxation when they suffered from unforeseen mishaps as from the effects of a devastating flood. Thus in 1402-03 A.D. when some villages near Valuvur (TJ.) were lying fallow since the time the river Kaveri overflowing its banks had washed away the demarcation bounds, silted up on the irrigation channels and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields, the Government restored the channels, repaired the boundary banks, and rehabilitated the villages with tenants on certain favourable conditions and fixed graded rates of assessment.[17] At times the income from the tanks was utilised for their maintenance. Thus the income from the lease of the fishery from the tank at Kodungalur (N. Arcot) was given away by Dalavay Sevvappa Nayakar for deepening the tank at the place.'[H] In certain cases, local bodies like the Village Assemblies consented to maintain a cart driver who was to look after the upkeep of a tank.[10] They also acted as the trustees of the endowments made for the maintenance of the tanks and met the expenses of the same perhaps from the interest on the capital.[20]

The importance of maintaining tanks with drinking water was well realised especially in areas depending on rain water only. In 1518 for instance a grant of land was made for the maintenance of an *uram* at Maravamadura in the modern Pudukko^tai State.-[1]

Tanks and other irrigation works were repaired whenever necessary. In 1396-97, when an irrigation channel came to be blocked up, it was soon restored under the orders of Mallappa Vodayar.[22] In 1424 A.D., when the dam constructed across the river Haridra by Bukka Raja gave way, Naganna Vodayar, the great minister of Deva Raya, got the necessary money from Kama Nrpala, the commander-in-chief of the army, and reconstructed the dam.[23] In 1450 A.D. when three tanks in the village

15. *EC.* IX, C.P. 156; see also *M.A.R.* 1915, p. 93.
16. 8 of 1922 *Rep.* p. 49.
17. 422 of 1912: *(Rep.* 1913. p. 52). Tj. 710 in Madras Topographical List of Inscrpns, where the author draws attention to the fiscal importance of the Record.
18. 145 of 1924; see also 424 of 1922, 118, 133 and 194 of 1921.
19. *E.C.* IV, N.G. 39.
20. 474 of 1925.
21. *PJS.I.* 725.
22. 66 of 1912.
23. *E.C.* XI, D.V. 29.

of Kiliyanur (S. Arcot) had breached owing to a severe storm, a local chief repaired them and built a sluice.[24]

Private effort was not, however, lacking in the repair of irrigation works ; and in such cases also the Government in recognition of such large-hearted private effort made grants to the citizens undertaking such repairs. In 1541 A.D. the tank at the village of Timmadihalli (A.P.) breached in three places and the residents of the village, that is, Cenna-gauo!a and Timma Gauda, repaired the breaches at their own cost. They were granted one *kaiiduga* of *kattukodege* by the local chieftain."[5] In 1636 A.D. when the Lihgannavadu breached, Mekala Bomma repaired it and got one-fourth part of the wet lands near the breaches as *Dasa-vanda.*-[n] But it appears that private individuals would not repair such tanks unless they received some benefit from the Government. It was perhaps under such circumstance that, when a tank near Sidalayanakote breached in 1554 A.D., the Gawdas, Senabovas and subjects of the village made petition to the Mahanayakacarya and offered to have the tank built if the lands under the sluice were granted to them.-[7]

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

Irrigation disputes as regards the portion and turn of water supply to the ryots of neighbouring villages do not appear to have been rare in the Vijayanagar days. When a channel was dug near Tirumalai (C.T.) by the authorities, the residents of the locality raised a serious objection to its completion on the ground that it was detrimental to the best interests of the village. The locality in question was therefore inspected by the Sthanattar and Adhikari, Yejnarasar, and the work was stopped on finding that the objections were legitimate.-[8] In 1406-07 there arose an irrigation dispute between the villagers of Alattur, a hamlet of Uttaramerur, and Attiparru, another village nearby, regarding the supply of water from the local tank. It was settled among themselves in the presence of Mahapradhani, Arasar (Tipparasar) .[J]> According to another record at Cellur (C.T.) belonging to the time of Vira-narasingayya Maha Raya, an agreement was made among the residents of the three villages, Madaivilagam, Silaiyur (Cellur) and Kandidu, regarding the right of irrigation from the channel called Sadasivakona.[30] Thus such disputes appear to have been decided amicably by the local residents themselves.

24. 154 of 1919.
25. 49 of 1917.
26. *E.C.* X, B.G. 71.
27. *E.C.* XI, H.R. 22.
28. *T.T.D.I.* 224.
29. 357 of 1923.
30. 419 of 1525.

New Light on the relationship between the British and the Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah

BY

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To the students of the history of South India, the English and the French records have, so far, been the chief basis for a study of the history of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic. The Persian books on the subject have been practically a sealed book to them. A study of the Persian Chronicle like the " Tuzak-I-Walajahi "* by Burhan Ibn Hasan of Trichinopoly sheds fresh light upon the relationship between the British and the Nawwabs of the Walajahi family of the Carnatic.

It is a well-known fact in the history of South India that the English and the French who, in the beginning, were trading communities in this country, had to take part in the local feuds of the princes, lent their support to one party or another, and developed their sphere of influence. To understand this we must know the then state of affairs in the Carnatic.

The kingdom of the Carnatic included Balaghat and Payanghat. The subah of Arcot belonged to Payanghat which in former days was ruled by the Hindu Rajas from their capital at Gingee (Nusrat-gadh). The Mughal emperor, Muhammad Awrangazeb Alamgir (1658-1707), directed Dhul Faqar[2] Khan Nusrat Jang, son of Jumatul Mulk Asad Khan, to take possession of Panyanghat. He made great and bold attempts, brought the whole country under his control, and annexed it to the kingdom of the Padshah. Some like the rulers of Trichinopoly,[3] Tanjore, Ramnad, Sivaganga and others were left undisturbed, and in return for their submission and obedience were promised the protection of the Padshah. Nawwab Dhul Faqar Khan was the administrator of the Carnatic for twelve years. Then according to the order of the Pad-

1. An English translation of this work is now being published by the Madras University, and the first part of it was published in 1935.

2. (The Zulfikar Khan of the text books). See the Madras University Edition of *Tuzak-i-Walajahl,* p. 59 for a summary of his career.

3. See *Ind. Antiquary,* 1917 July.

shah he appointed Dawud Khan,[4] an Afghan of the rank of *mansab-ddr* of the Padshah, as *Ndib* in his place at Arcot, and returned to Delhi. Nawwab Dawud Khan was very brave and strong. He carried on the administration of the Suba of Arcot with justice and equity. His *niza-mat* of Payanghat lasted for about seven years. Then he appointed his own Dlwan, Saadatullah Khan, a member of the Nait community, as the Naib at Arcot, and returned to Delhi. Nawwab Saadatullah Khan was the first Nait Nawwab of the Carnatic. Thus within a period of about twenty years after the Muslims had taken possession of the Carnatic, the Naits became its ruling community. By the time the imperial power at Delhi waned, the *Nazims* of the Carnatic became independ-ent. After the death of Saadatullah Khan, there was great dispute about the succession to the throne, and eventually Nawwab All Dost Khan, his brother's son, became the *Nazim* of Arcot. The new Naw-wab had a son and successor named Safdar All Khan and five sons-in-law. The chief of them were Ghulam Murtaza, the younger brother of the Jagirdar of Vellore ; Taqi AH Khan the Jagirdar of Wandewash ; Husayn Dost Khan popularly known in history as Chanda Sahib, the ruler of Trichinopoly. Thus the Naits firmly established their authority in the Carnatic, and became independent after the dismemberment of the Mughal empire.

The *Nazims* of the Suba of Arcot had, from the days of Nawwab Dhul Faqiir Khan, direct relationship with the emperor of Delhi, and had no connections with the *wazirs* of the Deccan. Nawwab Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk, when he was appointed as *Wazlr* of the Deccan by the emperor at Delhi, planned that the Suba of Arcot also should be brought under his control. But he did not get an opportunity till the murder of Nawwab Safdar All Khan, when confusion and turmoil occurred, and the affairs of the government were in a state of neglect. Nawwab Asaf Jah then found a favourable chance. He immediately descended on the Payanghat with a big army, entered the town of Arcot without any trouble or opposition, established himsef, and set in order the affairs of the Government. All the nobles submitted to him and presented him with *nadhr*. The confusion which was prevalent among the Naits slowly subsided. Nawwab Asaf Jah entrusted the reins of the management of the Suba of Arcot to Khwaja Abdullah Khan, and according to the re-quest of the latter made all the peoples of the Nait community captives, took them along with his army and departed from Arcot. On the follow-ing day when Khwaja Abdullah Khan was getting ready for the early morning prayer, he slipped suddenly from the platform, fell on his face, and breathed his last. Nawwab Asaf Jah, who had not covered even a mile, halted at once on hearing this news. He formed a council, and

4. The Daud Khan of the Text-books.

chose Nawwab Anwarud-Din Khan Bahadur, one of his devoted nobles, as the *Nazim* of Arcot. The newly-appointed Nazim had great respect and consideration for men of rank. So he requested Nawwab Asaf Jah that the Naits be released and enabled to accompany him to Arcot. The Wazir who had gauged the enmity and mischief of the Naits advised him not to plead on their behalf, and said that they would awaken the sleeping mischief, and hatch intrigues which it would be beyond his power to suppress. Nawwab Anwarud-din did not view the situation with the same mature wisdom as Nawwab Asaf Jah. Finally, after considerable pleading, the chains of bondage were removed from these people, and they were enabled to accompany him as free and honourable men. We shall presently see that the liberation of the Naits was one of the great blunders of the new *Nazim.*

Nawwab Anwarud-din Khan Bahadur reached Arcot with the Naits, and took charge of the government. He enquired into the conditions of his subjects and soldiers, and did all things that would give them comfort and peace. He bestowed excessive kindness on his nobles, and the Naits were enfolded in his kind disposition ; all the jaglrdars and zamindars became obedient. The European merchants who were settlers in the Carnatic, submitted the customary gifts, paid *peshkash* for the estates under their management, and gave proof of their sincerity and fidelity. But the Naits were always a source of trouble to the new *Nazim.* There were two parties among them, one was led by Muhammad Husayn Khan Tahir, the Jagirdar of Amburgadh and formerly diwan of Nawwab Ali Dost Khan, and the other led by Mir Asadullah Khan, the Jagirdar of Chetpet and previously the diwan of Nawwab Safdar All Khan. The two dlwans differed from each other in religion as well as in politics : the one was a Sunni and a Shafi, while the other belonged to the sect which believed in the twelve *Imams.* It was out of this enmity between the two that the Nawwab Safdar All Khan was murdered before the advent of Nawwab Asaf Jah to Arcot, and his son during the rule of Nawwab Anwarud-din. Besides, they were a discontented lot since they had lost their power, and were always aiming to get it back. The French who were closely bound by ties of friendship with them when they were in power and enjoyed special privileges during their regime were also displeased with the new *Nazim,* because he was just and fair to every interest. Further, as a result of the impartial administration of Nawwab Anwarud-din, the high position of the French was adversely affected, and the power of the English began to rise. Naturally, the French were upset by the growth of the English power, and wanted to destroy their prosperity. Just then war broke out in Europe between the English and the French, and the contagion spread to their colonies on the Indian coast. **Dupleix,** the Governor at **Pondicherry, wished to send an army for** the **subjugation of Fort St.**

George and Fort St. David belonging to English, but he feared he would be blamed by the Sarkar for this aggression. He revealed his secret intentions to the nobles of the Nait community, and sought their help in the affair. The Naits, who were biting their hands in rage after the decline of the prosperity they had enjoyed under the *nizamat* of their own community, and were eagerly looking for such mischief, emboldened the French in their design. By all kinds of argument they implanted in their breasts the possibility of the subjugation of the two forts. The French were won over by these arguments, and in 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) they attacked Fort St. George. After its subjugation, they marched towards Fort St. David. On hearing of this, Nawwab Anwarud-Din was agitated, and gave expression to these words :

* Both these two groups are under the protection of the Sarkar. What authority is there for the one to raise its hand against the other ? If there be differences between the two groups, it is only in their homeland, and not in this land of peace, this heart-exhilarating country. This is a region under the shadow of the protection of our Padsha free from confusion and disturbance. This is under my jurisdiction by the *jarman* of justice that adorns the world, preserved from the damage of tyranny and baseness. It behoves me that I put forth the hand of discipline, pull the ears of the wicked and help as far as possible the obedient."[5]

Then he despatched his son, Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, with an army for the purpose of expelling the French from Fort St. George, and restoring it to the English. The French, who, at the instance of the Nait nobles, had lost all respect for the Nawwab, arrayed their troops, and attacked the forces of the Sarkar during the night. The Nawwab's army, which was not prepared for a night assault, got confused and dispersed. Distressed at the news of this defeat, Nawwab Anwarud-din directed his other son, Nawwab Muhammad All, to put an end to the mischievous activities of the French in this language :—

" Now the French have crossed the limits and have subdued and brought under their control Fort St. George belonging to the English. To maintain the honour of our administration, to establish the power of *Nizamat,* to teach a lesson to the proud and the vain, to help those who hold fast the handle of trust-worthiness and obedience, to improve the standard of administration, to discharge all these responsibilities of a sovereign, we commissioned Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, your elder brother, and entrusted him with the task of capturing from the French and restoring to the English their lost possessions. We come to know that he is worthless and inexperienced. We wished to engage

5. The Tuzuk-i-Walajahi, p.115.

ourselves in this enterprise, but emancipation due to old age and the sickness of our body prevents us. We leave to your hands the untying of this knot, which cannot be easily united. Our good name rests on the release of Chennapattan (Fort St. George) from the hands of the French and its restoration to the English, on the demand of the expenses of the expedition from that weak enemy, on the capture of the fort of Pulcheri (Pondicherry) and of the expulsion of the French from the territory of the Carnatic. These should be carried out properly. Finish this work, and let the happy news of your victory spread far and wide."[6]

This letter gives us an idea of the situation. The French were primary offenders against a subject community loyal to the ruling power. It was but natural for the *Nazim* to help the English and undo the wrong done to them by the French. Nawwab All marched with his army, reached Fort St. David, consoled and comforted Mr. John Hinde, the Deputy-Governor of the place, who was much distressed on account of the smallness of the forces and the absence of help. Next day the Nawwab's forces were drawn up in battle-array, a fierce fight ensued, and Muhammad AH returned to his tent victoriously full of joy and happiness. On the following day, he invited the Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David to his presence, and after happy inquiries and kind words, honoured him with the present of a pair of horses and a pair of *khilat.* Thus his assistance to the English at the time of difficulty made them feel thankful, placed them under obligation and made them join hands with the Nawwab. This was the first occasion when Nawwab Muhammad All Walajah helped the English. In the words of Burhan, " The white Frangs and the black Indians are as intimately united as the white and the black of the eye." Nawwab Muhammad Ali was so friendly with the English that the two kings George II and George III addressed him with the title of " Brother", and wrote letters to the following effect.

" As long as our authority over England and the administration of Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah in the Carnatic continues generation after generation, the friendship and union between the two powers will be permanent and firm."

Thus the interest of the English in the new dynasty and the interest of the French in the Naits gained strength day by day. Then the death of Nawwab Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk, the Wazir of the Deccan, happened just at the time when Husayn Dost Khan (Chanda Sahib), an able member of the Nait community, was released by the Mahrattas. Naturally troubles arose in the Deccan. Husayn Dost Khan set up

6. *Ibid,* p. = 118.

Hidayat Muhideen Khan (later on Muzaffar Jang), grandson of Nawwab Asaf Jah as the Wazir of the Deccan> and promised him the support of his community as well as that of the French. But the *Ndzim* of Arcot who owed his allegiance to Nawwab Asaf Jah had naturally to uphold the claims of Nawwab Nasir Jang, the son of the late Wazir, and the English who were indebted to the *Ndzim* of Arcot for help against the French and who depended upon the good will of the *Ndzim* for their future welfare naturally took sides with him.

The years that followed the death of Nawwab Asaf Jah were full of stirring events. There was the battle of Ambur and the death of Nawwab Anwarud-Din Khan Bahadur.

Nawwab Nasir Jang, the son and successor of Nawwa Asaf Jah, arrived at Payanghat to punish Hidayat Muhiyud-din Khan and Husayn Dost Khan. Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah met him at Belpur, and both marched towards Pondicherry. Hidayat Muhiyud-Din Khan and Husayn Dost Khan who had already been put to flight by the forces of Nawwab Muhammad Ali came out from Pondicherry with some French troops and artillery, and pitched tents at a distance of twelve miles. Nawwab Nasir Jang and Nawwab Muhammad Ali reached the camp of the two Khans, and lost no time in pitching tents and beginning the attack. When Husayn Dost Khan and the commander of the French forces saw the firmness and boldness of the Wazir's army, they had not the courage to oppose them. They turned the reins away from the field of battle, ran to Hidayat Muhiyud-Din Khan, explained to him the situation, and suggested that a retreat to Pondicherry would be advisable in the circumstances. When they saw Hidayat Muhiyud-Din struggling between shame and repentance, they abandoned their friendship, and ran towards Pondicherry, leaving him alone. Hidayat Muhiyud-Din Khan, anxious and friendless, grew sick and distressed, and spent the whole night on the elephant's back. Next morning, he was taken prisoner by the order of Nawwab Nasir Jang. Some days passed, and Nawwab Nasir Jang desired to attack and subjugate Pondicherry, and bring back his sister, the mother of the imprisoned Khan, and to expel the rebellious French from the Deccan. But their allies tried in all earnestness to lay out plans and destroy all the attempts of the Nawwab to carry out his wish. The well-wishers of the Nawwab advised him to proceed in person to pull down and subdue the fort of Pondicherry, pointed out to him that the existence of Hidayat Muhiyud-Din Khan would augment mischief and ferment the humour of rebellion, and suggested that the destruction of the Khan would be a prudent measure. But the enemies of justice, namely Himmat Bahadur Khan, the jagirdar of Cuddappah, Abdul-Nabi Khan the Nazim of Kurnool, and others joined Raja Ramdas the *Peshkar-bakhshi* of the army of the Nawwab

Nasir Jang and conspired among themselves for the purpose of improving and strengthening the position of Hidayat Muhiyud-Din Khan. They came to an understanding with the French by which they were to somehow induce Nawwab Nasir Jang to go to Arcot, divert him from his thoughts of laying siege to Pondicherry, and thus gain time. Eventually, the Nawwab was deceived by their arguments, and gave orders for the army to March to Arcot. Nawwab Muhammad All became aware of the possible consequences, and invited, from the adjoining Fort St. David, the English whom he had found to be bold and trustworthy. He arranged for an interview of the English with the Wazir, and favourably recommended them to him. In the meanwhile, the conspirators instigated the jagirdars of the Nait community to supply the necessary things to the French army who were strengthened by their assistance. They first attacked the fort of Tiruvadi (Tiruvadikai) near Panrutti, and subdued it in two days. They got reinforcements, descended on Chinglepet, and occupied the fort without great effort Nawwab Nasir Jang was afflicted by these losses, and desired to march in person on Pondicherry. But the conspirators were there again with their deceitful arguments, and dissuaded the Nawwab from his purpose. According to their advice, Tahmasp Khan, a Turk and an able Sardar holding a *mansab* from the Padshah, was despatched to Chinglepet, and Nawwab Muhammad Ali was chosen to settle the affairs at the fort of Tiruvadi. Muhammad Ali attacked the fort with his own army, and that of the English. Owing to the severity of the siege and the firing of the guns by the English forces, the besieged were reduced to narrow straits, and the fort was about to fall. On being informed of this situation, Husayn Dost Khan and Dupleix immediately wrote to the conspirators as follows: —

" It is certain that the fortress at Pulcheri (Pondicherry) will be reduced to narrow straits in case the fort of Tiruvadi goes out of our hands on account of the brave attack of Nawwab Walajah and the English. It is prudent to find a remedy before the calamity happens. Work out such a plan that will end the friendship of the English with Nawwab **Walajah."**

The conspirators became vigilant at this suggestion. They recalled to their minds a former request of the English through Nawwab Muhammad Ali seeking the grant of the jagir of Poonamale in return for their undertaking to subjugate Pondicherry. Further they saw clearly the inevitable expulsion of the French and the destruction of their settlements. Hence they submitted the Wazir the following arguments in such a manner as to deceive him.

" Nawwab Walajah had secured the friendship of the English by giving them the hope of the grant of the jagir of Poonamale. If the

power and the will of Husayn Dost Khan and Hidayat Muhiyud-Din Khan had not invested the French with authority, all this mischief and anarchy proceeding from injustice of the Christians would not have happened at all in this kingdom of Your Highness. At present the preference of Nawwab Walajah for the English and the promise of the grant of the taluk of Poonamale to them do not appear to be untainted from deceit. What troubles it may give birth to and to what extent it may bring disappointments are not known. The removal of such evils if allowed to grow will become an arduous task ; the remedy for these troubles is beyond our reason and intelligence."[7]

The Wazlr's mind was agitated at this. Immediately he resolved that the territory of the Dcccan should be freed from all European merchants. He issued a strict order to Nawwab Muhammad Ali requiring him to sever his relationship with the English and drive them from their settlements. He appointed Abdul Nabi Khan and Himmat Bahadur Khan, the Nazims of Cuddappa and Kurnool, to subjugate Fort St. David and Fort St. George. The mind of Nawwab Muhammad Ali was afflicted *to* learn this. He understood it to be the mischief of the conspirators, and feared that, were the English expelled, the strength of the French would certainly increase, Pondicherry would become the refuge for the enemies, and it would be a perennial cause of confusion. In great sorrow he withdrew from the siege of Tiruvadi, and hastened to Arcot. He sent a large sum of money from the collection of the revenues of Arcot to Raja Ramdas, the Bakhshi of the Wazlr's army, to whom he confided his secret in the following manner. "Though I would leave off my friendship with the English in obedience to the command of the Wazir, I request your favour for allowing them to continue in their present position and save them from the calamity of expulsion. Else, it will be proclaimed as far as Europe that such destruction befell that community because of my friendship." The Raja agreed to the proposal. The Nawwab Muhammad Ali appeared before the Wazir in the company of Shah Nawaz Khan, the diwan, and submitted as follows : " The present rebellion of the French is directed mainly to disturb the peace of other Frang merchants. Perhaps this may lead to their union also, which will not find appreciation at the hands of far-sighted statesmen according to the wisdom contained in the verse ' If ants unite among themselves, they will eat away the skin of the furious lion."

Thus Nawwab Walajah prevented the two Sardars from marching against the settlements of the English. This is the second occasion when the Nawwab underwent great anxiety, and made great exertions to save the English.

7. From Ms. *Tnzak-i-Walajahi.*

Sometime later, Dupleix was recalled by the French Government. He reached home, and spent one full year forlorn and in humiliation on account of the displeasure of the king. Finally, he gave the king a detailed account of the state of the country of Hindustan and its wealth, and assured him that the country could be easily conquered with a little but firm endeavour. The French king was deceived by these details and despatched Lally to Pondicherry giving him command over a well-organised army equipped with the necessary implements of warfare for the purpose of subjugating the country of Hindustan. He reached Pondicherry at a time when the English and the Nawwab Muhammad AH had, on account of declaration of war by Sirajud-Dawla, the ruler of Bengal, despatched under Clive almost all their forces to Calcutta by ship. In various forts and other places of the Carnatic all that was kept was barely necessary to guard them. Lally reached Pondicherry and opened hostilities. Muhammad Najibullah Khan, the brother of Nawwab Muhammad All, joined the French with the army of the Suba of Nellore, Ghulam Murtaza Khan, the Qiladar of Vellore, and every one of the nobles of the Nait community who possessed jagirs and forts came out from every nook and corner with their army, troop after troop, and reached Pondicherry in great jubilation. Haydar Ali Khan also shot forth from another side. The zamindars and palayagars in the kingdom of the Carnatic rebelled against Nawwab Muhammad Ali, and joined the French and Riza Ali Khan (Raja Sahib). The orders of Salabat Jang also arrived, supporting the French ; Busy marched from Chicacole with his large army, and joined Lally; and in these difficult times Nawwab Walajah alone was firm and ready to help the English.

The combined forces of the French and the allies first attacked the fort at Chetpet and subjugated it. Lally then held a council of war, and decided to postpone his plan to strike at Fort St. George, particularly for the reason of the presence there of Nawwab Muhammad Ali, and chose Fort St. David for his attack. Then he laid siege to the fort. The commander applied for speedy help to George Becket, the Governor of Fort St. George. The latter deliberated with the members of the council, but felt too helpless to render succour to Fort St. David, because of the smallness of the army and of the absence of the major portion of it in Bengal. So he presented himself before Nawwab Muhammad Ali with General Lawrence and others, delivered the letter of the commander of Fort St. David, and submitted as follows :

" In former days the fort was preserved from the attack of the French owing to the help of the sarkar, and the enemy turned away with disgrace and shame. At present, we, the devoted servants, without your lordly support, feel it impossible to repel the calamity by our endeavour." In reply to this the Nawwab Muhammad Ali advised them to

vacate all the forts and concentrate their attention on the two forts of Fort St. George and Trichinopoly. George Becket and the members of the council and General Lawrence valued this suggestion greatly ; they vacated all the forts ; some were filled with gunpowder, set fire to, and blown up. Then they exerted themselves to strengthen the forts of Fort St. George and Trichinopoly. Two-thirds of the available forces of the English as well as of the Nawwab were sent to defend Fort St. George, and the remaining one-third was deputed to guard Trichinopoly. Lally, after subjugating Fort St. David, reached Fort St. George, laid siege to it, pulled down and destroyed its towers, and filled up the ditch on one side of the Fort. The anxiety of the besieged increased day by day. So, Nawwab Muhammad All started to Trichinopoly by sea, to send them from there the necessary reinforcements. The Nawwab arrived at Trichinopoly, and despatched an army under the leadership of Muhammad Yusuf Khan and Abdul Wahab Khan. Lally fought against these two at Frangikonda, but was compelled to retreat to Fort St. George. Abdul Wahhab Khan Bahadur attacked the army of Lally at night and put them to flight. Lally was convinced of the hopelessness of his attempt against Fort St. George. On the same day, and in the midst of much confusion, he saw, by means of a telescope, three British ships arriving. He understood that it was impossible to stay there further, and so he left his equipage, lost his discretion, and ran towards Kanchi.

This was the third critical occasion for the English, and they overcame this difficulty with the help of Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah. Thus, from the beginning of the declaration of hostilities by Nawwab Anwarud-Dln Khan Bahadur against the French, Nawwab Muhammad All helped the English in all their difficulties with men and money, not only out of his generosity, but also out of respect for the policy enunciated by his father. He brought his influence to bear on all their activities, so that in course of time the English grew powerful, and the French were vanquished.

Later on, the relationship between Lord Macartney and Nawwab Walajah became unsatisfactory, and even strained. Once, in the open council at Fort St. George, General Coote disputed with Lord Macartney thus : " It is not the manner of the wise to wound the feelings of a benefactor. As far as possible there must be consideration for Nawwab Walajah." Lord Macartney replied " In the face of justice we have got rights over him (Nawwab Walajah), for without our support it is impossible for **him** to maintain his rule." Coote retorted, " General Lawrence and I have been here in this country for a long time. We know these disputes from the very beginning. I have grown grey in these services. **I have heard much from General Lawrence and others. We know more**

of the past than you, for you are young. Though our people helped him in all affairs, yet we have found suitable wages and presents to the extent of our labour, and realised the advantages of such a help. Kindness to our people especially on three occasions of difficulty, is such as cannot be repaid. The help and support he gave on these three occasions is the reason for the stability of the English nation to-day in this country of Hindustan. But for this help, the French, instead of our people, would have been all-powerful in the affairs of this country."[8]

$. Part I—Burhan's *Tuzak-i-Waldjdhi*, Part I, pp. 124-25.

The Dindima Poets and Arunagirinatha of the Tiruppuhal

BY

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Two inscriptions of the village of Mullandram, North Arcot district, mention the Dindima Kavis of that place. One of them, No. 396 of 1911, states that the Mahajanas of the village Praudhadevarayapuram, alias Mullandram, including the poet Dindima Kavi, assigned house-sites to certain masons. It is dated in the cyclic year *Raudri* which corresponded to A.D. 1440 or 1441. Another, No. 397 of 1911, dated Saka 1472, Sadharana (A.D. 1550), speaks of 'the gift of land by a Brahmana lady to the shrine of Annamalainatha, built by her in the temple of Svayambhunatha for the merit of herself and her husband Kumara Dinclimar Annamalainathar.'[1] This Brahman lady was a descendant of a Dindima Kavi who was also known by the name of Annamalainathar, and who was fit enough to be worshipped.[2] The general belief is that this Annamalainathar was Arunagiri, the inspired poet whose songs, collectively known as the *Tiruppuhal* or ' sacred praise * in honour of Lord Subrahmanya, are still reverently sung in the Tamil country. Since the inscription couples the names of Annamalainathar and Dindima, it behoves us to discover the relation between the author of the *Tiruppuhal* and the Dindima Kavis of Mullandram.

An attempt was made by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, to utilise these two inscriptions and a manuscript chronicle (preserved in the village of Mullandram), to establish the identity of Arunagirinatha.[3] But, unfortunately, some discrepancies are noticeable in his observations, and hence, the whole question has to be re-examined.

The literary materials used by Mr. Gopinatha Rao included (1) the *Vibhdgapatra-mala* or the chronicle mentioned above, (2) the *Subhadrd-*

1. V. Rangacharya's 'Topographical List of The Inscriptions, Madras Presidency'; N. A. Nos. 208 and 209.

2. It is possible to argue that the shrine of Annamalainathar was one of Siva, but it is very unlikely, as there would have been *no need to construct* a Siva shrine within another Siva shrine. Arunagirinatha's image is commonly worshipped in many Subrahmanya shrines.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 79, 83, 94-100 and 125-34.

dhananjaya ndtaka, by Ramakavi, (3) the *Sdmavalli-ydgdnanda~prahasana,* (4) the *Bhdgavata-champu* of Rajanatha, and the same poet's (5) *Achyuta-rayabhyudaya* and the *Saluvabhyudaya.*

The *Vibhdgapatramdld* is a local chronicle. It states that a Cola king brought, on his return from a pilgrimage to Benares, eight learned Brahmans belonging to eight different gotras, and gave them an agraharam called Mettaippadi. From the first of these donees was descended a renowned poet Tyagaraja, the father of two sons Svayambhu and Gurusvami. As contemporaries of Svayambhu, there were twenty-one householders, all directly descended from the eight learned people brought to the south by the Cola.

Gurusvami of the Kasyapa-gotra had twins, one a girl called Abhiramambika, and the other a boy named Somanatha. The girl was given in marriage to one Rajanatha of the Samaga-Gotama gotra, and she gave birth to a son named Sonadhara or Arunagiri in the expired Kali year 4400, i.e. A.D. 1299. Before his marriage, his parents died, and when he was living in the house of his uncle Somanatha, he was ill-treated by his aunt, whereupon he ran away to Puttur where he slept in the Siva temple. There he obtained the grace of Siva, and became a poet of great repute. His fame reached the ears of the newly-crowned Praudha-devaraya, whose friend he became. He married Yagfiambika belonging to the Savarnya-gotra.

Later, he wanted Praudha-devaraya to make him a gift of a garden in that neighbourhood and, not getting it, he went to the court of the *Suratrdna,* pleased him by his inspired poetry, defeated the court poet *Anapdya alias Kavimalla,* and obtained the title of 'Dindima Sarvabhauma-kavi. Then he returned with an order from the Suratrana to the effect that Praudha-devaraya should make over the garden to him. Praudha obeyed, and Arunagiri constructed an agraharam there and also a temple in it for Siva in the form of Sabhapati.

From the foregoing account it is seen that Arunagiri was a Sarvabhauma Dindima Kavi, born in A.D. 1299. The Praudha-devaraya mentioned in it could not be Devaraya II of the date A.D. 1422-1449. The ruler of Arunagiri's locality at that time was Hoysala Ballala III (A.D. 1292 to A.D. 1342). That king had suffered losses because Malik Kafur had looted and destroyed Halebid ; but in A.D. 1316 he had restored the capital. In A.D. 1328-9, he made Annamalai, the southern capital of his kingdom. In A.D. 1336 the Vijayanagar kingdom had been established ; but Hoysala Ballala III ruled till A.D. 1342. In A.D. 1339, he was 'ruling in happiness in Sri Vijaya Virupakshapura.' That name

was given to Hospet, his newly-constructed capital, in honour of his son Vira Vijaya Virupaksha whom he crowned in A.D. 1340.[4]

It is quite possible that the *Vibhagapatramala* calls Vira Vijaya Virupaksha by the name of Praudha-devaraya. There is some justification for this view, because at a later period we find that Vira Vijaya Srigirinatha, the younger brother of Devaraya II, is called in the Satyamangalam Copper Plate grant by the name of Praudhapratapa Devaraya. In the same document Devaraya II is called Suratrana/' The *Vibhagapatramala* might also (like the Satyamangalam Plate) have applied the term Suratrana to the overlord Hoysaja Ballala III. The word *Suratrdna* need not be equated with ' Sultan ' as Mr. Gopinatha Rao docs and as Sewell also does/' The chronicle uses the epithet ' Suratrana ' along with other epithets ; namely, * Jagat-trana ', * Dvija-trana ' and ' Nija-trana ' meaning ' the protector of Devas ', * the protector of the world,' 'the protector of the twice-born' and 'the true protector.' In that connection, the *Vibhagapatramala* says that the poet " went to the city called Hastina}\[7] We know Hastinapuri was an alternative name for Anegundi or Hospet (Hampi). The author means that Arunagiri went to see Ballala III at Vira Vijaya Virupakshapura, the newly-erected capital. Probably, at that time, the prince (Vira Vijaya) was in the southern capital Tiruvannamalai. We know that the chronicle also says that Praudhadevaraya had been newly crowned.[8] Thus we can infer that Arunagiri went to the court of Ballala III only after A.D. 1340. His securing the Sarvabhauma title must have happened between A.D. 1340 and A.D. 1342 ; for Ballala III died in 1342.

It seems, therefore, that there is no inconsistency in the chronicle ; on the other hand, it contains genuine historical material.

Mr. Gopinatha Rao utilises the information furnished in *the Subhadra-dhananjaya-nataka* by the poet Ramakavi of the Kasyapa gotra, and draws up the following genealogy :

4. S. K. Aiyangar: 'South India and her Muhammadan Invaders/ pp. 170-2.
5. Sewell and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: p. 214.
6. *Ind. Ant. 1918,* p. 95 ff; Sewell and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, p. 214.
7. " Jagama puram hastinakhyam" Ind. Ant. 1918, p. 128.
8. "Sa toshayamasa navabhishiktam tarn". Ind. Ant., 1918.

Rajanatha
|
Svayambhuguru married daughter.
|
Ramakavi.

This is correct, but we must find out who Ramakavi was. *The Somavalli prahasana* is used by Mr. Gopinatha Rao to draw up the following chronology:—

Dindima Kavi, opponent of Naganna, the court poet of* the Ballalas.

Kavi Prabhu of the Sama-veda

Sabhapati

Abhiraminayika md. Rajanatha Desika
|
Arunagiri, the author of the *Prahasana.*

Who was the Kavi Prabhu of the Sama-veda, and who wac the Dindima Kavi, who defeated *Naganna,* the court poet of the Ballalas ? Again, was this Dindima of the *Vibhagapatramald* who defeated *Anapdya* the court-poet of Ballala III ? It is easy to find out that the two were different ; because the opponent of Naganna ought to have belonged to a Gotra different from that of Kavi Prabhu, Rajanatha and Arunagiri, the author of the Prahasana, all of whom were of the Samaga-Gotama Gotra like the Dindima of the Vibhaga-patramala, who was the son of Rajanatha of the Gotama Gotra. Otherwise the marriage alliance between Desika and Abhiramanayika could not have taken place. So, we have to find out the Gotra of the Kavi-Prabhu. The author of the *Prahasana* says that he was the sister's son of Sabhapati *Bhattaraka?* That shows that Sabhapati was calling himself Sabhapati Bhatta. In the list of names given in the *Vibhagapatramald,* as belonging to the descendants of the eight original ancestors, we find only one having the title Bhatta- That is SuryabhaUa of the Savarnya Gotra. We are also told (as noticed before) that Dindima (son of Rajanatha of the Gotama Gotra) had married a girl of the Savarnya Gotra. Thus, it is possible to infer that the Dindima who defeated Naganna was of the Savarnya Gotra. The relationship can be made clear by the following genealogical table :

9. Ep. Ind. p. 134.

Rajanatha (of Gotama Gotra)
who married Abhirami (Kasyapa Gotra)

Arunagiri Dindima who defeated Anapaya. b. 1299. — Daughter— Dindima Kavi of Savarnya-Gotra

Rajanatha = Abhirami nayika — Sabhapati Bhatta

Daughter ~ Svayambhu (Kasyapa) — Arunagiri the author of the Prahasana.

Ramakavi (Kasyapa) (author of the *Subhadrd dhananjaya).*

From the table, it will become evident that (1) the two Dindimas were brothers-in-law ; (2) the name Abhiraminayika was borne by the Somavalli-prahasana Arunagiri's mother, because she was the grand-daughter of the Abhirami who was the mother of Arunagiri Dindima ; (3) the Prahasana author's father was called Rajanatha, because he was the grandson of the same Dindima's father; (4) and again that Rama Kavi of the Kasyapa Gotra was the maternal grandson of Rajanatha of the Gotama Gotra. That is why he says that his " ancestors were held in great respect of Sarvabhauma and others."[10]

Now we may roughly fix the dates of these poets. We start from A.Df 1299 in which Arunagiri Dindima was born. His son might have been born between 1325 and 1330 ; and his son Arunagiri of the *Prahasana* might have been born between 1350 and 1355 A.D.

The authors of the two Abhyudayams :

Mr. Gopinatha Rao takes the view that only one poet Rajanatha was the author of both, and of the *Bharata-champu.* That view cannot be accepted for two reasons. One is that the same poet would not sing in praise of Saluva Narasimha and also of the family which usurped the throne of the Saluva. Secondly, the author of the *Saluvabhyudayam* bestows upon his father very lavish praise. The author of the *Achyutaraydbhyudayam* does not even name his father. The titles applied by the author of the *Saluvabhyudayam* are worthy of notice.[11] Arunagiri the

10. Ind. Ant. 1918. p. 97.
11. They are given in detail by Mr. Gopinatha Rao. Ind. Ant. 1918, pp. 97-8.

father, is spoken of as a Sarvabhauma Dindima, as an 'Ashta-bhasha-paramesvara' or master of eight languages ; as the * Prathamaradhya of Cera-Cola-Paridya '. That shows that he was greatly honoured by the Tamils. He is also called ' Shad-darsana-Shanmukha '. That proves that he was the master of the Six Darsanas and probably was equal to Lord Subrahmanya. Further, he is praised as the expert in 'Chitra-prabandha' i.e., as being capable of singing the *chitra* mode of poetry (with specially difficult artistic metre).

All these praises seem to lead to the conclusion that this Dindima Sarvabhauma was the author of the Tiruppuha]. Accepting this hypothesis, we have to regard him as the grandson of Arunagiri, the author of the Sdmavalli-Yogananda-prahasana, and as the father of Rajanatha, the author of the *Saluvdbhyudayam.* In that case, this Dindima must have had a father Rajanatha, born perhaps between 1375 and 1380 A.D., and himself might have been born between 1400 and 1405 A.D. This scheme of dating is very favourable to the fixing of the identity of the Arunagirinatha of Tiruppuha] or Arunagiri Dindima, father of Rajanatha, the author of the Saluvabhyudayam ; for we know that the Tiruppuha] poet was a contemporary of Devaraya II (1422-1440 A.D.). If the poet was born between 1400 and 1405 A.D. he could very well have come to the notice of Devaraya II about the year A.D. 1435 when he was thirty or thirty-five years old.

Let us examine the probability of the poet of Tiruppuha] being this Sarvabhauma Dindima. There happen to be some songs in the Tiruppuha], which almost directly state that the poet was enjoying all the honours of a Sarvabhauma. In song 80, he says, " I am Madhura-kaviraja. I move about with my white umbrella, distinctive flag, drum and palanquin. Will not this false self-glorification cease ? "~ Again, Song 860 proves that he desired to possess the ability to sing beautifully-worded songs. He prays to god for that boon thus : " O ! God, confer upon me the ability to sing copiously in *Sandat tamil* about you."[13] Again, in song 863 he asks for the grace of God to become a Madhura-

12. *Lcgjsr&edl jrn*g(GB) QeoTGar* OQ;«STT(5«OL_
e8(rrjg]Q&ni$- prrerr Queen *&*#IFL$.<SB)<$*
QjrffeiD&QujrTfSeviTGy Lorreoaiemp ^eStrns^i—irQ^rr'
13. *S^Qumsjsuueo peutEusetrirgpi^esT*
QLotTL^iLfui Ljpgl&efr Qprflmgi isrrgpi BesT

kavi.[14] In song 870, he asks for the ability to sing '*chitra-kavi* ',[15] Song No. 1132 says that he got celebrity in ' all the seven worlds' by singing the Tiruppuhal.[10]

All these, and a few more similar allusions, warrant us in inferring that he occupied the position of a Sarvabhauma, but according to the tradition about him, he finally became one with the God of Tiruvannamalai. Many of his contemporaries must have regarded him as divine. At the present time, his image is worshipped in innumerable Subrahmanya shrines. Very naturally, therefore, we can conclude that his direct descendants ought to have erected a shrine in his honour after he died. That is borne out by the Mullandram inscription. The Brahman lady was evidently the wife of one of his descendants.

As for the poet Rajanatha who wrote the *Achyutarayabhyudayam* and (according to Mr. Gopinatha Rao) also the *Bhdrata-champu,* it seems very likely that he was a poet of the later days. There is a Rajanatha Kavi, figuring as a composer in Saka 1517, i.e. in A.D. 1595. He was the son of Svayambhu, son of Sabhapati of the Savarnya Gotra. All these were composers of the Sasanas of the Vijayanagar rulers. They were also probably descended from the Dindima who defeated Naganna, the court-poet of the Ballajas, and who was, as noticed above, of the Savarnya Gotra. The full genealogy is given below :

14. மதுரகவியடைவு பாடி வீடறிவு
முதிர அரிய தமிழோசையாக ஒலி
வசனமுடைய வழிபாடு சேருமருள் தந்திடாதோ ?

15. செஞ்சொல்சேர் சித்ரத் தமிழாலுன்
செம் பொனூர்வத்தைப் பெறுவேனோ ?

16. ஆ பாதனேன் மிகப் பிரசித்தி பெற்றினிதலகேழும்
யானுக ராம அற்புதத்திருப்புகழ்
தேனூற வோதி......

Rajanatha (Gotama-gotra)
— Abhirami (Kasyapa-gotra)

Arunagiri Dindima
who defeated
Anapaya, b., 1297.

daughter-tDindima (Savarnya gotra ?)
who defeated Naganna

Rajanatha=Abhiraminayika
b. 1325-30 ?
|

Daughter=S vayambhii
of Kasyapa
gotra

Ramakavi
author of the
Subhadrddhanafi
jaya

Arunagiri
author of the
Somavalli-yogananda
Prahasana. b. 1350-5 ?

Rajanatha (?)
b. 1375-80 ?

Arunagiri of
the Tiruppuhal.
b. 1400-5 ?

Sabhapati Bhatta

Sabhapati
(Savarnya)

Svayambhu

Rajanatha
Kavi (A.D.
1595). Author
of the *Acliyuia-*
rayabhyudaya
and *the* B/id-
rata champu.

Rajanatha, author of the *Saluvabhyudayam* ?

Kumara Dindima
Annamalainathar.
1550 A.D.

The Capitals of Ceylon—Ancient and Modern

BY

MR. ANDREAS NELL, M.R.C.S., M.R.A.S.

AN inquiry from Dr. S. K. Aiyangar as to the comparative status of Kandy and Colombo as capitals of Ceylon led me to compile a short paper explaining the rise and fall of Kandy. In tribute to that learned and honoured scholar, I submit for the Commemoration Volume an expansion of that essay into an account of events determining the use of certain places as capitals or royal abodes. The historical interest of changes in location is not slight, but my narrative will not be too long. The chronicles quoted are the translations into English from the Pali :— (a) Prof. W. W. Geiger's version of the *Mahavansa* in three parts, published for the Pali Text Society ; (b) Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara's version of the *Pujavaliya ;* (c) his version of the *Rajavaliya ;* and (d) the *Nikaya-Sangrahawa,* translated by Mr. C. M. Feranda and revised by Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana. These last three have been published by the Ceylon Government Press. There are other confirmatory but subsidiary sources, which will be used when it is necessary to indicate the trend of barely noticeable changes. The dates given are those at present accepted by workers in the field of Ceylon history, though probably only approximate up to the termination of the sixteenth century of our era, after which we are able to fix the dates with more certainty.

The first royal residence mentioned is that of the Aryan prince Vijaya, who came in B. C. 483 with 700 followers and overcame the Vedda rulers. He established himself at Tambapanni, a site not identified as yet. " Here and there did Vijaya's ministers found villages. Anuradhagama was built by a man of that name near the Kadamba river ; the chaplain Upatissa built Upatissagama on the bank of the Gambhira river, to the north of Anuradhagama. Three other ministers built, each for himself, Ujjeni, Uruvela, and the city of Vijita." *(Mah* : vii, 43-45). Only two of these settlements require notice. Upatissagama, on one of the right-bank tributaries of the Malwatte-oya (the Gambhira river), was used as the centre of rule after the death of Vijaya, viz., by the council of ministers until his nephew-successor arrived from India, by that ruler, Panduvasudeva, and by his son and successor Abhaya, also by the nine brothers of Abhaya who usurped rule for seventeen years until the grandson-heir Pandukabhaya gained the mastery after his long warfare.

Like the first royal seat, Tambapanni, this second royal seat, Upatissagama, sank into insignificance, and even the exact sites of these two towns have not been ascertained as yet. The third, Anuradhagama, had a nobler destiny. Panduvasudeva's queen Subhaddakaccana (from India) was followed by her brothers, one of whom called Anuradha settled at Anuradhagama ; Anuradha built a tank, and when he had built a palace to the south of this, he took up his abode there." *(Mali,* ix, 11). This place was chosen by the victorious Pandukabhaya for his royal residence, and the chronicles immediately change its designation from *gama* to *pura.* " When he was thus left victor in battle, Pandukabhaya went thence to the dwelling place of his great-uncle Anuradha. The great-uncle handed over his palace to him and built himself a dwelling elsewhere ; but he dwelt in his house. When he had inquired of a soothsayer who was versed in the knowledge of (fitting) sites, he founded the capital, even near that village. Since it had served as dwelling to two Anuradhas, it was called Anuradhapura, and also because it was founded under the constellation Anuradha ". *(Mali,* x, 73-76). From its auspicious rise, this city was the royal seat for twelve centuries, and for twenty centuries enjoyed the titular distinction of being known as *Mahanuwara,* the great city, or equally frequently as *Nuwara,* the city. Its fame and prosperity for twelve centuries began with the judicious administrative measures of Pandukabhaya. (B. C. 377) .

That energetic king deepened and enlarged a pond of water, making the reservoir or artificial lake called in Ceylon n " tank ". He also added another tank ; he did town-planning in thorough fashion. The warlike aboriginal tribes, who had been his allies during seventeen years of warfare to gain the throne, were given special quarters in the new royal city. Among other measures suburbs were planned for special purposes, —cemeteries for different classes of people, quarters for huntsmen, for religious mendicants and religious sects, and corps of workers organized for cleaning streets and sewers, carrying corpses, watching cemeteries and other purposes. Municipal rules were made and the King's own uncle appointed " governor of the city " Nagaragiittika ; in an inscription of circa A.D. 87G, the officer in charge of the city is a Nuwara-ladda.

The capital grew in importance and magnificence during the subsequent reigns. Pandukabhaya's son and successor added a great garden of fruit-trees and flowering-trees. The next king Devanampiyatissa (B.C. 247-207), subsequent to his fervent adoption of Buddhism as the state religion, added temples and dagabas, monasteries and nunneries. Dutha-Gamini (B.C. 101-77) built bigger dagabas and monasteries. King Vatta-Gamini (B.C. 29-15), better known as Valagambahu, built the huge northern dagaba, and Mahasena (A.D. 277-304) the larger eastern dagaba. By these and the numerous benefactions of other kings the

ancient capital acquired an abiding renown among the people who wrote and spoke of Anuradhapura as " the great city ", Mahanuwara, or more simply as " the city ", Nuwara, up to the early years of the seventeenth century A.D.

Frequent Tamil invasions from South India, countenanced by the increasing resident Tamils, deranged the security of the royal capital, and in the 7th century the kings moved to Pulatthinagara, now known as Polonnaruwa. Except for two returns to Anuradhapura, in A.D. 787 and 866, Polonnaruwa was the royal city of residence for nearly six centuries. There had been an earlier interlude when the parricide king Kassapa (A.D. 479-497) went to the rock-fortress Slgiri in fear of his brother Mogallana the rightful heir, who did succeed in defeating him, and who resumed the use of Anuradhapura for royal residence.

The second great city of old Ceylon, Polonnaruwa, was crowded with a variety of buildings, contrasting with the general uniformity of Ihe structures at Anuradhapura. Fifty years of Chola domination in the first half of the 11th century produced a rock-cut image of the sage, Saivite shrines and images. Restoration of Sinhalese Buddhist rule led to the conversion of some Hindu buildings into Buddhist shrines with partial conversion in structure and ornament. The energy and grandiose temperament of king Parakkamabahu (A.D. 1153-1186) produced great dagabas, colossal rock-cut statues, and large edifices in brick as well as stone. His brilliant reign was followed by court intrigues and chaotic reigns (except for an interlude of 9 years). Within 29 years of the death of this embellisher of Polonnaruwa, a Dravidian invader overran Ceylon destroying shrines and dagabas. When, 21 years later, a Sinhalese prince from South Ceylon restored Sinhalese sovereignty, he established the royal residence at another place, Dambadeniya, in the western area. Except for one king (A.D. 1272-1283), Polonnaruwa was never again the residence of the ruling monarch. Dambadeniya in turn was replaced by Yapahu, Kurunegala, Gampola, and Rayigama for short periods. All these claim distinction as former royal cities until the rise of Kot^e, the seat of the suzerain king of Ceylon for nearly two centuries, with a formidable contesting rival at Sitawaka (A.D. 1521-1594), and one short interlude at Kelaniya.

The rise and fall of Kotte illustrates the disunion and jealousy of the princes and people, notwithstanding the urgent need for union.

In 1521, the king was deprived of his throne and life by his three sons, who divided the realm into three kingdoms, the eldest at Kotte being the suzerain. The brother at Rayigama gave no trouble, he and his realm sank into insignificance, and at his death it was no longer of any account; but, the brother at Sitawaka aspired to deprive the eldest at

Kotte of the suzerainty of Ceylon, and thus there was war between the king of Ceylon at Kotte and the king of Sitawaka who was in theory subordinate to him. The Portuguese, who had come to Colombo in the reign of their grandfather, in A.D. 1505, were formidable fighters in the estimation of the Sinhalese. The report made to the king ran thus: — " There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets and hats of iron ; they rest not a minute in one place ; they walk here and there ; they eat hunks of stone (biscuits) and drink blood (wine); they give two or three pieces of silver for one fish or one lime ; the report of their iron is louder than thunder when it bursts upon the rock Yugandhara. Their cannon-balls fly many a mile and shatter fortresses of granite ". In a few years, the factory for trading purposes at Colombo was replaced by a fortress, and the neighbouring king at Kotte enlisted their aid against the rival at Sitawaka, who sought aid from the Malabar ruler at Calicut. It was this strife between the two Sinhalese kings that strengthened the Portuguese position. Kotte (short for Jayavardhanapura-kotte) was the royal residence from A.D. 1412 to 1597 ; but from 1529 the " foreign seaport " Colombo was rising in importance as the fortress and settlement of the Portuguese, whose power was rising as the domineering allies of the titular lord of Ceylon against his rivals. Incessant conflicts between the jealous and disunited Sinhalese rulers only increased the importance of the Portuguese who allied themselves to the Kotte King for their own purpose of gaining rule over Ceylon. Their supremacy *defacto* became suzerainty *de jure* in the year 1540. The harassed and unwarlike king at Kotte, to secure the position of his heir an infant grandson, sent an embassy to Lisbon with a golden image of the infant to be installed by the king of Portugal as heir-apparent ; this was duly done. The warrior king at Sitawaka sustained some reverses in his warfare against Kotte and the Portuguese, but was never overwhelmed.

Meanwhile, a subordinate principality in the hill-country became involved in the conflict for greater power. One unsuccessful aspirant to the throne at the hill-capital, Sankadagalanuwara, sought aid from the Sitawaka ruler. The successful ruler allied himself with the Kot^e king and the Portuguese. In 1580, the new ruler at Sitawaka, one of the boldest and greatest of Sinhalese warriors, whose generalship had won his father many victories, went into the hill kingdom to chastise the presumptuous ruler, annexed that kingdom and expelled the prince and his family. That deposed prince fled to Trincomali where he died of smallpox, directing his nephew to be regent until his infant daughter became qualified to occupy the lost throne which was to be regained. The Portuguese baptized the infant girl as Dona Catharina, and the nephew as Dom Philip. Another offshoot of the same royal family was baptized Dom John of Austria, and was educated and trained in military

arts at Colombo and Goa, so that he became known as a bold and skilled soldier. In 1590, the Portuguese held all the trump-cards. The heiress to the realm upon the hills was under their care, the prince nominated as regent was their faithful adherent, and the fearless Dom John a captain in their army. Accordingly, they resolved to invade and annex the hill-country, which had revolted against the Sitawaka ruler, and had invited the nominated regent to occupy the vacant throne. This expedition was also calculated to ease the pressure of the persistent warfare against Colombo by the dreaded warrior-king of Sitawaka, who was proving himself a dangerous and implacable opponent.

The expedition into the hill-country was successful ; the capital, Sankadagalanuwara, was occupied by a mixed force of the Portuguese and their Sinhalese allies under the Sinhalese commander, Dom John of Austria, whose Sinhalese name was Konappu Bandara ; and a fort to cover the ferry was built at Gannoruwa. Dom Philip had the king proclaimed at the entry into the kingdom, and he was now installed at the capital ; but this did not please the ambitious and bold Dom John. Dom Philip died suddenly under suspicious circumstances, Dom John proclaimed his renunciation of all allegiance to the Portuguese rule and the Catholic religion, declared that he was a Buddhist and rightful ruler of the realm in the hill-country, attacked and defeated the Portuguese at Gannoruwa, and proclaimed himself king under the name of Vimala Dharma Surya. Neither the Sitawaka king nor the Portuguese could tolerate their loss of the hill-country, but his attempt against the new ruler in 1592 failed, and he died the next year, when the Portuguese annexed his kingdom of Sitawaka. The Portuguese made an attempt against the ruler of the hill-country in 1594. Disastrous failure was accompanied by the capture of their protege, Dona Catharina, by Vimala Dharma Surya who promptly married her,—the only Sinhalese rival v/ith any claim to the throne of the hill-country. In 1580, the puppet king at Kot^e had bequeathed his realm and his suzerainty over Ceylon to the king of Portugal; and when he died in 1597 this bequest came into force. The Portuguese at Colombo were now rulers of the Kot^e realm, and had gained the kingdom of Sitawaka also ; the only disputant of their claim to all Ceylon was the newly established king in the hill-country, hitherto a subordinate principality, but now claiming the overlordship of Ceylon. Each power tried its utmost to overpower the other without any decisive result in spite of a prolonged and bitter warfare. The hill-country ruler, with his royal residence at Sankadagalanuwara, was called " Kande uda rata raja ", king of the country upon the hills, or for short, " *kande raja* ", a title the Portuguese made into ' King of Kandy '. The name " Kandy ", thus originated, continued in use among the Dutch who acquired the whole of the Portuguese domains in Ceylon by 1656 ; and the British used the term Kandy for the capital

once known as Sankadagalanuwara, and the term Kandyan for the realm upcountry which they annexed in A.D. 1815, nineteen years after acquiring the maritime domains of the Dutch in 1796. Though the Portuguese used the name Kandy for the capital Sankadagalanuwara, a more significant change was made by the Sinhalese.

The ancient royal residence at Tambapanni and Upatissagama were forgotten ; the transient period of royal residence at Sigiriya was kept in memory by its great gallery and its frescoes in pockets of the rock ; Polonnaruwa was kept in memory by the great structures of famous Parakkamabahu ; Dambadeniya, Yapahu, Kuruncgala, Gampola, Rayigama and Kotte were of minor importance compared to Anuradhapura, and Polonnaruwa ; but even in the greatest day of Polannaruwa, Anuradhapura, the place of the sacred Bo-tree and the mighty structures of the great kings, retained in speech and in writings the titles *Mahanuwara* and *Nuwara*. To the common people, the Great City or the City meant Anuradhapura, notwithstanding the removal of royal residence and the neglect and ruin of its buildings. Early in the 17th century, as King Vimala Dharma Surya consolidated his power at Sankadagalanuwara, the proud pre-eminence for twenty centuries of Anuradhapura as " the great city " or " the city " passed away, and those titles went to the latest and only Sinhalese royal capital, which was known as Sankadagalanuwara previous to its elevation as the capital of Ceylon. Though known to the European conquerors as Kandy, it was known to the Sinhalese as " the great city " or " the city ", during the period of two centuries of resistance to invasion, and the names survive to this day in Sinhalese speech and writing to the exclusion of its former name. Even the Sinhalese in the maritime province subject to the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English for the *next* two centuries, used their new Sinhalese title for the capital of the realm upon the hills. It was the national capital of the Sinhalese people, whilst Colombo was the capital of their European rulers. After a hundred and twenty years Colombo became the seat of the supreme government; but Kandy is still known to the Sinhalese as Nuwara the city, and *Mahdnuwara* the great city.

Colombo, regarded by the Sinhalese as a foreign port, was a greai straggling seaside hamlet frequented by Arab traders and their descendants. A Muhammadan tombstone found at Colombo bears the Hejira date 337, equal to A.D. 949. In 1344 the celebrated traveller Ibn Batuta found it ruled by a Muslim with the help of foreign troops. The Chinese knew it as a trading port in 1349. When the Portuguese first came in 1505, they called the traders occupying it " Moors ",—the term they used for their Arab-Muslim opponents in Morocco. Gradually overcoming these settlers in Colombo, the Portuguese made Colombo their capital town. The Dutch did the same when they overcame the

Portuguese in Ceylon, and further rebuilt its strong fortress. The British continued the use of Colombo as the capital town, from their occupation of it in 1796. When the Kandyan realm was taken by the British in 1815, Kandy was no longer the capital, notwithstanding the separate administration of it. In 1833, for administrative reasons, the separate administration of the Kandyan realm was abolished, and Colombo became more firmly established as the capital of all Ceylon. Kandy however retained the old title in Sinhalese speech and writings, and retains it to this day ; it is still Mahanuwara and Nuwara, since the opening years of the 17th century.

Irai, Irai-kaval and Iraiyili

BY

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THE period of Cola rule in South India was marked by a great advance in administrative organisation. Hundreds of stone inscriptions and half-a-dozen copper plate grants have conserved a large number of interesting facts bearing on the details of daily administration. I propose here to discuss the exact significance of some land revenue terms which occur frequently in the inscriptions, and a correct understanding of which is essential to a proper estimate of the actual working of the tax-system. We derive no assistance from literature, indigenous or foreign, in the elucidation of these terms, and we must depend solely on the possibility of the texts of various inscriptions interpreting one another when they are read together. Though a sure method, this is necessarily slow, and cannot be pursued on a large scale when the majority of inscriptions remain unpublished. Sometimes we derive much knowledge from a casual phrase in an otherwise unimportant inscription. The collective responsibility of village assemblies for the payment of land revenue, for instance, is nowhere categorically stated ; but it does not take the study of many inscriptions to find this large fact borne in *on* us in a hundred different ways.

Irai and *Vari* are the two most general terms for tax. Though both these terms are employed of land tax as well as other taxes and dues, still *Irai* is more particularly associated with land, while *vari* has reference to the other taxes. True we have terms like *tari-irai* (tax on looms), *Sekkirai* (tax on oil-mills), and so on ; we have also the term *sillirai,* minor dues, to describe collectively a number of sundry small assessments. But the phrase *irai-irddu poridr,* ' those who have gone without paying the tax \ is often found employed to describe default in land tax ; and the distinction between *irai-nilam* and *iraiyili (-nilam)* is among the most striking features of the Cola land-revenue system. It will be recalled that the possession of a minimum extent of *irai-nilam* (tax-paying land) was prescribed as a qualification for a candidate who sought election to one of the *variyams* (executive committees) of the Sabha of Uttaramerur. The village assemblies were responsible for the payment of land-revenue, and lands from which taxes fell in arrears escheated to the village after some time, as is seen from the phrase *irai-iradu-ur-nokki vilunda bhumi,* * land that had fallen

to the village on account of arrears in its revenue dues ', which occurs in an inscription from Uttaramerur.[1]

The word *vari* also occurs in connection with land revenue as well as other items of revenue. In phrases like *uriduvari* and *silvari,*[2] i.e., taxes or dues levied by the *ur* (township) and minor dues, the word seems to have no reference to land-revenue, but to other parts of the tax-system. But the term *peruvarP* (major taxes), as opposed to *silvari,* does not include the land tax among others. The expressions *puravu-vari, varippottagam, varikkatutkku, variyil-ldxi* mean respectively the land tax, tax-register, land revenue accounts, and an entry into the register ; the same terms are found employed also to describe the officers in charge of the respective duties.

The term *Iraiyili* means land which is not taxed, and at first sight it may appear that such lands were totally exempt from all payment of taxes and dues. In fact, we find the term often employed in this sense in the Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rajaraja I. Some villages granted by the king to the Tanjore temple are, for instance, described in detail, and the extent of the lands in each village, non-taxable as well as tax-paying lands, is recorded in one of these inscriptions.[4] This inscription describes the *iraiyili* lands as opposed to *irai-kaitina-mlam* in the following terms : *ur-nattamum, srikoyilgalum, kulaiigalum, uda-rultuppnna vdykkalgah'un, paraicceriyum. kammanacccriyiim sudu-hadum uUittu Iraiyili nilaiigahim,* i.e., tax-free lands including the residential part of the village, sacred temples, tanks, channels passing through the village, the habitat of the Pariahs and of the artisans, and the cremation ground. In the sections that follow in the inscription, the total extent of each village named is first given, then the extent of *iraiyili* lands as defined above, and finally the extent of tax-paying land with the taxes thereon. But apart from the non-taxable lands just mentioned, instances of such outright exemption are comparatively rare ; we have an example of this in a record of the fifth year of a Rajakesari-varman from Tiruverumbur" which states the decision of the Sabha of Sri-kantha-caturvedimaiigalam in the following terms :

> ittiruverumbur alvar epperppalta iraiyum
> kadavarallamaiyil it-tevasvnm opperppattadum sabaiyom kol-
>] apperadomagavum,

1. 17 of 1898.
2. 193 of 1924. All my citations from unpublished inscriptions are due to the courtesy of the Archaeological Department.
3. 147 and 149 of 1925.
4. SII. ii. 4.
5. 133 of **1914.**

i.e., * as this Alvar (god) of Tiruverumbur has not got to pay any kind of *irai,* we, the members of the Sabha, are bound not to take anything from the properties belonging to this deity \ The inscription also lays down drastic punishments, including ex-communication *(anyonyasahavd-sam varjjippadagavum),* against any one who violated this decision. This is an early Cola inscription, and for its contents, it is remarkably free from technical terms. It is clear, however, that this is a case of full remission by the Sabha of all taxes due from the temple, and apparently for no consideration ; but there is no indication whatever that the revenues of the government underwent any diminution on account of this decision ; the villagers evidently had to make good to the central government the tax due from the temple by distributing it among themselves. There are numerous examples in the Tanjore inscriptions and elsewhere calculated to show that, after a careful survey of lands in a village, the officers of the central government fixed the total of the taxes due from the village in cash and in kind, and that the detailed assessment according to holdings was left to the local assemblies. The assembly of Srikantha-caturvedimarigalam made up its mind not to assess anything on the lands held by the temple, and therefore not to collect anything from it. That this decision put an additional burden on the landholders of the village, and that it was natural for them to seek to escape this burden by making the temple contribute its normal share to the revenues of the state, may be inferred from the safeguards provided against attempts to violate the decision then reached. When remissions went in reduction of the revenues of the central government, this fact was clearly recorded, and the procedure was far more elaborate as may be seen from the Anbil plates, the Tirumukkudal inscription of Virarajendra[6] and other records.

The procedure adopted by the Sabha of Srlkanthacaturvedimangalam, that by which some lands were made tax-free by the taxes due from them being distributed over the other holdings in the village, gave rise to a class of land which gets a special name in the later records ; that is *ur-kil-iraiyili,* meaning tax-free under the township. This is clearly expressed in the following sentences that occur in an inscription.[7]

____*innilangalukku ur-vilukkdttuppadi pottagappadi parri vanda nilam engal pergalile erri irrukkak-kadavom agavum; engalpakkal virrukondarum stridhanam perrdrum marrum perru udaiyarum ippadi irukkakkadavargal agavum,* meaning, ' for these lands we bind ourselves to pay the taxes as an excess (contribution) distributed *pro-rata* over our holdings held in accordance with the record (of land-rights), and

6. EI. XV, XXI.
7. 109 of 1911.

those who buy land from us, or get it as dowry or otherwise, will also be bound to pay likewise (this excess-contribution).'

But very often lands were made *iraiyili* by the villagers for a consideration. The village assemblies accepted a lump sum of money and made the land *iraiyili.* The usual instances under this head were those of gifts of land to temples, *mathas,* and for other charitable purposes by donors who paid down cash to cover not only the price of land *(vilai-dravyam)* but also the tax-dues on it *(irai-dravyam),* and we have accordingly several sale-deeds which contain the phrase *vilaidravyamum iraidravyamum arak-kondu,* i.e., having received the entire amount of the price-money and the tax-money. The *iraidravyam* in such instance was doubtless a sum equivalent to the capitalised value of the future dues, which was to serve as an endowment, from the interest on which the future dues could be met as they accrued. This is clearly brought out by the term *irai-kdval-dravyam* ' money securing the irai', which is sometimes employed. It may be noted that an inscription[8] of the thirteenth year of Rajaraja I has the words : *innilattukku irai-kdval candrddittaval iraikku vendum dravyamellam nahgal arak-kondu,* * We having received in full all the money required (to meet) the *irai* for all time (as long as the moon and sun endure) as *iraikaval* for this land \ The *iraidravyam* might be paid either with the price of the land or at any subsequent time, and, in any event, this payment was sometimes acknowledged by a separate document setting forth the amount received and the taxes to be met from the proceeds of the investment thereof.[9]

A number of inscriptions from Uttaramerur speak of *purvdearam* (lit. ancestral practice) in this connection, the Sabha collecting *ipurva-caram* before making lands iraiyili.[10] This is no doubt the same as the *irai-dravyam* of the other records, with the additional implication that the amount was calculated according to rates fixed by ancient custom. We must also note in passing that the *irrai-dravyam* was in no sense a trust fund to be kept intact in order that the *irai* may be met from time to time ; the Sabhas often spent these amounts on immediate requirements, and paid the taxes from their general revenues in the succeeding years ; but there is much evidence to show that care was taken to spend such ' trust funds ' (as we should call them) on items of productive capital expenditure, generally the improvement of irrigation facilities in the village or the reclamation of waste land.

8. 266 of 1917.
9. 194 of 1925 ; 168 of 1929.
10. See *The Colas,* Vol. I, Index s.u. *purvacaram.*

A Cola inscription of uncertain date from Uttattur[11] enumerates the following as examples of *iraiyili lands : devaddnam, tiruvidaiydttam, pallicandam, ayyan-pdtti, madappuram, agarapparru* and *bhattavrtti.* We cannot enter into a detailed examination of all these terms here ; but their citation is enough to show that the generic term *iraiyili* is applied to cover a variety of exemptions and immunities, not all of the same character or extent. We have already seen that it is applied even in cases where the taxes were not remitted, but only commuted by a lump sum payment in advance. And we find here a list of the types of *iraiyili* lands which must have differed a good deal from one another in the nature of the immunities attaching to them. That *Iraiyili* lands were by no means in the enjoyment of absolute immunity from taxes and dues, but had to meet sundry payments, becomes clear from several inscriptions. An inscription of A.D. 1116 from Uttaramerur[1]- states that *no iraiyilk-kdsu* would be collected from some land for the year then current, but that in subsequent years the land would have to pay five *kdsus* per annum under this head. Again we find from an inscription[13] of the reign of Rajaraja I that some lands in the enjoyment of the Jain temple of Tirruppanmalai (North Arcot) and described as *Iraiyili-paUiccandam,* had yet to pay two cesses—*karpura-vilai* and *anniydya-vdva-datuLa-irai.* The payment of these cesses, particularly the *karpura-vilai,* diminished the usefulness of the land to the temple, and on the specific representation of a Lada princess that these dues should be remitted, her husband, the Lada chieftain, who held the fief area, consented to remit the collection of these dues for the future.

Before concluding, we may draw attention to one other interesting, if somewhat difficult, term which occurs in connection with *iraiyili* lands, and that is *kdsu-kolla-iraiyili.* I think this term should be interpreted in the light of the other term noticed a little earlier, *iraiyilikkdsu,* and I am inclined to suggest that lands described as *kdsu-kolld-irayili* were exempted from the payment of *iraiyilikkdsu.* The question then arises what is *iraiyilikkdsu ?* We may be tempted to see in this another form of the *iraikdval-dravyam* ; but I think the two terms are different and have nothing to do with each other. For in no single case in which *irai-kdval* is said to have been paid in cash is the phrase *iraiyilikkdsu* employed ; and the Uttaramerur inscription cited above shows that the latter was a small annual payment, while the former was a more considerable lump sum payment paid in lieu of the regular land tax accruing

11. 525 of 1912.
12. 168 of 1923.
13. 19 of 1890; E I. iv. p. 139. My interpretation of the record differs from Venkayya's.

for all future time. To understand the real meaning of *iraiyilikkasu* we must, it seems to me, think of another aspect of the Cola tax-system. A distinction is often made between *nelldyam* and *kdsayam,* income **in kind** and income in cash. It may be suggested that *iraiyili* lands, in view of their status, were not expected to pay all the cash dues in full, but to make some contribution on a reduced scale in lieu of the regular **cash** dues to which other lands were subject, and this contribution came to bear the name *iraiyilik-kdsu.* And the lands which were excused even this payment were the *kasu-kolla-iraiyili.* It is only on some such interpretation that the phrase *kasukolla-ur-kil-iraiyili,* sometimes found in inscriptions,[14] becomes intelligible as applying to lands, of which the taxes in kind were paid by the villages while the cash dues stood entirely remitted. These suggestions must be considered tentative, and must await confirmation by further study.

14. 245 of 1925.

The Purvaraja of the Velvikkudi Grant

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FROM the dawn of authentic history the Far South of India beyond the Krishna and the Tungabhadra has constituted a world by itself. As pointed out by Dr. Vincent Smith, it was ordinarily so secluded from the rest of the country that its affairs remained hidden from the gaze of other peoples. Enterprising rulers even in this region cherished, however, the ambition of universal Indian dominion, and poets now and then sang of a Southern prince who led expeditions to the North, and was believed to have extended his sway, temporarily at any rate, over the massive plain " decked with the Ganges as with a pearl necklace."

Sa sagarambaram urvim
Gangamauktikaharinlm
babhara suchirarh viro
Meru Mandara kundalam.[1]

At times invaders from Northern and Eastern India would push through the rugged valleys of the Narmada and the Mahanadi, the Godavari and the Krishna, carry their arms deep into the lands of Kanchi and Karnata, and thus lift the veil in which the mysterious realms of the Far South were shrouded. The most famous among the invasions from the North were those led by the Mauryas in the third or the fourth century B.C. and the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. That a third dynasty which for a time held its court in the old imperial city of Pataliputra also claims to have overrun the Far South of India is not so well known to students of antiquity. The line of kings referred to is the famous Pala dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. In the Monghyr Plate of Devapala, his father Dharmapala—a contemporary and rival of the Rashtrakuta monarchs of the Deccan in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.—is said to have undertaken a *Digvijaya* in the course of which his followers are said to have performed holy rites at Gokarna, apparently in North Kanara.

* The author uses *ch* for c and *sha* for ? in this article.

1. *S.LL*, Vol. I, p. 26 (No. 32) —Amaravati Inscription. Cf. *S.U.*, Vol. Ill, pt. iv, The Larger 6innamanur Plates:—*" Mahipatin&m Himdchaldropitai&sandndm."* The exploits of Rajendra Chola I are well-known.

Kedare vidhinopayukta-payasarh
Gangasametambudhau
Gokai'nadishu chapyanushthitavatam
Tirtheshu dharmyah kriyah.

" (On his expeditions) they (the followers of Dharmapala) bathed according to prescribed rules at Kedara and where the ocean is joined by the Ganges, and *performed religious riles at Gokarna* and other sacred spots."

Devapala himself is said to have had Karnatas among his *sevakas* (servants), and is credited with having " enjoyed the whole earth free from rivals up to the revered (mountain), the source of the Ganges, *and as far as the Bridge which proclaims the* fame *of the destroyer of the ten-headed (Rdvana),* as far as the ocean which is the abode of Varuna, and as far as the ocean which is the birth-place of Lakshml" : —

A-Gangagama-mahitat sapatna-sunyam
asetoh prathita-dasasyaketuklrteh
urvIma-Varunanike (ta) nachcha Sindho-r
aLakshmlkulabhavanachcha yo bubhoja.

The Badal Pillar inscription makes specific mention of the fact that Devapala not only defeated the Utkalas, Huns and Gurjaras but humbled the pride and conceit of the lord or lords of the Dravidas : —

Utkilitotkalakularh hrita-Hunagarvarh
Kharvlkrita Dravida-Gurjara-natha darparh

There is undoubtedly a good deal of exaggeration in these eulogies. But are they absolutely without any foundation ? Is there no substratum of truth behind these claims ? Have we no corroborative evidence that rulers of Eastern India whose territories embraced Magadha actually figured in the politics of the Far South of India in the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D., the period to which Dharmapala and his son Devapala must be assigned ? Curiously enough, certain Pandya records furnish interesting information on the point. The Velvikkudi grant of about 769—70 A.D. informs us that a Pandya officer named Marangari, " crest jewel of the Vaidyakula," took part in a fight when *Pxirvarajar* or eastern kings rose up and put to flight at Venbai the powerful *Vallabha* king,* apparently the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna I of the Deccan, on

* Ep. Ind., XVII. 309. The emperors of the Deccan belonging to the royal houses of Chalukya and Rashtrakuta called themselves Vallabha, *Sri* Vallabha or *Sri Prithvi Vallabha "* beloved of *Sri* (Lakshml) and *Prithvi* (the Earth Goddess)" doubtless in imitation of the god Vishnu the Preserver whose name is usually invoked at the commencement of their epigraphic records.

the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gangaraja was secured and offered to the Pandya king (Kohgarkon — Nedunjadaiyan). The Talegaon plates show Krishna actually encamped in 768 at Manne in the Mysore State then ruled by the Gahgas. The expression *purvarajar* reminds us of the epithet " *Purvakshitidhara* " of the Pala records, and may have been used to denote the Pala rulers of Eastern India together with their feudatories. The defeat of Krishna I at the hands of the Palas and his failure to secure a Ganga princess for himself or for one of his sons, probably afford a clue to the well-known hostility of Krishna's progeny towards the Palas and the Gahgas. The alliance of the eastern kings with the Pandyas did not however last long. We learn from the Sinnamanur Plates that the Pandya king Sri Mara Sri vallabha (who ruled about A.D. 815—862) repulsed a confederation of Garigas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kalingas, *Magadhas* and others at a place called Kudamukkil, identified by Tamil scholars with Kumbhakonam. The last-mentioned document clearly establishes the presence in the Tamil country, in the ninth century A.D., of warriors from Magadha who had as their allies the Kalingas of the Orissa coast and the Gahgas of the South Kanarese region, besides other peoples. It will be remembered that about this time the Palas exercised sovereignty in Magadha. They claimed to have conquered Orissa. They had Karnatas among their sevakas (servants) and had measured swords with a ruler or rulers of Dravida in the Far South of India. The expression *Dravida-ndtha* can not have sole reference to the contemporary Rash^rakGta emperor as has been suggested by some scholars. It may refer to some Tamil potentate as well.

In this connection it is interesting to note that a part of the Tamil country embracing portions of the Salem and Arcot districts actually came to be known as Magadaimandala and a famous city in South Arcot bore the name Pataliputtiram.* It is for scholars to find out whether the names Magadai and Pataliputtiram are reminiscent of the Pala invasions of the eigth and ninth centuries A.D. or of the earlier inroads of the Mauryas and the Guptas. Contemporary records of the Imperial Mauryas have, however, not yet been found beyond the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and the Guptas do not seem to have penetrated beyond Conjeeveram. In view of these facts and the late appearance of the name Magadaimandala in the South Indian epigraphs, it is not improbable that this territorial designation has something to do with the Pala invasions of the eigth and ninth centuries A.D. It is also important *to* recall the fact that the final overthrow of the Pala sovereignty in Bengal

* V. Rangacharya, A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, pp. 176, 197, etc.; V. A. Smith, E.H.J., (4th edition), 495.

was the work of a line of South Indian princes *(Ddkshindtya kshaunin-dra)* who were originally feudatories hailing from Karnata and the *Vaidyakula* to which the southern ally of the Eastern kings mentioned in the *Velvikkudi* Plates and the bearers of the royal message (ajnapti) belonged, reminds us of the small *Vaidya* community of Bengal who have not been a negligible factor in the social, political and intellectual life of the province since the days of the Pala kings.

The Contemporaneity of Saints Tirumangaiyar and Gnanasambanda*

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THE Vaishnava hagiologists speak of a tradition of the contemporaneity of Saints Tirumangaiyar and Tirughanasambanda, the adherents of the Vaishnava and the Saiva schools of religion respectively and also of an alleged interview and religious discussion between them. This tradition has not been given its due importance. It was rejected by a set of scholars as a later-day fabrication, as it speaks of a discussion in which the Saiva saint was defeated and treated badly by Tirumahgai Alvar, and as the ages in which the two saints are said to have lived were proved, on other grounds, to be different. I recently had an occasion to re-consider this question deeply, and weigh all available facts connected with it. At the outset, I wish to point out that the earlier accounts of the Vaishnava saints speak of the meeting of these two saints as the outcome of mutual admiration and respect which each had for the other, and not as the representatives of the rival schools of religion desiring to discuss doctrines. The story of the alleged religious discussion and the consequent misunderstanding between them appears to have been introduced by later-day chroniclers.

The *Divyasuricharitam** of Garudavahana-pandita, an ancient treatise on the lives of the A]vars, has the following description of the meeting of the saints.

' When the Saiva saint Ghanasambanda came to know of the return of Tirumahgai to Tiruvali-Tirunagari after gaining a victory over the Bauddhas in discussion, he went and met him (Tirumahgai) at the outskirts of Slkali (i.e., Shiyali). After each of them had paid his respects to the other, Sambanda requested Tirumahgai to visit his village (i.e., Shiyali). The latter replied that he would not visit a village which

* My thanks are due to Mr. T. N. Subrahmanyam who rendered the article into English from the original Tamil. [The author uses *ch* for c and *ah* for ? Ed.]

1. *Divy*as-uri*charitam,* Tamil translation published by Arisamaya-Divakaram Press, Madura, pp. 140-1. Its date is uncertain. Even if its contemporaneity with Sri Ramanuja is not accepted, its early date cannot be questioned as it differs in many places from the *Guruparamparas.*

had no Vishnu temple in it. Then Sambanda informed him that there had once been a temple of 'Sri Rama in that village, which since then had been demolished by the heretics. He also added that the deity of that temple was then under the roof of a certain *bhakta,* and worshipped by him privately in his house. Thereupon the Alvar went to the residence of the *bhakta* in company with Sambanda, paid homage to the deity, and sang one distich of verses in praise of that deity. On this, Sambanda ordered his disciples to re-instal this image in a temple as before, and thus came once again into existence 'Kalichchlrama-vinnagaram ' i.e., the Sri Rama temple of Shiyali."

The *Guruparamparas* speak of a religious controversy and discussion alleged to have taken place between the two saints. It is well known that Sambanda hailed from Shiyali, and Tirumaiigai from Tiruvali-Tirunagari very near that place ; and it is just likely that, if they had been contemporaries, they would have met. The objection that could be placed against accepting this position, is that Sambanda is an avowed antagonist of the Vaishnava cult, and that he has spoken low of Vishnu in every ninth song of his Tevaram hymns. But this objection can be treated very lightly in the light of the fact that the adherents of both the Saiva and Vaishnava cults were, in those days, working for the wiping out of their common enemies i.e., the Sramanas. Sambanda placed Siva above all the other gods, and the Alvar elevated Vishnu to the highest place to the exclusion of the other gods, mainly to infuse *bhakti* in that particular cult among the followers of their respective systems.

Further, the *Divyasuricharitam* also speaks of this interview as having taken place while Tirumangai was returning home after a victory over the Bauddhas,- which distinction Sambanda had gained on another occasion. Again, from the materials at our disposal, we do not know of discussions on the merits of several doctines coming under the pale of Hinduism to have taken place in those days. It is therefore quite likely that the meeting of these two saints would have taken place. And in as much as all the Vaishnava Guruparamparas speak of this meeting, we have to take this interview as a historical fact, as it is corroborated by other evidence which we shall examine in the sequel.

Historians have discarded this valuable literary tradition as of no account owing to the apparent difference in the chronology of these two saints. Sambanda is said to have lived in the middle of the 7th century A.D., while Tirumangai in the early half of the 8th century by one set of scholars and in the latter half of the 8th century and the first half of the

2. The Buddhists and Jains were known in those days, by their common name Sramanas.

9th century by another set. Let us consider the material which helps us in fixing the dates of these two saints.

The date of Sambanda depends on the following three facts : —

(I) The date of the Pallava king who became a convert to Saivism from Jainism through the influence of Saint Appar, an elder contemporary of Sambanda.

(II) The date of Siruttorujar, the General of the Pallava king who took part in the northern expedition against Vatapi and destroyed it.

(III) The date of the Pandya who was converted to Saivism from Jainism through the influence of Sambanda.

I. It is a settled fact that it was Mahendravarman I the Pallava king of Kafichi who was converted to Saivism by Appar.-'* The *Periya-puranam* says that this king constructed a Siva temple at Tiruvadigai with the name of Gunadareccuram (Gunabharesvaram) demolishing a Jain temple there.[3a] Mahendra I had the surname of Gunabhara and an inscription of his in the cave temple at Trichinopoly speaks of his conversion to Saivism from the hostile religion.[1] The duration of his reign as well as the period in which he ruled cannot be stated precisely. It is generally admitted that he ruled from Karichipuram from *circa* 600 to 640 A.D. Saint Appar lived to a ripe old age, i.e., 81 years. If it is accepted that Appar was born in the beginning of the 7th century, he ought to have lived till at least the close of the seventies of that century. He met Sambanda very late in his life.'' The tradition is that Sambanda lived only for 16 years, and that he was very young when he met his elder contemporary. If we take that Sambanda was 10 or 11 years of age when he met Appar, as it is quite likely, Sambanda's duration of life will be from circa 670 to 686 A.D.

II. Sambanda has praised Siruttondar, one of the sixty-three Nayanmars, and his verses go to show that he was his contemporary. The Periyapuranam also supports this view." It is stated therein that Siruttondar was the captain of the elephant-force of the king under whom he served, and also destroyed Vatapi, a city in the north, in the campaign he undertook for the king.[7] Vatapi, the capital of the West-

3. V. Venkayya, E.I., Vol. Ill, p. 277.
3-a. Periyapuranam—Tirunavuk-karasu-nayanar puranam, verse 146.
4. S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 29, verse No. 2 of inscription No. 33.
5. Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, 'Tamil-varalaru', part II, pp. 49-54.
6. Periyapuranam—Tirugnanasambanda-murtikal-puranam, verse 4S8.
7. Ibid.—Siruttonda-nayanar-puranam, verse 6.

ern Chalukyas, is known to have been destroyed only by the Pallavas of Kafichi and as such, Siruttondar was a general only under a Pallava king. But history speaks of two occasions in which the city of Vatapi was destroyed by the Pallavas. One was in the reign of Narasimha-varman I, the son of Mahendra I who was converted to Saivism by Appar[8] and the other in the reign of Paramesvara-varman, the grand-son of Narasimha I. So it is necessary for us to settle the question in which of the two expeditions, &iruttondar led an army. Narasimha I reigned from *circa* 640 to 670 A.D. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller who travelled in the Chalukyan kingdom in 641 A.D., speaks in eloquent language of the glory and splendour of the kingdom and its capital. Pulakesin II was the Chalukyan emperor then. His son came to the Chalukyan throne in 655 A.D. The destruction of Vatapi was brought about during the reign of Pulakesin II. An inscription of Narasimha-varman I in the victory-pillar he erected at Vatapi mentions the 13th year of his reign." So, the destruction of Vatapi should be looked for between the years 641 and 655 A.D. It is probable that the invasion of Narasimha took place at the close of Pulakesin's reign, and it is interest-ing to note that V. A. Smith has stated that Pulakesin fell in this en-counter.[10]

Vikramaditya I, the son and successor of Pulakesin, could not brook the defeat inflicted on his father and the destruction wrought on his capital by the Pallavas. He therefore prepared and undertook an ex-pedition against the Pallava dominions. His army was camping at Uragapura on the southern bank of the river Kaveri, wherefrom he issued the Gadval plates, which bear the date 674 A.D.[n] The Pallava inscriptions at Kanchipuram[3]- and the Kuram plates [13] say that Para-mesvaravarman defeated the Chajukyas who made an inroad into his kingdom, and that, in retaliation, he even undertook an invasion of their territory. In an inscription in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchl-puram, this Paramesvara-varman is called " Ugradanda, the destroyer of the city of Ranarasika ",[14] That Ranarasika is the surname of Vikra-

8. All the Pallava documents speak of this invasion: See e.g. Kuram, Kasak-kutfi, Udayendram, Velurpalayam plates.

9. Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 127.

10. Oxford History of India, 1st Edition, p. 170.

11. Gadval plates, E.I., Vol. X, No. 22, pp. 101 If.

12. S.I.I., Vol. I.

13. Ibid., p. 152.

14. Ibid., p. 13.

maditya I of the Western Chalukyas is an established fact ;[15] and this city of Ranarasika could be no other than his capital, Vatapi.[10]

Further, Paradurga-mardana, a member of the Velir family who ruled from Kodumbalur in Pudukdttai State, speaks of his victory over Vatapi.[17] The Kodumbalur Velirs existed in that part of the country for a long time, and this place is spoken of even in the *Silappadikdram.* This Paradurgamardana's grand-son Vikrama-kesari lived in the latter half of the eighth century He was a contemporary of Videlvidugu-Muttarayan who, in turn, has recorded an inscription at Malayadipatti in the 16th year of Dantivarman, the Pallava,[1 H] as also in the 10th year of Maranjadayan, the Pandya.[10] Dantivarman was the son of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and succeeded to the Pallava throne about 780 A.D., while Maranjadayan, who can be identified with Ja^ilavarman Parantaka, came to the throne about 765 A.D.[ao] Taking that Videlvidugu Muttarayan and Vikramakesari lived in 775 A.D., and allowing an average of 30 years' rule for each generation, Paradurgamardana, the grand-father of Vikrama-kesari, should have ruled about 715 A.D.-°-[a] But we have no information whether Vikrama-kesari was an elder or younger contemporary of the Muttarayan, as also of the dura-

15. Gadval plates, E. I., Vol. X, p. 101.

16. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil thinks that "the city of Ranarasika" is Uragapura. But Uragapura was only a temporary camp of Vikramaditya's army invading South India, from which camp he issued the Gadval plates. So, the city of Ranarasika could refer only to his capital, Vatapi, and to no other place. Dr. Dubreuil contends that, if Paramesvara-varman had destroyed Vatapi, he would have called himself—" Destroyer of Vatapi[M] like his grand-father Narasimha I, and inasmuch as he had not chosen that title, Ranarasika-pura, which he destroyed, should have been some other city than Vatapi. But it is quite probable that Paramesvara did not use the title *Destroyer of Vatapi* as he wanted to show that his achievement was not merely a legacy got from his grand-father, and that he used the title of *Destroyer of the city of Ranarasika* to show that he earned it by dint of his valour. Further, the Kodumbalur inscription says that Paradurga-mardhana, who took part in the battle at Uragapura, even though young, had also the surname 'Vatapijit' i.e., conqueror of Vatapi; and this shows clearly that the conquest of Uragapura is an episode different from the capture of Vatapi.

See also Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the *Madras Christian College Magazine,* Oct. 1927.

17. Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State No. 14. See also Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati in the Maharaja's College Magazine, Vizianagaram, July 1923, pp. 206-9.

18. Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State, No. 18.

19. Inscription No. 10 of 1899, A. R. E. Southern Circle.

20. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Pantfyan Kingdom\ p. 41.

20-a. The above date is supported by the fact, that Vidyarasi, who was living probably in the 8th century, was the preceptor of Mallikarjuna, the guru of Vikrama Kesari, as stated in the Kodumbalur Inscription.

tion of the reigns of Paradurgamardana, his son Samarabhirama-Yadu-vamsaketu, and grand-son Vikrama-kesari. But according to the Kodumbalur inscription, Paradurga-mardana was present in the battle at Uragapura even while he was young. So it is probable that he lived at this time, and took part in the northern campaign of the Pallavas under whose suzerainty these Velirs were chieftains. On the other hand, if this Paradurga-mardana is taken as a contemporary of Nara-simhavarman I, then the interval between him and his grand-son Vikra-makesarl would come to a century and a quarter, which is not probable. We know also that Uragapura figured only in the invasion of Vikra-maditya I, and not in the invasion of Pulakesin II. So we can safely say that there was a second invasion of Vatapi, and that it took place about 675 A.D. in the reign of Paramesvara-varman I. In which of these two invasions did 6iruttondar take part it is not clear to infer from other sources. So this does not directly help us in fixing Sambanda's date. On the other hand, the answer to this question depends on the answer to the other.

III. The Periyapuranam says that the Pandya King who was converted to Saivism by Sambanda was Nedumaran, the victor of Nelveli.[21] Sundaramurti in his catalogue of Saiva saints ascribes to him the battle of Nelveli.[22]

The genealogy of the Pandya kings who ruled the country in the 7th and 8th centuries is given below.[23]

1. Kadungon (C. 590-620 A.D.)
2. Maravarman Avaniculamani (620-645)
3. Seliyan Sendan (645-670)
4. Arikesari Maravarman (Victor of Nelveli) (670-710)
5. Koccadaiyan (710-740)
6. Maravarman Rajasimha (740-765)
7. Parantaka Neduiijadaiyan (765-815)
8. Sri Maran Srlvallabha (815-862)

21. Periyapuranam, NinrasIr-Nedumara-nayanar-puranam, verse 2.
22. Tiruttonda-t-tokai, verse 8 ; ' Nelveli-venra-ninraslr-nedumarao adiyarkkum a^iyen.'
23. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Pandyan Kingdom,' p. 41.

Only four kings, who are denoted with even numbers, have the name Maravarman. No. 2 came to the throne in the beginning of the 7th century, i.e., long before the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman I, while No. 8 came to the throne at the beginning of the 9th century. Consequently, both of them could not have been contemporaries of Sambanda. No. 6 was *on* the Pandya throne from *circa* 740 to 765 A.D., and was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Further, this king appears to have been converted to Vaishnavism by Periyalvar.-• So the only Pandya who can be identified with this Nedumaran is No. 4 Arikesari Maravarman. The Velvikkudi plates say of him that he conquered the vast forces in the battle of Nelveli,[2'"'] which statement is confirmed by the Larger Sinnamanur plates.[2"] The inscriptions speak of him as a great devotee of Lord Siva, which is in conformity with the Tevaram hymns.

It is not possible to fix the date of this king precisely. His great-grandson, Jatilavarman Parantaka (No. 7 in the above genealogy) came to the throne in 767 A.D. Allowing an average of 30 years for each reign, Nedumaran, the victor of Nelveli should have come to the throne in 677 A.D. Even allowing for longer reigns, his date of accession could not be earlier than 670 A.D. Sambanda, the saint who converted this king to Saivism, should also have lived then. In this connexion, it may be pointed out that Sambanda's life being very short, and he being a contemporary of Nedumaran, he could not have been a contemporary of Narasimhavarman I, whose reign in the Pallava kingdom came to an end before Nedumaran began to reign in the Pandyan kingdom. Thus all the above evidences lend weighty support to the theory that Sambanda lived in the latter half of the 7th century, i.e., from *circa* 670 to 686 A.D.

The date of Tirumarigai Alvar has been dependent hitherto on his reference to Vairamehan in his *Ashtabuyakaram* hymn. The Alvar celebrates the prowess of Vairamehan in such a way that he could not have been any other than his contemporary. This Vairamehan is differently identified with the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga who conquered Kaiichi in 754 A.D., and his daughter's son, Dantivarman the Pallava, who succeeded to the Pallava throne in 780 A.D. Whoever this Vairamehan might have been, it is clear that the Alvar should have been his contemporary, and this gives us the upper limit for fixing his age.

The Alvar mentions in several of his hymns a mighty king of the North having been vanquished along with the Pandya king, by the

24. See my Tamil book 'AlvarkaJ kalanilai\ pp. 52-9.
25. E.I., Vol. xvii.
26. S.I.I., Vol. m, part iv.

warriors of Nangur.[27] He extols the warriors of Nangai (or Tirunangur in the Chola-nadu) for having so admirably routed a Pandya king and a mighty king of the North that both of them had to take to their heels. The Alvar was born of the warrior class, and having distinguished himself as a warrior of great valour, never failed to appreciate courage and prowess wherever he found them. The facts that Tirunarigur, the home of these warriors, is very near his native place, Tiruvali-Tirunagari, and that the Alvar uses the words, '*mannum*', '*payil* '[28] in the present tense in describing this martial tribe, enable us to infer that he ought to have had a personal knowledge of them. The country in which these two places are situated (the present Tanjore District) was, in those days, under the sway of the Pallavas. Accordingly, the Nangur warriors ought to have served under the banner of the Pallavas, either directly or under the leadership of some of the local chieftains.

In all the three campaigns led by the northern kings against Kafichi in the 8th and 9th centuries, viz., (1) by the Chalukya Vikramaditya II in 741[2W] A.D., (2) by the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga[3"] in 754 A.D. and (3) by the Rashtrakuta Govinda III[31] about 804 A.D., the Pallavas were miserably defeated. We hear also of the capture of Kafichi on all the three occasions. Let us now turn our attention to the three invasions over the Pallava dominions in the 7th century. In the first expedition undertaken by Pulakesin II about 610 A.D., the Pallavas suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chalukya.'[12] The Pallavas attained victory over the Chalukyas only on two occasions. The first occasion was during the second invasion on the southern country by Pulakesin II in the latter portion of his reign. The then Pallava, Narasimha I, fought many battles against him at Manimangalam and other places, and finally defeated him and in turn pursued him as far as his capital, Vatapi, and destroyed it. The second occasion was when Chalukya Vikramaditya I, the son and successor of Pulakesin II, marched against the Tamil land to avenge the disgrace inflicted on his father. We have already referred to these incidents. Vikramaditya had a crushing defeat at the hands of Paramesvara-varman I at Peruvalanallur, and ' had to flee with rags[33]

27. Periya-Tirumo]i, 2, 8, 10: 'Ontiral Tennanoda (v) vadavarasottam kanda tintiralajar nangur . . . '
28. See Periya-Tirumoli, 4, 5, 6; : 4, 1, 2;: 4, 1, 5;: 4, 6, 2;: 4, 7, 1.
29. Kendur plates, E.I., Vol. IX, p. 205.
30. Kadaba plates, E.I., Vol. IV, p. 334.
31. Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 127.
32. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreiul, 'The Pallavas'; English translation, p. 36.
33. Udayendram plates, S.I.I., Vol. II, part iii, p. 371.

on '. It is therefore more reasonable to infer that the Alvar's reference is only to the invasion of Chalukya Vikramaditya I, and not of Pulakesin, as it is more probable that the Alvar met those who took part in the battle of 675 A.D. than those who had fought in 640 A.D. Again, as Vikramaditya was defeated in the Chola-nadu, it is more likely that the warriors of Nangur had taken an active part in that battle.

The Alvar's reference goes to prove that the Pandya also took part in the battle, and was an ally of the Chalukya. We have already stated that the Pandya king who was then ruling was Nedumaran, the victor of Nelveli, and converted to Saivism by Gnanasambanda. But whether this Pandya took any part in this Chalukyan affair and if so, whether as a friend or as a foe of the Chalukyas, are points that require further examination.

Vikramaditya's camp at Uragapura and his defeat at Peruvalanallur show that the scene of action was the deltaic region of the river Kaveri. How did he happen to come there is the question. It is not possible to suppose that, after having scored a victory over the Pallavas, he crossed the Pallava dominions and reached this deltaic region, as in that case, it would have been impossible for Paramesvara-varman to have gained a victory at Peruva]anallur over Vikramaditya ' whose army consisted of several lakshas ', and he would not have had even a breathing space for recuperating his strength and marshalling his army for his subsequent offensive. The only alternative would be that Vikramaditya entered the Chola-nadu through Kohgu, his main object being to conquer the Pallavas and not the Pandyas. As the Kongu-na^u was then under the Pandya rule, the theory that Vikramaditya came to the Chola-nadu through Kongu as the ally of the Pandya gains in strength. There are also considerable reasons why the Pandyas should range themselves on the side of the Chalukyas against the Pallavas. The Pallavas, by the conquest of the Chola territory as early as the time of Simhavishnu and by their attack on the frontiers of the Pandya country time and again, had disturbed the balance of power. The frontier question appears to have become so bitter that these two ruling powers had been hostile to each other for generations. The Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II also says that

" There he (Pulakesin II) caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost—the army of the Pallavas "[34] Thus it is evident that the Pandya was one of the adversaries of the Pallavas.

34. EL, Vol. Ill, No. 1, p. 11, verse 31.

It also appears that the subjugation of the Kongunao!u by the Panqlya procured for him an inveterate enemy in the Chera as he had, on alt subsequent occasions, ranged himself on the Pallava side[35]; the Alvar also hints that the Chera was a vassal of the Pallava.[30]

The passage wherein the Alvar refers to the defeat of the Pandya and the Northern king may be interpreted in two ways, viz., (1) " The people of Nangur were so powerful as to see the flight of the Northern king with the mighty Pandya " or (2) " The people of Nangur were so powerful as to see the flight of the Northern king after the mighty Pandya's flight." Whichever interpretation we make of this passage, it is clear thereform that the king of the north was very powerful ; that he was soon vanquished by the warriors of Nangur ; that he was forced to retreat; and that the Pandya also fought on his side. These agree completely with the contents of the Kuram plates of Paramesvara-varman I depicting the defeat of the Chalukya Vikramaditya I about the year 675 A.D. This is enough to show that the Alvar's references to a battle could not have been any other than this one.

There are other evidences to show that Tirumangai Alvar was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who was on the Pallava throne from 717 to 780 A.D. I have examined them in detail elsewhere.[37]

As regards the identification of Vairamehan with Dantidurga the Rashtrakuta, and his grandson Dantivarman the Pallava, it may be pointed out here that the title *Megha* is not foreign to the Pallava family. Mahendravarman I had the surname of ' Mahamegha ', while Rajasimha had the surnames * Chitramegha ' and ' Srimegha.' In the passage wherein this reference to Vairamehan occurs, the Alvar says that Kanchipuram was full of Vairamehan's glory. In this connexion it may be pointed out that Kanchipuram was at the height of its glory during the Pallava ascendancy. The hymns of the Alvar reveal a tendency on his part to glorify the Pallavas, wherever contents admit of such references. The Ashtabuyakaram hymns, wherein the Alvar has referred to * Vairamehan ' are placed in the Periya-Tirumoli, just by the side of his hymns on ' Parameccura-vinnaharam' (i.e., the present Vaikunta-perumal temple at Kanchipuram), wherein also he praises the Pallavas. The above facts lead us to infer that this passage appears to refer to the time when the Pallavas were at the zenith of their power. It is therefore quite likely that " Vairamehan " referred to by the Alvar is one of the surnames of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

35. Madras Museum plates, ' Pallavaoun-keralaoum . . . anuha-vandu.'
36. Periya Tirumotf, 2, 9, 1.
37. See my Tamil book 'Alvarkal Kalanilai', pp. 90-149.

The Alvar lived to a great age, and he actually refers to his old age in his hymn on Badari and Tirunaraiyur. Tradition has it that he lived for 105 years. It may be an exaggeration. But we know this much, that he lived to a ripe old age. So we can safely take the tradition as substantially correct. Thus if we take it that the Alvar was born about 660 A.D., he would have been 14 or 15 years of age at the time of the Chalukyan invasion of South India, and 25 years of age at the time of meeting Sambanda ; and that he would have died about 765 A.D.

We have already seen that it is quite probable that Ghanasambanda lived *circa* 670—686 A.D. All the evidences, that we have brought together tend to show that Tirumahgai should have also lived between *circa* 660 and 765 A.D. In the light of the above facts, it is not wrong to infer that Sambanda was a contemporary of Tirumahgai, and that the story in the Vaishnava hagiology of an alleged meeting between the two is not improbable.

The Kadavaraya Problem

BY

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1. THEORY OF TWO PERUftJINGAS UNTENABLE

The needless supposition of two Perunjirigas is weakened by the different dates suggested for the so-called Perunjinga I. One view is that A.D. 1243 marks the end of his rule and that the Tiruvendipuram and Vayalur records belong to him.[1] Another view assumes that he lived in retirement from 1243 to 1249, his 18th regnal year according to Tiruvidaimarudur inscription.- The third view takes Perunjinga II as the rebel against Rajaraja III in 1230, the earlier rebel being his father, Perunjinga I,[3] and makes the former succeed the latter " shortly after " the fourth regnal year of that Chola king (1220).[4]

(a) *Perunjinga's retirement.* This theory is based on the equation of the 18th regnal year of Perunjinga with 1249. The Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (135 of 1895) gives only the regnal year, and the date is " incorrect " according to Dr. Kielhorn, who arrives at the date, 30th July, 1249, for the Tiruvennainallur epigraph of the 7th regnal year of Perunjinga. Thus the B and C of the four dates worked out by that scholar have been confounded by more than one writer.[5]

(b) *Perunjinga and other Kddavardyas.* The failure to distinguish between Perufijihga and any one of the other Kadavarayas and Avaniyalapirandans who were innumerable, is another cause of confusion. One of these latter should not be identified with Perunjinga without specific reasons, without other proof of his existence at the time in question, and without reference to the area of his power and influence at the date of the inscription relied upon for the identification. A record of Rajaraja Ill's 7th year (1223) mentions a Kadavaraya in connection with a battle at Iratti and Perunjinga I is set down as the rebel against that king in 1225.[6] An Avaniyalapirandan Kaclavaraya of

1. *M.E.R.*, 1923, pp. 96-97. The author uses *ch* for c and *sh* for *s*.
2. R. Sewell, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p.* 147.
3. T. T. *D&vasth&nam Epigraphical Report,* p. 115.
4. T. *T. Devasthanam Inscriptions,* I, p. 49.
5. *E. L, VII,* pp. 164-165.
6. T. T. D. *Report,* p. 48.

the 8th year of Kulottunga Chola III (1185) is identified with Perufijinga, and the interval of more than 90 years between 1185 and 1278, his last date, is regarded as the justification for the supposition of twoPerunjingas.[7] Hence R. Sewell's caution : " whatever then the ' Kaclava ' chief of former records may mean, this one (of 1227, Belur inscription) certainly points to the 'Pallava' chief Kopperuhjihga as the one intended."[8] But the substitution of Pallava for Kadava is no real improvement, and the Vriddhachalam inscription of 1229 seems to be the first definite record of Perunjihga.[0]

(c) *Vayalur and Tiruvendipuram Inscriptions.* The undated Vayalur inscription[10] of Alagiya Slyan Avaniyalapirandan K6-Perufijihga who defeated Pum Pugar Solan at Tellaru and imprisoned him and his ministers, is assigned to 1222 on the ground that an epigraph of 1224 mentions a Kadavaraya as the enemy of Narasimha II, " the establisher of the Chola Kingdom." This Kadava is identified with Alagiya Slyan. The argument for the ascription of the Vayalur record to 1222 is therefore palpably weak. Alagiya Siyan may better be taken as an *irattaiper* of Perufijinga, some of whose characteristic titles are found in the record in question.

Moreover, the Chola defeat at Tellaru is regarded as different from that which was the occasion for the imprisonment of Rajaraja III mentioned in his Tiruvendipuram inscription (1231), as Sendamahgalam, the place of imprisonment, is not mentioned in the Vayalur record and as the name Alagiya Siyan is to be emphasised. Hence two defeats and two imprisonments of Rajaraja III. by Alagiya Siyan are spoken of. This opinion is stressed by the statement of another writer that Rajaraja III was imprisoned *twice at $endamangalam,*[n] without any evidence for the additional information. Whether Sendamangalam is mentioned once or twice, the Vayalur and Tiruvendipuram inscriptions cannot be regarded as describing events separated by nearly nine years. The two are obviously complementary to each other, giving versions of the same event from the two different view-points of Perunjihga and Rajaraja III. The resemblances between the two records indicated by the Madras Epigrapist[12] are striking, and the discrepancies are easily explained if the different points of view above mentioned are borne in mind. The assumed two revolts and two imprisonments in almost identical circum-

7. *M.E.R.,* 1922, pp. 107-108
8. Sewell, *op. cxt.,* p. 138.
9. 136 of 1900, Madras Collection.
10. *ME.R.,* 1923, p. 96.
11. *T. T. D. Report,* p. 115 and *Inscriptions,* I, p. 49.
12. *M£Jt.,* 1923, p. 96.

stances are not only not supported by evidence but incredible. Therefore the battle of Tellaru a little before 1231 must have occasioned the Hoysala intervention triumphantly described in the Tiruvendipuram inscription of Rajaraja III.

(d) Tiruvendipuram and Tripurantakam Inscriptions. These two inscriptions of 1231 and 1243 are regarded as belonging to Perunjinga I and II respectively, as in the latter record Maharajasimha is called " the Sun to the lotus tank of the Chola family."[13] If we suppose only one Perunjinga this discrepancy vanishes in the light of his new position of independence after Rajaraja III had come to grief. The interval of twelve years between the two inscriptions under survey is thought to be adequate reason for the theory of two Perufijihgas. But Perunjinga, after his chastisement by the Hoysalas in 1231 must have regained sufficiently long for rehabilitating his eclipsed fortunes. Since he achieved independence by 1243, it is proper that he counted his regnal years from that date. In short, the supposition of only one Perunjinga explains the similarities of the Vayalur and Tiruvendipuram inscriptions better, and the interval of twelve years gives enough time for his work towards independence during the bickerings between Rajaraja III and Rajendra III. Above all, this explanation obviates the need for the highly artificial theory of two defeats and two imprisonments of Rajaraja III in the same place and of two Hoysala interventions. The omissions of certain titles from the Vayalur inscription are accounted for by the period of the record (in the early career of Perunjinga) and the characteristic titles of Maharajasimha mentioned in that record are really significant. The *irattaiper* of Alagiya Slyan appears in some of the later inscriptions, as for instance in the Tiruvannamalai record of his 31st year,[14] with the almost invariable 'Tribhuvana-chakravarti.' Further, the character and achievements of Perunjinga before and after 1243 possess a remarkable inner unity—the same self-assertion, the same loyalty coupled with love of independence, the same vital energy and integrity, and the same robust optimism. After all the period, 1229 to 1278, is nothing unbelievable. If, however, two Perufijingas are supposed, and the first is assigned to 1185-1243, according to one view,[15] and the second to 1243-1278, it becomes really incredible that the father's reign of 58 years was followed by the son's reign of 36 years. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri is right in observing that " there is no sufficient reason yet to depart from the position taken up by

13. *Ibid.,* p. 97.
14. 489 of 1902.
15. *M2.R.,* 1922, p. 108.

Hultzsch."[16] Therefore, Ko-Perufijifiga after his possibly strenuous labours for more than twelve years became independent in 1243, made a Sanskrit rendering of his name and, as Maharajasimha, prepared himself for the new storms.

2. PERUNJINGA'S SOUNDING TITLES

The manifold titles of Perufijihga have been regarded as empty boasts by some and suspected by others. It is said that Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I was mainly responsible for most of the achievements implied in those titles,[17] because Perufijinga was only " a petty chieftain." But his incriptions are largely found in the South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput districts, and to a lesser extent in the Tanjore, Kurnool and Godavari districts. The test of political power and influence cannot be undervalued. The title *Kavertkamuka* is regarded as the expression of his pious political wish, but his penetration in the Tanjore district is noted with a little surprise by the Madras Epigraphist.[18] There are the pitfalls of epigraphical study, and the tendency to underline the boasts of one party amidst conflicting royal boasts, is not to be acquiesced in. How far are boasts of Jatavarman Sundara I to be accepted as historical ? In this connection the warning of scepticism is satisfactory.[10] There is, however, no denying the superiority of Sundara to Perufijihga, but the latter was different from a Pandya satellite. An inscription of 1262 implies his friendship with Rudramba in spite of his earlier hostility to her dynasty. The dangerous game of rapidly alternating hostility and friendship could be played only by a hero of Perufijinga's stamp. Sewell remarks that Pandya influence " greatly increased " in the South Arcot and Chingleput districts after Perufijihga's death.'-[0] The theory of Perufijihga 's subordinate co operation "[21] with Sundara Pandya is all right, provided emphasis is laid on co-operation rather than subordination. Therefore Peruhjihga was the able co-adjutor of Sundara whose progress in Tondamandalam and further north would not have been possible without the co-operation of his former enemy. To deny reality to his boasts on the ground that he was a minor chief is merely to beg the question. There is substance underlying the following titles of Perufijihga : *Pandyavia-ndala-sthapana-sutradhara* Sahodara-sundara* and *Kanidta-lakshmi-luntaka.* The bare truth is given in the titles, *Kdthakalankatilaka, PenndnadTndtha, etc.*

16. *The Pandyan Kingdom,* p. 165 n.
17. T. T. D. *Inscriptions,* I, pp. 50-51.
18. M.E.R., 1928, p. 58.
19. Sewell, *op. cit,* p. 155.
20. Ibid., p. 162.
21. Nilakanta Sastri, op. *cit.,* p. 166 n.

There is ample justification for his military titles *SarvagHakhadga-malla, Vdlhalaperumdl,* etc., and for his title *Kanakasahhdpati sahhd sarvakdrya-sarvakdla-nirvdhaka.* But whether his literary titles *Kavi-sdrvahhauma, Bhdratamalla* and *Sdhityaratndkara,* are well founded is more than one can say. The fact that he describes himself merely as *Kdveri-kdmuka,* shows his self-restraint. Even in the assumption of sounding titles he was only honouring the traditions of his country and the customs of his age.

3. HIS MORALITY

73 of 1918 records his victory at Perambalur in 1252-3 over the Hoysala Somesvara, followed by his seizure of the ladies of his enemy and the expiation of his guilt by gifts to the Vriddhachalam temple. This coupled with his title of *Avanihhogajdta* is employed to prove his sensuality. But, in the Tiruvendipuram inscription, " seizing and plundering the women " is mentioned on the part of the Hoysalas.[22] It stands to the credit of Perufijihga, however, that he repented and that he had the courage to assume the title of Avanibhogajata. This molestation of women is mentioned in many inscriptions of different ages, and even greater barbarities have been on record such as cutting off noses. Sewell[23] notes the loss of the Ceylonese queen-mother's nose owing to the cruelty of Rajadhiraja I.

4. HIS FINAL DATE

The Kayastha Ambadeva's Tripurantakam inscription[24] of 1291 says that he " worsted" Kaolavaraya. This evidence is indefinite. A record[25] of the 13th year (1289)[20] of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II at Siddhalingamadam, which refers to money gifts " in the time of Kopperunjingadeva," is really valuable, but it is best to keep to his last known date, 36th regnal year (1278), found in two records at Chidambaram (455 and 456 of 1902).

5. CONCLUSION

During the 13th Century, the age of storm and stress, Perufijihga attempted with much success the establishment of the power and prestige of the Kadavarayas. His forceful personality and perennial energy made his name and family famous in the triangular struggle for political power in South India, among the Panolyas, Hoysalas and Kakatlyas. Hence perhaps later chiefs even in the 16th century claimed Ka^ava ancestry.[27]

22. *E.I., VII,* p. 168.
23. Sewell, *op. cit.,* p. 71.
24. 173 of 1905.
25. 418 of 1909.
26. *El., XI,* p. 258.
27. Sewell, *op.* cit., p. 238.

The Last Great Cera of the Sangam Period

BY

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Yanaik-kat-Sey Mantaram Ceral Irumporai is the most outstanding figure among the later Ceras of the Sangam period. Four Sangam poets have sung his praise in the *Pura-ndnuru ;* and from these poems we can easily gather that he was a great, popular hero, highly loved by the people. His name is Sey ; the other words occurring in his name are descriptive appendages. The presence of Irumporai in his name shows that he was of the northern line, which, as I have tried to show elsewhere, began with Karuvur-eriya Ol-val-kop-perum Ceral Irumporai, having its capital at Tondi. The northern province was originally created as a palatinate of the Cera kingdom for political reasons, as I have explained in my " Cera *Kings of the Sangam Period,'* and after its creation there were two parallel lines of kings in the Cera kingdom, one line ruling at Vafici and the other at Tondi. Between Ol-val Kop-perum Ceral and Yanaik-kat Sey Mantaram Ceral, there were several famous kings in the Northern line, such as Selvak-kadunkovali atan, Perum Ceral, Ilam Ceral, and, according to me, also Adu-kot-pattu Ceral-atan ; and we may say, depending upon the evidence of early Tamil literature, that Yanaik-kat-Sey was the last great ruler of that line. It has been wrongly asserted by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, to whom South Indian historical research owes a heavy debt, that Yanaik-kat Sey is the son of Sen Kuttuvan ; and this incorrect statement has unfortunately found its way into a recent text book of Indian History (Banerji's Junior History of India, p. 94.) Apparently the Cambridge *Shorter History of India* commits the same error when it says that Sen Kuttuvan was succeeded by the equally war-like Sey, called Yanaikkan " (op. cit. p. 194).

All the great kings of ancient Tamilagam were famous warriors, and Sey was no exception. The ancient code of public law, while it laid stress on the protection of the people as the essential duty of the king, also enjoined, probably because it was essential for the satisfactory discharge of that function, that kings should never recede from combat (cf. Manu, VII. 88): but apart from the code, kings often waged war from motives of personal ambition or from sheer blood-lust; and sometimes they did it in such excess as to forget their primary duty of protection. Thus the first Cera of the northern palatinate, whose

epithet *Ol-vdl* (bright sword) is significantly descriptive of his lust for war, had to be admonished by a poet, who addressed the following words to the king :

Detach thyself from those devoid of love
And mercy ; they, indeed, are marked for hell!
Be thou like parents who their children tend !
Protect thy land and people ! 'tis worth while !

(Puram 5)

We can see from the poems relating to him, that Sey in spite of his wars with the neighbouring princes, was a benevolent ruler, beloved of his subjects, to whom he secured peace, prosperity and protection from external attacks. In his*early wars, he seems to have had uniform success ; but we have no details of those wars. From *Puram* 53 we see he won a victory at Vilankil

விளங்கில் விழுமங் கொன்ற
களங்கொள் யானைக் கடுமான் பொறைய !

Perhaps he repulsed an enemy's attack on Vilankil, which appears to be within the Cera kingdom ; for we have in *Agani* 81

மாவண் கடலன் விளங்கி லன்ன

He had, however, his reverses in war. In a battle that he fought against Rajasuyam-Vetta Perunar-Killi he was defeated (Puram 125). Perhaps this is the battle of Kariyaru mentioned in the Manimekalai (Cantos 19 ; 24). He was defeated in another engagement also ; and this time by Talai-alankanattu Ceruvenra Nedumceliyan, one of the greatest kings of the Pandya dynasty. We learn from *Puram* 17 that in that battle he was made a captive by the Pandya hero ; but by his unaided strategem and valour he escaped. This battle cannot be the well known battle of Talai-alankanam, which Nedumceliyan won over the confederate army of the Cera, the Coja and the five Velir chiefs ; for we learn from *Purams* 76 and 77 and *Again* 36 that in that battle the Cera, the Cola and the chiefs that were their allies were slain.

கொடித்தேர்ச் செழியன்
ஆலங் கானத் தகன்றலை சிவப்பச்
சேரல் செம்பியன் சினங்கெழு திதியன்
போர்வல் யானைப் பொலம்பூண் எழினி
நாரரி நறவின் எருமையூரன்
தேங்கம ழகலத்துப் புலர்ந்த சாந்தின்
இருங்கோ வேண்மான் இயறேர்ப் பொருநன் என்
றெழுவர் நல்வல மடங்க வொருபகல்
முரசொடு வெண்குடை யகப்படுத் துரைசெலக்
கொன்று களம் வேட்ட ஞான்றை.

Agam 36.

பசும்பூட் செழியன்

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புனைகழல் எழுவர் நல்வல மடங்க
ஒருதானாகிப் பொருதுகளத்து அடலே.

puram 76.

அவரை
யழுந்தப் பற்றி யகல்விசும் பார்ப்பெழக்
கவிழ்ந்து நிலஞ்சேர அட்டதை.

puram 77.

with these two defeats began the downfall of the Cera hegemony in the Tamil land.

Seys' internal administration appears to have been a blessing to his subjects. Porimtil Ilam Kiranar says in *Puram* 53 that it requires a poet of Kapilar's eminence to sing adequately the praises of this Cera. Another poet extols him for his just and wise rule under which his subjects enjoyed the blessings of peace, ' knowing no bow except the rainbow, and no weapon except the plough '. *(Puram* 20).

திருவி லல்லது கொலைவில் லறியார்
நாஞ்சி லல்லது படையு மறியார்.

puram 20.

His kingdom is praised as **a** heaven on earth.

மாந்தரஞ் சேர லிரும்பொறை யோம்பிய நாடே
புத்தே ளுலகத் தற்றெனக் கேட்டுவந்
தினிது கண்டிசின்.

puram 22.

He was a great patron of learning and it was at his instance that the *Ain-kuru-nuru,* a well-known Sangam Collection of *Agam* variety, was redacted. The *Pura-ndnuru* has a touching poem lamenting his death, written by Kudalur Kilar who had dreaded the occurrence of the event as he had witnessed the falling of a meteor at midnight when the planets and stars were in a particular position *(Puram* 229). Unfortunately the astronomical details found in the poem cannot help us to discover the date of the demise of this great monarch.

I am tempted to suggest **that Yanaik-kat Sey is, possibly, the hero of the** missing **tenth** *Patirrup-pattu.* **The Cambridge** *Shorter History of* ***India*** **assigns him to the early part of the second century A.C. ; and I have myself tentatively placed him in the second quarter of the third century in my *Cera kings of the Sangam Period.* *I* give below the**

English renderings of two poems from *Purananuru (puram* 17 and *puram* 20) which will help us to appreciate the greatness of this good and wise ruler and the love he evoked in the bosoms of his subjects.

The deep sea may be sounded ; and the width
Of the vast earth, the air-pervading space
And eke the shapeless, overhanging sky,
May all be measured ; but, O mighty king :
Thy wisdom, love and generosity
Defy all measure : Those who in the shade
Of thy protection live know but the heat
Of kitchen-fire and of the glowing sun !
They only know the rainbow in the sky
But not the bow of slaughter : Nor do they
Another weapon know except the plough !
Illustrious king ! Thy valiant foes thou hast
With mighty armies vanquished, and their lands
Their fruits for thy enjoyment yield ! Thy earth
Put pregnant ladies out to satisfy
Their craving, and is never touched by foes !
In thy well-guarded forts thy arrows rest;
And in thy sceptre righteousness resides !
What though new birds may come or old birds leave,
What-e'er betide, thou dost thy kingdom guard
And peace ensure. And so with anxious hope
The world doth pray no harm should thee befall.

Puram 20.

Scion of the royal house whose kings have ruled
As undisputed monarchs o'er the land
Which from Kumari on the south extends
To the high mountain on the north, and lies
Between the eastern and western sea !

Thy sires their royal sceptre even held
O'er all their subjects wheresoe'er they lived,
In hill or mountain, forest or in town.
Protecting them with equal justice, they
Chastised all wrong and, as their due, received
The share of yield from land by law allowed.
O Tondi's lord! Thy land the mountain fence
Protects. Its sandy beach like moon-light shines.
There flourish stately palms which star-high grow,
Laden with bunches of sweet cocoanuts.
There, spread extensive fields ; and in the ponds
Of water clear bright flaming lotus blooms !

E'en as a strong and stately elephant
Regardless of the treach'rous pit whose mouth
Is cunningly o'erlaid, impetuous
Unto it rushes, and with tusks, full-grown
And murd'rous, gores the sides and fills it up
With earth it has dug up and getting out
Goes back and joins the herd in its old haunt,

So thou,the victor in thy wars, whose foes,
Bereft of their possessions, bow in fee
To gain thy friendship or from policy,
Urged by thy courage irresistible,
Unmindful of thy foe, didst rush to war,
And when, to the bewilderment of all
Thy kith and kin, thou wert a captive made,
By thy unaided strength and strategem
Thou didst redeem thy lapse and didst escape
And to thy realm and relatives return.

O king of Kudanad ! I come to praise
Thy valour and thy fame. Unlimited
Is thy munificence ! Thy warrior's shields
For rain-clouds are mistook ! Large swarms of bees
Settle on thy war-elephants, which they
Mistake for mountains huge ! Thy battle hosts
The terror of thy enemies, are vast
As the great sea to which the clouds resort
For their supply of water ! And the sound
Of thy war-drums resemble so the roar
Of thunder that dread snakes and venomous,
Trembling with fright hang down their hooded heads !

Pur am 17.

The Role of the Brahman in Andhradesa in the Eastern Chalukyan Period

BY

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IN this article, I propose to deal with the varied activities of the Brahmans in the Telugu country in 615—1061 A.D. There were Brahmans in the Andhra country from very early times, and they were patronised by the kings. We have in particular a large number of copper-plates from the Chalukyan age, most of which are records of grants to Brahmans. These charters enable us to get an idea of the contributions of the community to the culture of the country -

Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the founder of the dynasty, is praised for his kindness to the Brahmans in his Chipurpalle Grant,[1] wherein he records donations to Vishnu and Madhava Sarmans, scholars in the Vedas, Vedarigas, Smrtis, Epics and Puranas. The Kolavennu[2] copper-plates of Chalukya Bhima II (934—945 A.D.) pay a very high compliment to the family of the *Kramavid* Kommana : His sons and grandsons, we are told, were youths who were clever in the assemblies of eminent men, and who obtained a succession of *agrahdras* as well as the " highest marks of reverence." Even ladies of the royal household shared in the privilege of extending patronage to Brahmans, as two[3] of the grants of the reign of Vishnuvardhana III (710-747) testify.

A large number of the Brahmans were priests to the gods, kings, nobles, and the people. They learned and taught the sacred books, and transmitted the knowledge from father to son or from teacher to pupil, and thus preserved it for all time. Viddamayya,[4] son of Madhavasomayaji, Potamayya," Potanabhat^a.[0] Pandya[7] the pilgrim, and Pampana[8] Bhattopadhyaya were typical of the age, with their knowledge of the holy writ and priestcraft. A copper-plate of the eighth century introduces to us a prodigy, Bhavasarman,[0] master of three thousand branches of knowledge and author of a number of commentaries on Sastras, Vedas, Angas, Logic, Yoga and the Upanishads.

1. E. I. XX, 16.
2. S. I. I., I, 45.
3. M. E. R. 1914, 85 ; E. I. XVIII, 58.
4. I. A. XIII, 213.
5. E. I. V, 127.
6.
7. I. A. VII, 15.
8. M. E. R. 1925, 77.
9. M. E. R. 1917, 132.

There were *ghatikas* or schools of learning, the members of which were given lands by the kings. Jayasirhha[10] I (ac. 632 A.D.) visited Asanapura, and made gifts to Rudrasarman, Mandasarman and Katisarman who belonged to the *ghatika.* Another" scholar of the Asanapura-ghatika, Dhruvasarman, figures in an inscription of Vishnuvardhana II (663-672 A.D.). Medamarya,[12] a distinguished Vaishnava Brahman General of the eleventh century, opened two free boarding houses to this community, which had dedicated itself so exclusively and ardently to learning, at Peethapuri and Draksharama, two of the most important and sacred cities of the Andhra country in those days.

The court poets of the Eastern Chalukyas were mostly Brahmans. They wrote what was later engraved on the numerous copper-plates. Bha^tadeva, Bhattagunda, perhaps the same as the first, Madhavabha^a and Potanabhatta served Amma II[13] (945-70). Ayyana Bhatta composed the Arumbaka plates of Badapa.[14] Muttayyabhatta[i:'] was an *asthanakavi* of Rajaraja and his brother Vijayaditya. Bhlmanabhatta was the poet at their[10] father's court. Narayanarya[17] was one of the *ashtadiggajas* of Saktivarman, son of Vijayaditya. Rajaraja[1H] II and Vlrachoda had Chetanabhatta. while Vidyabhatta, composed the Chellur[11'] grant of Virachoda. The most illustrious of the poet laureates was Kavirajasekhara Narayanabhatta,[20] a versatile scholar and master of Andhra, Kannada, Prakrita and Paisacha. He collaborated with Nannayyabhatta in his monumental work, the Telugu *Bharata,* in the reign of Rajaraja Narendra (1018-61). He was the donee of the Nandampundi charter composed by his friend Nannayyabhatta. He was adorned with titles like *Kavibhavajrankusa, Ashtadasavadharaiia chakravarti, Sarasvatikarnavatamsa, Chakravarti Trailokya malladeva-pradhani,* and *Akalankandmdtya.* Poets from foreign countries seem to have visited the Andhra court as the following line in a grant of Chalukya Bhima[21] I bears out. '*Ndnddesa gdndnam patuvatu nata sadgayakdndm kavtndm.'*

It was not only in the field of Sanskrit composition, but also in Telugu that the Brahmans were pioneers. It was they who made the people's language the vehicle of higher thoughts, the instrument to popularise the ancient Sanskrit culture. The value of the Telugu Mahabharata does not lie in its subject-matter, but in the new medium in

10. E. I. XIX, 257 ; XVIII, 56 ; M. E. R. 1920, 99.
11. I. A. VII, 191.
12. S. I. I. I, 56.
13.
14. E. I. XIX, 137.
15. I. A. XIV, 48.
16. E. I. VI, 347.
17. M. E. R. 1914, 86.
18. E. I. V. 71 ; VI, 334.
19. I. A. XIX, 423.
20. E. I. IV, 300.
21. S. I. I., I, 48.

which the people's genius, hitherto expressed in art, could flourish and flower. The Brahman followed the methods of the Buddhist and the Jain in adopting the vernacular for educating the people morally and religiously, for is not the voluminous *Mahabharata* the repository of all ancient knowledge and wisdom ? If the highest and the most sacred thoughts could be conveyed through Telugu, how could it be called profane, vulgar, inadequate ? If Krshna, Dharmaputra and Arjuna could speak in Telugu, what more honors need it covet ? When a Maharaja like Rajaraja Narendra, as famous as any that has figured in Indian History, approved it, and when a Brahman of Brahmans, a veritable ocean of knowledge, wrote the magnificient heroic poem in Telugu, its position as a literary vehicle was assured for all future. Hitherto people used only to hear and perhaps see the Bharata stories enacted ; but now they could read for themselves and enjoy the sweetest pleasure of cultivated society.

The son of one Chola princess and the husband of another, Rajaraja Narendra fills the first place in Andhra literary annals. Nannayya's work is the fountain-head of all Telugu literature. To the linguist this first book of the Andhra Homer appeals as the earliest example of Telugu literary art. To the Telugu stylist it sets a grand standard which he vainly strives for. The historian, besides culling from it a few facts concerning its patron, who took a legitimate pride in the tale of his alleged ancestors, notes it as the culmination of an age of progress, a worthy treasure bequeathed to posterity by a period of all-round activity.

Some of the Brahmans were tutors to the Princes. Dandin,[22] a contemporary of Jayasimha I, gives a long list of the subjects that were taught to the Princes of his time in his *Dasakumdracharitra*. Many of these subjects could have been taught only by the Brahmans in those days. Jayasimha[23] I was a great scholar and thinker. Vishnuvardhana[24] II and his son, Marigi, were very learned. Kali Vishnuvardhana[25] was well versed in political science. Vijayaditya[26] III and Chalukhya Bhirha[27] I had fine literary tastes. Danarnava[28] was master of sixty-four arts; and Rajarajanarendra[20] was a very accomplished king. Though we read of the culture of the kings mentioned above we know of only one of the royal tutors. Jayasimha I mentions his guru Narasimha Sarman[30] to whom he pays his tribute.

22. Purva-TJch. I, last para.
23. E. I. XIX, 256.
24. I. A. XX, 105.
25. I. A. XIII, 51.
26. E. I. VII, 179.
27. M. E. R. 1909, 108.
28. E. I. IV, 240.
29.
30. E. I. XIX, 260.

The calling of the Brahman had also a few prizes. Some of them as royal purohits influenced the counsels of kings. The purohit had a seat in the cabinet (paficapradhdna) and was the court astrologer, pano!it, and interpreter of Smrtis. Some of them were generals, like Meola' marya,[31] son of Potana, in the reign of Virachoda. Potana was honored by Rajaraja with the title of Rajaraja-brahma Maharaja[11]-. Some Brahmans directed the temporal affairs of the State as ministers. Vinayadisarman,[33] minister of Vijayaditya III, is said to have suggested[:M] an effective plan to overcome his foe Mahgi Nolamba. We hear also of a Kuppanamatya, grandson[34] of Durgayajvan, minister of Amma II. Smaller jobs were not scorned by the Brahmans. Beautiful, noble, polite, clever, eloquent, witty, intelligent, learned, honest, religious—such epithets are showered on Koramayya,'*" the head of the Writing Department in the royal treasury in the reign of Amma II.

Thus, distinguished by the titles Bhatta, Arya, Ayya, Svami and barman, the Brahmans were found scattered from ' Dimilevishaya ' to Kammanandu vishaya (Vizag. to Guntur districts), discharging organic functions which kept alive and nourished the State. The name *Dimile* occurring in Kubja Vishnuvardhana's epigraph is perhaps derived from Damila or Tamil, and Tamil immigration in small numbers is noticeable from the days of Damila Kanha of an early Amaravati'[,rt] inscription to the most spacious times of Vira Choda, donor of the Pithapuram'[17] grant to a large number of Dravidian Brahmans. There were Kannada and Maharashtra Brahmans also who accompanied the Chalukyan conquerors into Andhra,[38] and there was a close relation between the Kanarese and early Telugu literatures.

In fine, when we consider the smallness of their number and their economic dependence, we are surprised at the amount of influence they exerted on the State and society in the epoch under review. It can be partly explained by the fact that religion was the foundation on which every institution was built in those days. The moral qualities of the Brahmins, moreover,—temperance, gentility, discipline, selfless and singleminded devotion to duty—made a tremendous impression on kings, nobles and the common people alike, and it is no wonder that one and all of them gave their unstinted support to the community.

31. I. A. XIX, 423.
32. Ibid.
33. E. I. V, 123.
34. I. A. Xm\ 213.
35. I. A. XII, 93.
36. E. I. X, No. 1243.
37. E. I. V, 71.
38. E. I. XVIII, 66 I. A. XL, 41.

The Pepper Trade of India in Early Times

BY

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ON an occasion like this, when we are honouring the doyen of Indian historical scholars, it may not be out of place for me to sketch briefly a branch of Indian trade which played an important part in the economic (and political) history of India till a century ago. Pepper is to-day one of the minor articles of trade, and although a pepper ' corner ' recently (1935) in London had important reactions on trade and finance, pepper has long fallen from the high place it once occupied in Eastern commerce. Till about 250 years ago, all the world's pepper came from India, and as this spice was essential for comfortable living in all civilized countries, traders came to India from ancient times in search of pepper. It was the chief article which whetted the appetite of the numerous customers of India, and it has decided the fortunes of nations and empires in the past.

1. ROMAN TRADE IN PEPPER

The export of pepper from India has been going on from time immemorial, but the quantity exported annually could not have been large till about 47 A.D. when the monsoon winds were 'discovered' by Hippalus. From that time India's trade with Alexandria through the Red Sea increased to large proportions. The monsoons had indeed been known to, and utilized by, Arab and Indian traders, but the coming of the powerful Romans into the scene made their usefulness much greater.[1] From that time, year after year, numerous ships sailed from Ocelis at the Red Sea mouth, in July, and by throwing the ship's head off the wind with a constant pull on the rudder and a shift of the yard, reached Muziris in forty days.- Thus began a brisk commercial intercourse between Rome and India via Egypt, and it continued in full vigour till the massacre of Alexandria (215 A.D.).

Pepper was the staple commodity of the Roman trade, and formed about three-quarters of the total bulk of the average west-bound cargo. Nearly all the pepper available for trade at the time came from Malabar. Pepper was from ancient times an import culinary spice in Europe and

1. J. Kennedy, J.R.A.S. (1898), pp. 248-87.
2. Pliny, *Natural History,* VI, p. 26.

was used to season food and preserve meat. It was also an unavoidable ingredient of medicines, and was prescribed by Hippocrates (who calls it the " Indian remedy ") and by Galen, Pliny, Celsus and other writers on medicine.[3] In Rome, the use of pepper seems to have become very popular from the time of Augustus, and according to Pliny (XII, 14) its price was as big as 15 *denarii* (about Rs. 7) per pound. Even higher prices had been quoted. The price in India was not more than half that sum, and the profits realised were therefore as high as 100 per cent according to Pliny.[4] After the ' discovery ' of the monsoons and the consequent facilitation of transport, the price of pepper seems to have fallen, but this made its demand elastic, and such vast quantities had to be imported that about the year 192 A.D. special warehouses called *horrea piperataria* were erected near the Sacre-Via. It was ground in pepper mills *(molae piperatariae)*, or mortars, and sold in paper packets in Campus Martius and other market places. The pots or dishes (often of silver) in which pepper was brought to the table was called ' piperatoria ,[n] Pliny attacked the atrocious tastes of those who needed pepper to whet their appetites. " It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that it is sometimes their substance and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice ; whereas, pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India ! Who was the first to make trial of it as an article of food ? And who, I wonder, was the man that was not content to prepare for himself by hunger only for the satisfying of a greedy appetite."" In spite of such strictures the import trade in pepper grew immensely, and vast profits were made by merchants. In 408, when Alaric the Goth laid siege to Rome, the terms he offered for raising the siege included the immediate payment of 3,000 pounds of pepper along with other similar valuables.[7]

Although the pepper trade brought vast profits to individual Romans, its effect on public finance was ruinous. While exporting valuable commodities, India imported very little from Rome, and therefore the trade with India led to a drain of gold and specie. South India, in particular, had plenty of valuable commodities to export, but needed little in return. In result, gold and silver coin had to be shipped off to S. India to pay for imports to Rome. In this way, a vast quantity of

3. Warmington, *Roman Trade with India*, pp. 181-83 ; Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 213-15.
4. *Nat. History*, VI, p. 101.
5. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 303.
6. Pliny, XII, 14.
7. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, III, pp. 271-72 ; also Schoff's edition of *Periplus*, p. 214.

Roman coins came into India, and this country came to be regarded as the ' sink of precious metals \ Of the several thousand coins that have been discovered in India, the greater part has been found on the Malabar coast and the adjoining districts of Coimbatore and Madura. They are mostly of the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius. The Tamil poems of the time also bear testimony to the export of pepper from Malabar ports in exchange for gold. In *Ahananuru*, a work written in the first or second century A.D., it is stated that ' the Yavanas came in large vessels carrying gold and returned with pepper'.

QutremQfoif)® GUPS^ tfrfilQiurrQ QuiUQTjth.''*

Similar passages are also found in purananuru and other works of the Sangam Age.

2. CENTRES OF PEPPER TRADE IN ROMAN TIMES

The two chief areas on the West Coast where pepper has always been grown are North Malabar and the region between Alwaye and Quilon. These seem to have been the centres of trade in Roman times also, but the latter territory was perhaps the more important. The chief ports of export then were Muziris and Barake.

Muziris, called Muciri in Tamil and Muyirikkodu in Malayalam, was the capital of the Cera kingdom in ancient days.[8] It is located at the mouth of the river Periyar (Alwaye River), and is therefore easily accessible to inland traders. Muciri is mentioned as a great port in early Tamil literature ; it must have been the trading centre of the Phtenicians and Arabs in the past. But it was during the Roman connection that Muciri reached the zenith of its fame. The * discovery' of the monsoons by Hippalus made it the gate of India, " *Primum Emporium Jndiae*", the first and foremost port of call for trading vessels from Alexandria and Arabia. According to all accounts it was an extremely busy place, with a harbour crowded with ships and craft of all kinds, with large warehouses and bazaars adjoining it, and with stately places and places of worship in the interior. There the native traders came by

8. In early Tamil works the capital of the Cera kings is also called 'Vaiiji* ' Karur ' and ' Makodai \ and in certain Malayalam works Tiruvanjikkalam. Possibly, these were all parts of the same city, and Musiri must have been the port adjoining the capital. ' Karur' occurs in the name Karupadanai, a village near Cranganore, and Makodai is mentioned in certain ancient poetic writings and in old Syrian Christian documents. Ptolemy called it Karur (Karoura). Warmington, op. *cit.*, pp. 59 & 114, identifies ' Karoura * with Parur, but that is a town facing Cranganore on the other side of the river.

river with their cargo in *vallams* (country boats), and emptied it into the large and spacious Yavana ships and Chinese junks. The merchandise taken at Muziris consisted of pepper in large quantities, malabathrum, beryl, pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard, diamonds, saphires, and tortoise-shell. What malabathrum exactly was there is still some doubt. Earlier writers like Heeren, Vincent and McCrindle translated the word into betel, but more recent writers like SchofT and Warmington think that it was the leaf of the cinnamon tree[n] *(Sans,* Tamala-patra). Ginger in those days was exported chiefly from Ceylon, and does not figure definitely among the exports from Malabar. Pearls must have come from around Cape Comorin ; ivory has always been a distinct Malabar produce, and tortoise-shell was also common. The other commodities must have come from the interior of the Peninsula. Beryl perhaps existed in Malabar, but it chiefly came from Salem and Coimbatore.[10]

The imports consisted of Roman coin in large quantities, topaz, thin clothing, figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead, wine, realgar and orpiment.[11] Wheat was also imported but only in small quantities for the use of sailors. The bazaars of Cranganorc must have been like those of Colombo and Cairo in modern times abounding in all kinds of luxury goods, strange beverages, and curious trinkets. Contemporary Tamil poems speak of " the cool and fragrant wine brought by the Yavanas in their good ships ", and refer to the drinking bouts of kings. Among the imports at Barygaza (Broach), mention is made by *Periplus* of singing boys and pretty maidens for the harem, and although no such wares are mentioned in the same work among the imports to Malabar, there are indications that Malabar too had a share in such trade. Nor were the Romans mere travelling pedlars, but powerful merchants trading with military support; and so important had Malabar trade become to Rome and so prominent a resort of Romans had Muziris become that, according to Peutinger Table, a Roman temple dedicated to Augustus existed in that city and two Roman cohorts were stationed there to guard the warehouse.[12-13] This is not mentioned by the Greek writers named

9. Schoff, *Periplus,* pp. 218-19; Warmington, op. cit, p. 186. Cinnamon seems to have been then a trade monopoly of the Somalis of African Coast, and it is not mentioned as an article of import by Roman writers. This must have been a trade secret of the Somalis.

10. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (1924), states that the beryl mines of Cranganore were famous (p. 69). This statement is not supported by facts. Most of the beryl exported from Cranganore must have come from Coimbatore and the Nilgiris which were then apparently under Cera **sway.**

11. *Periplus,* para 56.

12-13. Warmington, *op. cit.,* **p. 58.** Charlesworth, *op, cit.,* p. 70.

above, but we have a statement in a contemporary Tamil poem that there were Yavana soldiers and mercenaries in the service of the Cera king and that they struck terror into the hearts of the beholder by their stern looks.

Owing to the importance of foreign trade, Muziris became a centre of non-Vedic religions. Ancient Tamil literature speaks of the Buddhist viharas and Jain chaityas there ; and there stood also the celebrated shrine of Kannaki whose story is related in &ilappadikaram and Manimekalai. Jews, Arabs and Persians had settled down at Muziris for trade purposes, and each such colony occupied a separate quarter of the town. In A.D. 50 the Apostle Thomas is believed to have landed at Maliankara, adjoining Muziris, and Syrian Christians still regard it as a sacred spot. Tradition has it that he converted a Cera king, possibly ' Palli-Banar', and of this there is some vague account in the *Keralolpatti.* In 345, the Syrian merchant chieftain, Thomas Knayi (Thomas of Cana), is said to have landed there with 500 colonists, and possibly these were the Persian colonists of Male (Malabar) spoken of by Cosmas in the 6th century A.D. The Christian headquarters was Makodai, close to the Cheraman's palace, and nearly every Syrian Christian family north of Tiruvalla traces its origin from Makodaipattanam.

A rival of Muziris as a pepper mart was Barake (Bacare), of which Pliny gives the following account (Circa 60 A.D.) :—"This (Muziris), however, is not a very desirable place for disembarkation, on account of the pirates who frequent its vicinity, where they occupy a place called Nitrias ;[14] nor in fact, is it very rich in articles of merchandise. Besides, the roadstead for shipping is a considerable distance from the shore, and the cargoes have to be conveyed in boats, either for loading or for discharging. At the moment that I am writing these pages, the name of the king of this place is Caelobothras.[K'] Another port and a much more convenient one, is that which lies in the territory of the Neacyndi, Barake by name. Here king Pandian used to reign, dwelling at a considerable distance from the mart in the interior, at a city known as

14. Almost all early travellers speak of pirates on the Malabar coast. Periplus speaks of pirates, just to the north of Tyndis (page 53). Pliny says they were near Muziris : and Ptolemy calls Malabar the land of pirates. This is confirmed by Marco Polo (III Chaps. 24, 25). This simply testifies to the existence of native shipping at the time, and to the fact that all ports were not open to foreigners.

15. Keralaputra : Curiously enough, the same name is used in the Asokan edicts. It was not the **name** of any **particular king, but the common dynastic name.**

Modiera. The district from which pepper is carried down to Barake in boats, hollowed out of a single tree, is known as Kottonara. None of these names of nations, ports and cities are to be found in any of the former writers, from which circumstance it would appear that the localities have since changed their names."

The two places named above, Barake and Nelcynda, were identified by Kanakasabhai Pillai with Vaikkarai (near Kottayam) and Nir-Kunnam near Palai, but that does not square with the known history of the places. It would be more reasonable to identify them with Porakad and Niraram.[10] The best pepper then grew in the valley of the Pampa[17] river in the region, called Kuttanad (Pliny, *Kottonara)* from ancient times.

3. MEDIAEVAL TRADE IN PEPPER.

After the decline of Roman Empire, the pepper trade seems to have fallen into the hands of the Arabs and Syrian Christians. But the Red Sea route seems to have declined after Caracalla's massacre (215 A.D.). The route via Persian Gulf and overland seems to have been maintained. After the rise of Islam, Arab trade expanded and, under Arab control, Calicut became a celebrated port and a great centre of pepper trade. At least two Syrian colonies seem to have settled on the Malabar coast. The first settlement was about A.D. 345 as already mentioned. A second colony, said to have come from Baghdad, settled at Quilon in or about the year A.D. 825 and the Quilon Era which is in use in all Malabar coast and Tinnevelly began with the foundation of Quilon. Quilon had a flourishing pepper trade all through the Middle Ages, and, according to mediaeval travellers, the Christians managed that trade, just as the Muhammadan Arabs controlled the trade of Calicut. John Marignoli who visited Quilon in 1348 as legate from the Pope was the first European traveller to give a correct account of pepper culture. " On Palm Sunday, 1348," he writes, " we arrived at a very noble city of India called Columbum (Quilon) where the whole world's pepper is produced.[18] Now the pepper grows on a kind of vines which are planted just as vine in our vine yards. . . . And there is no roasting of pepper, as some writers have falsely asserted ; nor does it grow in forests but in regular gardens. Nor are Saracens the proprietors, but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the

16. See Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, 1931. Mr. I. C. Chacko, a geologist, has convincingly proved this identification.
17. Pampa was wide and deep, and apparently supplied excellent anchorage.
18. This, doubtless, is an exaggeration.

masters of the public weighing office, from which I derived as perquisite of my office as Papal Legate every month a hundred gold fanams and a thousand when I left."

In Europe, Venice and Genoa controlled the pepper trade, but they had not much direct dealings with India, and seem to have obtained their pepper chiefly from the Arabs and Syrians, who were the carriers in the Arabian Sea. However, Europe was no longer the principal customer of pepper. China took a good portion of it, and Chinese junks freely plied in the Indian Ocean. According to Marco Polo (1270), " For *one* ship load of pepper that goes to Alexandria or elsewhere destined for Christendom, there comes a hundred such, aye and more too, to this haven of Zaylon (in China)"[19] The Chinese took their pepper chiefly from Quilon, and their trade connection with China was a very active one, judging from all accounts.[20]

Pepper continued to be the principal import from India to Europe till the early 18th century. Its importance can only be realized when we remember that it was essential for preserving meat in winter ; fresh meat was rare during winter, as lack of fodder prevented a large supply of cattle being maintained. Cattle was therefore killed in autumn and preserved in salt and pepper for use in winter. It was one of the few delicacies they had in those days. It was the first thing asked for by the " Glutton " in *Piers Plowman*

" I have gode ale, gossib ", quod she, " glotown, wiltow assaye ? "
" Hastow aughte in the purs any hote spices ? "
" I have peper and piones," quod she " and a pound of jarlike
A ferthyngworth of fenel-seed for fastying dayes." (V. 310-13).

Pepper was so much valued in Mediaeval Europe that gifts of pepper were made by the wealthy to churches and monasteries. It was the principal gift of Emperor Constantine to the church, and the valuable treasure bequeathed by the poet Chaucer to a friend was a small quantity of pepper. Pepper rents were not uncommon in the Middle Ages. A part of the tribute made to King Ethelred (978-1016) by the merchants of London at Christmas and Easter was ten pounds of pepper. Pepper merchants were then a large and powerful body in London ; a guild of pepperers existed from early days and was later incorporated in the Grocers* Company. The price of pepper was high. It was not less

19. *Travels,* Vol. II, Chapter 82.
20. Ibid, p.378, speaks about Kublai Khan's diplomatic intercourse with Quilon.

than two shillings per pound, which was equal *to* 4 days' pay of a carpenter.-[1]

THE SEQUEL.

The high price of pepper in the Middle Ages and the large fortunes amassed by Venice and Genoa by that trade roused the rivalry of the nations of western Europe, and this served as a powerful incentive for them to discover a new route to India and thus break the monopoly enjoyed by the Italian cities. Thus came about the discovery of America by Colombus—a direct result of the quest for pepper. In 1498, Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut, and from that time the Portuguese, and following them the Dutch, controlled the pepper trade. Towards the close of the 16th century, the Dutch came to control the pepper trade of Europe. They also introduced the pepper plant in the eastern islands, and thus broke India's world-old monopoly. The Zamorin then remarked that Malabar's peculiar climate would shield her, but did not, although Malabar has still a monopoly in quality. By various methods, questionable and otherwise, the Dutch established a powerful monopoly in pepper, and raised its price in Europe from 3 shillings to 6 shillings per pound. This roused the ire of the London merchants to such an extent that they joined together, and obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth for trading with the East Indies. This was the beginning of the East India Company which came to India for pepper but stayed to carve out an Empire. In the meantime, the demand for pepper in Europe had also declined, owing to changes in taste and to steadier supply of fodder in winter, the absence of which before the days of Turnip Townsend had made it difficult to keep cattle during winter and therefore made pepper essential for preserving meat. Thus the price of pepper fell, and with it also its place in world trade. Such is the romance of pepper—a record which rouses the jealousy of those great commodities which to-day loom large in international trade.

21. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Pricev P-627 ; Dowell. *Taxation and Taxes in England, 11,* pp. 35-36'; George Unwin, *Guilds of London,* p. 58.**

A Note on Kali or Bhagavati Cult of Kerala

BY

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WE often hear of reference to 'Malayala Bhagavati' in the various streets of Madras wherever there is a small Amman-koil where worshippers congregate to sing songs in praise of Amman (Mother). The reference has become almost mythical, so that no one takes notice of it, or enquires what the term signifies. The Malayala-Bhagavati deserves special mention of the kind indicates that there is something particularly noteworthy in the cult, which is associated with Bhagavati or more appropriately called Kali in Kerala, and which occupies a distinct place in the culture of Kerala from remote times. One who has bestowed any thought on the subject will be surprised at the universality of the cult in the West coast. Kali in one form or other is worshipped by all the Hindus of Kerala from the highest to the lowest. In the Namboodiri *lllams*[1] as in the royal families, with few exceptions, Kali is worshipped as a family deity. In the * Kalaris ' or gymnasiums where people were trained in the art of war in ancient times, one corner was set apart for Kali-worship which preceded the daily lessons or exercises. The central room of every Nair house is dedicated to Bhagavati. Coming lower down in the social scale, we find the Thiyyas and others worshipping one form or other of Kali, celebrating periodical festivals to propitiate the goddess in their own household. Among the aboriginal tribes and mountaineers, a goddess generally called *Nili,*[2] another manifestation of Kali, is looked upon as their sovereign deity that protects them from all dangers and diseases. It is thus seen that Kali in one form or other is worshipped by all sections of the Hindus in Kerala,

1. Namboodiri houses are called 'Illam' in Malayalam. The word is common in Tamil and Telugu (Ulu). The houses of various communities are known by different names in Kerala. Nayar houses are called 'Vitu'. Royal houses are known by the names, *Aramana ,Kottaram* or *Kovilakam ;* the houses of aristocratic Namboodiries and Pa^ar Brahmins are called *Mana* and *Madhom* respectively. There are also separate names for the houses of the lower orders such as, *Chala, Pura;* Moplahs call their houses Kuti.

2. 'Nlli' is the name by which mountain-goddess is known in Malabar. The name seems to have been derived from the colour of the idol. Among the lower classes 'Nlli' is a common personal name for women.

and the history of the cult affords an interesting study for the antiquarian.

Kali temples are generally called ' Kavu ', which literally means a cluster of trees ; and there are even now Kali temples under banyan trees with no roof. Even in temples without roofs there are seen apertures, in places which are directly above the idols which expose them to sun and rain. This may be taken as the relic of the primitive times when man had no habitation of his own and used to take shelter under trees. When he has no house for himself we cannot expect him to find a habitation for his gods. We may therefore reasonably suppose that the primitive worship of god commenced under the trees which, as shelter, endeared themselves to man ; and the temple which came into existence later on took its name from the tree, the original place of worship.[3] The name 'Kavu' is also applied to the serpent shrines (Pampum-kavu), and the temples of Ayyappan' and Vettakaran"' two other primitive gods of Kerala. Temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu are not called by the term ' Kavu ', which fact clearly indicates that they are of later origin. Another peculiarity of the Kali temples is that every shrine has a jurisdiction of its own called *Tattakam* or *Kdvuvattam.* People living in that particular area are supposed to come under the influence of the presiding mother goddess of the locality, and no other deity can claim power or jurisdiction over them. This feature again is traceable to old village organisations which were self-sufficient isolated entities in regard to the various amenities of life.

As there are different types of Kali such as Kanolemkali[6] and Karlmkali[7]—the latter two are supposed to be more militant than the former. There are many forms of rituals intended to propitiate Kali.

3. Vide the following observation of J. M. Fergusson in his notable work on *Tree and Serpent Worship.* " There is such wondrous beauty in the external form of trees and *so* welcome shelter beneath their own arching boughs that we should not feel surprised that in early ages groves were considered the fittest temples for the Gods."

4. Corresponds to the Ayyanar of the East Coast.

5. The full name is *Vettakorumakan,* literally the ' son for hunting'. This god, according to the local tradition, was the son born of Siva and Parvati, who appeared before Arjuna as hunters and presented him the *Pasupatastra.*

6. This name is given to Kali after the father Kandhe-Kalan-Siva who has poison in the neck.

7. The name *Kali* is derived from the dark colour of the goddess. To this is added the word 'Kari', which again means 'black'. Though these words are sometimes used as synonymous with Kali, they are believed *to* be separate manifestations of the goddess, particularly ferocious in form and power, and are worshipped by the lower orders. There are also separate temples for them.

Already reference has been made to the *Kalaris* in which a corner is set apart for Kali, which practice gives the deity the position of a war-goddess. This custom conforms to the Sakti-conception of the Mother of other parts of India, and has since given rise to the Sakta form of worship which was practised in secret by members of the royal families and nobles of bygone days in Kerala. Evidence of the popular aspect of worship is seen in Kali temples where, once a year, the village folk assemble and offer worship in a variety of ways.

In every community in ancient times there used to be a priestly section, a member of which would officiate in Kali temples owned by that particular community. In temples owned by the Nayars, the two communities of the Namboodiris or Embrans (Mangalore Brahmans), which came to be bound together by various ties, gradually took the place of the Nayars. But there are even now many well-known Kali temples where the Nayars officiate as Pujaris. There is also the practice in some temples to set apart a few days in the year when the Brahmans can officiate. In the famous temple called Tiruvalayanattu-kavu at Calicut, which is dedicated to the family deity of the Zamorin Raja, one season is set apart for the Brahman-worship, when the puja is conducted according to Brahmanical rites, and in the other season the hereditary-pujari—Musad (a Nayar)—officiates and uses meat and alcohol for the puja. In the well-known Cranganore Kali temple, where the patron-goddess of the Cranganore royal family reigns supreme, one section of Nayars called [4] Acligal' performs *pilja.* Originally, the custom must have been for the priestly section of each community to officiate in Kali temples owned by that community.

Animal sacrifice was common in these temples from primitive times. It reminds once again of the conditions of primitive society when man lived on hunting and had nothing else to offer to god except the flesh of the animal killed by him. In modern times also our offerings to gods are generally the articles of food and other things we use. In shrines where Brahman influence gradually penetrated, animal sacrifice came to be discontinued long ago. In temples owned by the Nayars the practice still lingers here and there, but it is bound to disappear in course of time as public opinion against it is getting stronger day by day, and the orthodox have to do it either in secret or at a distance from the temples. The lower orders, who are generally non-vegetarians, continue the practice ; but the influence of the higher castes is gradually feeling its way among them.

Kali is supposed to protect people from contagious diseases like small-pox, cholera, etc.; and in the seasons when these diseases usually appear, the temple authorities are generally busy with various rituals

performed at the expense of different devotees and the annual festivals. Kalampattu or "*Ddrika vadham*", in which the traditional song narrating Kali's victorious encounter with Daruka is sung by a member of the Kurup caste, who were originally Nayars and became temple servants later on, are the most popular and the least costly among them. Kali is worshipped as a patron deity by those who practise black magic and witchcraft. *Pana* and *mutiyettu* also are other important ceremonies.

Kali temples are innumerable in the West Coast, but the following well-known temples in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore deserve mention.

1. Matai-kavu (N. Malabar). The family deity of the Chirakkal Rajas.

2. Lokanar-kavu (near Badagara). The family deity of the Kadathanad Rajas.

3. Tiruvalayana$-kavu. The family deity of the Zamorin Rajas.

4. Tirumanthankunnattu-kavu (S. Malabar). The family deity of the Walluvanad Rajas.

5. Pazhayannur-kavu (Cochin State). The family deity of the Cochin Maharajas.

6. Kodungallur-kavu. The family deity of the Cranganore Rajas.

7. Chottanikkara-kavu (near Tiruppunnittura, Cochin State).

8. Chertalakkavu (Travancore).

9. Kiliyur-kavu (Travancore).

10. Attingal (Travancore). The family deity of the ancient Travancore Maharajas.

THE LEGEND OF KALI

Kali, according to Kerala legends, is the daughter of Siva and not his consort as believed in other parts of India. Once the Devasura war ended in the total extinction of the Asura race. Only two women of the line named Danavati and Darumati managed to hide themselves and survive the great calamity. They invoked Brahma by penance, and requested him to bless them with progeny. As a result of the boon Danavati gave birth to Danava and Darumati brought forth Daruka. The latter secured numerous boons from Brahma so that he could not be killed,by God or man. As he did not ask for immunity from women, Pitamaha cursed him to meet his end at the hands of a woman, at Sandhya which is neither day or night. He grew to be a formidable menace to the Devas, whose women were forced to be servant-maids to his wife Manodari. Once he waylaid Narada, who divided

his time between the presiding deities of those holy abodes by singing their praise, and asked him to sing his glory instead of that of Siva and Vishnu. Narada, after leaving Daruka's presence, made towards Kailasa, and reported to his patron-deity the insult offered to both of them by Daruka. Since the Asura king had not solicited immunity from women, the Gods Vishnu, Siva, Brahma, Subrahmanya, Dharmaraja, and Indra, each created out of their immanence[8] a goddess and conferred immense power on 'the mothers' to challenge Daruka and kill him. On their way they were joined by Vetajam, the huge ghost, whose thirst for blood was never quenched. With a big army they raided Daruka's palace, with the result that the Asura king became furious and drove them away. Siva's rage at this unexpected turn of events, knew no bounds ; and there rushed forth, immediately from his eye of fire, a prodigious figure of a woman who was called after her colour Kali—or 'the Dark Goddess.' The situation was explained to her, and she with an enormous force advanced towards Daruka's territory. A terrible fight ensued, and even Kali was found to give way when Uma, knowing that Daruka's prowess depended on the two *mantras* given him by Brahma, disguised herself as a Brahman woman, approached Manodari who was the only other person who knew the Mantras,, and requested her to teach the sacred utterance to her so that they might chant them together for the victory of her husband. Believing her, Manodari disclosed the *Mantras* to Uma who immediately disappeared. Brahma had told Daruka that, if the Mantras were revealed to any individual except his wife, their efficacy would immediately vanish. Daruka knew by intuition what had happened, returned to his palace, and warned his wife of the consequences of her indiscretion. He afterwards made a desperate stand which culminated in his death at the hands of Kali. She then returned to Kailas, the fury of destruction still raging in her. Siva immediately asked Ganapati and Nandi to be at the gate as children, so that, at their sight, the motherly instinct of Kali would prevail over her ferocious aspect. After expressing satisfaction at her conduct in the war against Daruka, Siva asked her to go to Malanad (Malabar), where she would receive eternal homage from the people as his daughter.[9]

8. They arc called Vaishnavi, Mahesvari, Brahml, Kaumari, Varahi and Indrani after their progenitors.

9. This summary is based upon the version contained in 'Badrolpathi Kilippattu \ which is a notable literary work. The same legend, with a few variations in details, is recorded in a number of sacred songs which are generally sung at the various rituals, particularly at 'Kalampa^tu', in which the figure of Kali is drawn on the floor by means of powders of different colours, and offered puja. It is interesting to note that this legend seems to be the contribution of Kerala towards the Devi Cult.

South India as a Centre of Pali Buddhism

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IN this paper South India has been used to denote the Deccan proper excluding Western India (Maharas^ra and Aparanta). The expression, Pali Buddhism, is employed to denote Theravada, the tradition of Buddhism as preserved and developed by the Theriyas or Sthaviras.

For the beginning of the history of Buddhism in general and of Pali Buddhism in particular, the earliest known authentic records are the Edicts of Asoka. So far as South India proper goes, the find-places of Asoka's Edicts are Maski in the district of Raichur, Palki-gunk Hill near Kopbal in the extreme south-west corner of Haiderabad, Siddapur, Jatinga-Rameswar and Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and Yerragudi in the Karnul district of the Madras Presidency. In each of these places has been discovered a copy of Asoka's Minor Rock Edict standing out, as it does, as a notable example of *Dhammasasaiia* or proclamation of the greatness of *Dhamma,* while in Yerragudi there has come to light a set of fourteen Rock Edicts in addition to a copy of the Minor Rock Inscription. The places above-named were presumably the localities near about Asoka's official headquarters in South India. If Asoka's *Dhamma* is not pure Buddhism, but a norm consisting of certain universal principles of duty and piety, it may be doubted if the copies of the Minor Rock Edict have any bearing on the spread of Buddhism, particulary of Pali Buddhism, in the South. Having regard to the nature of the message contained in the Minor Rock Edict, it will be difficult to deny the historical bearing of the Edict on the point at issue. The message contained in it is evidently intended to urge all, high or low, to be earnest and active in their own cause by holding before them immediate prospects of heavenly life. The message is sought to be rendered all the more effective by giving an account of Asoka's change in faith, as well as of what he had achieved by the strenuous effort he made in the cause of Buddhism. The places in South India that find mention in Asoka's Rock Edicts II and XIII are Andhra, Parindra, Choda, Pandya, Satyaputra, Keralaputra and Tamraparni.[1] Of these, the first two places were situated within the empire of Aioka, while the re-

1. The name Tamraparni is used in Pali to denote the extreme south-western region of Southern India bounded in the north by the Tamraparni river and the extreme north-western region of the Island of Ceylon.

maining places were independent. The extent of propaganda of the Dhamma made by Asoka can be envisaged from what Asoka himself says in these two records. It is particularly in the Rock Edict XIII that Asoka points out that he was constantly in inter-communication with the inhabitants of these places through his emissaries who were employed as powerful agents for the propagation of his Dhamma. The Yerragudi copy of Asoka's Minor Rock Edict fully testifies to the means employed in furthering the cause of the *Dhamma,* the means consisting in the beat of drums, the employment of Brahman preachers, the elephant-riders and the chariot drivers, well-trained for the purpose. The Pali tradition embodied in the Samantapasadika and the two chronicles of Ceylon, is unanimous as to the despatch of Buddhist missions by Asoka to different places in India and to Ceylon. So far as South India proper is concerned, Asoka is said *to* have sent missionaries named Mahadeva and Rakkhita to Mahisamandala or Mahinsakamandala (Mysore) and Vanavasa or Vanavasi (North Kanara) respectively, the former being the place in which as many as three copies of the Minor Rock Edict were set up. The latter, namely, Vanavasi continued to be the centre of Buddhism as late as the 1st century B.C., during which king DutthagamanI of Ceylon built and consecrated the great Thupa in his capital, inviting many eminent theras from different parts of both Ceylon and India, the great thera Candagutta visiting Ceylon from Vanavasi with 80,000 monks. (Mahavamsa, Chap. XXIX, verses 41-43)

Pali tradition contained in the Dipavamsa, the Kathavatthu Commentary, and the Mahavamsa, preserves the names of some later schools of Buddhism, such as the Hemavata, the Rajagiriya, Siddhattaka, the Andhaka, the Pubbaseliya, the Aparaseliya and the Vajiriya. The names of these schools go to indicate that they were local developments. At least three of these schools, namely, the Andhaka (Andhra), the Pubbaseliya (Purvasaila) and the Aparaseliya (Aparasaila) arose and were established in South India, particularly in the Andhra country. The reign of king Vasisthiputra Sri Pulamavi saw the erection of the Mahacaitya at Amaravati which became the centre of the Caityikas (Pali Cetiyavada), an offshoot of the Mahasanghikas, while the reign of the Iksvakus (2nd or 3rd century A.D.) witnessed the erection of the Mahacaityas at Jaggayyape^a and the Nagarjunikonda, on the two banks of the river Krishna, both of them being situated near Haiderabad. Nagarjunikoncla, as borne out by many of the inscriptions, was principally the seat of the Aparaseliyas. If so, how can it be said that any of these three places was equally a centre of Theravada or Pali Buddhism ? The evidence, however, is not far to seek. Some of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions go to prove that there was a Mahavihara or great monastery near about the Mahacaitya of the locality built for the accommodation of Buddhist recluses, coming from

different countries. (" Mahavihare Mahacetiyapadamule pabajitanam nanadesa-samanagatanam mahabhikkusamghasa parigahe "). The inscriptions do not keep us in the dark as to the countries from which the Sramanas used to come. The countries mentioned are Kasmira, Gandhara, Cina, Cilata, Tosali, Avaranta, Vahga, Vanavasi, Yavana. Damila, Palura (Dantapura), and Tambapannidipa. Two at least of these places, namely, Vanavasi and Damila (Tamil country) are situated in South India. What is of real importance is that in this particular reference the Sramanas coming from the above-mentioned countries are said to have been those known as Theriyas or adherents of Theravada (Theriyanam).[2] The same inscriptions also go to show that there were other monasteries, one of which was built for the residence of the Bhikkhus from Ceylon (Sihala). In two of the inscriptions we read that the monk Bhadanta Ananda under whose supervision some of the new building operations connected with the Mahacaitya at Nagarjunikonda were carried out, belonged to the school of the teachers of Ariyasamgha or Theravada with whom the five Nikayas, DTgha, Majjhima, and the rest were the original and authoritative texts, Ananda himself being a specialist in the study of the Majjhima Nikaya.

We have seen that the Andhaka (Andhra) was one of the later powerful schools of Buddhism that developed in South India/[1] This school built up a Commentatorial tradition of its own, which has been quoted by name and discussed by Buddhaghosa in his Atthasalinl.[4]

The three main centres of Pali Buddhism in India (Jambudvlpa) mentioned in the Gandhavamsa (J.P.T.S., 1886, pp. 66-67), are: (1) Kancipura, (2) AvantI and (3) Arimaddana. Of them, Kancipura is no other than tjie capital of the ancient kingdom of Cola, and its modern name is Conjevaram. Buddhaghosa in the *Nigamana* (colophon) to his *Manorathapuraiii*, the commentary on the Ahguttara-Nikaya, refers to Kancipura and other places in South India as centres of Pali study. Unfortunately, in this colophon he does not expressly mention the names of places other than Kancipura (Kaflcipuradisu maya pubbe saddhim vasantena). In the colophon, however, to his PapancasudanI, the commentary on the Majjhima Nikaya, Buddhaghosa tells us that he under-

2. Apart from other references brought forward by Mr. D. L. Barua (Ic, I, No. 1) there is another clear reference in Buddhaghosa's Commentary Visuddhimagga, Vol. II, p. 711, to prove that the term *Theriya* in *Theriyanaih* is used to mean no other than the adherents of Theravada—" vibhajjavadi-setthanarh theriyanarh yasassinarh Mahaviharavaslnarh varhsajassa vibhavino."

3. See Mrs. Rhys Davids* *Points of Controversy,* Prefatory Notes, **XLH.**

4. See 'A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics' by Mrs. Rhys Davids, Introductory Essay, xxii.

took to write this particular work at the instance of the venerable Buddhamitta[5] who had made this request to him when they lived together at Madhurasuttapat^ana, which cannot but be Madura, ancient Madhura, the Pandya capital. The name of the port as met with in the Siamese edition, is rather Mayurasuttapattana than Madhura.

(" Ayacito sumatina therena Bhadanta Buddhamittena pubbe Mayurasuttapattanamahi saddhim vasantena paravadaviddhamsanassa Majjhima Nikaya set^hassevaham Papancasudanimatthakatham Katum araddho"). Similarly in the Colophon to his Manorathapurani, Buddhaghosa says that he undertook to write this commentary at the instance of the venerable Jotipala who made this request to him when they lived together in Kaficipura and other places. (" Ayacito Sumatina therena Bhadanta-Jotipalena Kaficipuradisu maya pubbe saddhim vasantena").[6] Buddhagosa undertook to prepare also the *Sdrattha-pakdsini,* the commentary on the Samyutta Nikaya, in compliance with the request made to him by the same venerable Jotipala (Saratthapakasini colophon ; " Etissa karanattham therena Bhadanta-Jotipalena.... jacamanena main subhabhutena yam samadhigata") .[7] Now, let us see if any additional information is available from other sources. The first direct source to which one may turn one's attention consists of colophons to difTerent works of Buddhadatta, who was a native of Uragapura (modern Uraiyur in the Trichinopoly District), the ancient capital of the Colas.

In all of these colophons, as is well known, Buddhadatta has been unusually eloquent in his patriotic description of the kingdom of Cola of which he was proud to be an inhabitant. He himself resided in a monastery built by one Visnudasa (Venhudasa) or Krishnadasa Kanhadasa) in the village of Bhutamangala near the flourishing inland port of Kaverlpattana. (" Kaveri-pattane ramme, nanaramopasobhite, Karite Kanhadasena dassaniye manorame ") .[8]

Buddhadatta flourished during the reign of Accutavikanta or Accutavikkama of * Kalamba ' dynasty. According to the *Ganthipadavannana* of the *Vinayavinicchaya,* Accuta was but the same epithet as the Narayana. " Accutassa Narayanassa viya vikkantam etassati Accutavikkanto" (Buddhadatta's *Manuals,* P.T.S., Pt. I, 1915,, p. 140). The

5. Cf. *Gandhavamsa,* p. 68, which gives the name of Buddhamitta without mentioning the name of the place.

6. Cf. *Gandhavamsa,* p. 68 which gives an altogether different information. " Ahguttaranikayassa a^thakatha gandho Bhaddantanamattherena saha ajivakena ayacitena Buddhagh6§acariyena kato."

7. Cf. *Gandhavamsa,* p. 68.

8. Buddhadatta's *Manuals,* pt. I, 1915; *Abhidhamavatdra,* Introduction, p. xiii.

manuscripts of the *Vinayavinicchaya* give three spellings of Kalamba, namely, generally Kalamba, and exceptionally Kalambha and Kalabha (Buddhadatta's *Manuals,* Pt. I, 1915, p. 140). The reference is certainly not to a king of the later Kadamba dynasty but to a king of the earlier Kalabhra dynasty that established itself in the kingdom of Cola[9] when Buddhadatta wrote all his works in Kaveri at the instance of the venerable Sumati and venerable Budhasiha and the venerable Samghapala.[10]

(" Kalambhakulavamsa jate Accutavikkamanaame Cojarajini Cojarattham samanusasante ayam vinicchayo maya araddho ceva samapito cati," Buddhadatta's *Manuals,* Pt. I, 1915, p. 140).

Buddhaghosa refers to Kaficipura without mentioning the name of the king who then held sway over the kingdom of Cola, but in the colophon to his *Samantapasadika,*[11] the commentary on the Vinayapitaka, he points out that he began to write and completed this work during the reign of king Srinivasa or Siripala, while according to the *Culavamsa* (p. 17) Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon and produced the Visuddhimagga and other works during the reign of king Mahanama. Apart from other evidences considered by me in my *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa* (Chap. V.) there is one interesting reference which should not be lost sight of in determining the contemporaneity of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa. This reference is no other than the fact that both of them undertook to write certain works at the instance of one venerable Sanghapala, praised almost in the same terms by both these teachers.[1]- From

9. *Vide The Cdlas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 119.

10. Buddhadatta's *Manuals,* pt. I, pp. 137-138, pt. II, p. 229 and p. 303. Cf. Gandhavamsa, p. 69, according to which the Abhidamavatara was written at the instance of Buddhadatta's disciple Sumati, the *Vinayaviniccaya,* and *Buddhavamsa* commentary at the instance of Buddhaslha, and the *Uttaravinicchaya* and the *Jlndlankdra* at the instance of Samghapala.

11. " Palayantassa sakalam Larikadipam nirabudam Yanfio Sirinivasassa Siripala-yasassino samavlsati me kheme jayasamvacchare ayam araddha ekavisam hi sampatte parinitthita."

12. Buddhadatta's colophon to the Uttaravinicchaya, Buddhadatta's *Manuals,* pt. II, p. 303.

"Khanti-soracca-sosUya-buddhi-saddha-dayadayo
patitthita guna yasmin ratanan' iva sagare
vinayacarayuttena tena sakkacca sadaram.
yacito Sanghapalena therena thiracetasa."

Buddhaghosa's colophon to his *Visuddhimagga,* Vol. II, 711-12.

" Bhadantasanghapalassa sucisallekhavuttino,
Vinayacarayuttassa yuttassa patipattiyam.
Khantisoraccamettadi -gunabhusitacetaso,—
ajjhesanam gahetva va karontena imam maya."

these references it is clear that in the time of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa there were at least three great centres of Pali study, namely, (1) Kancipura (2) Kaverlpattana and (3) Mayurasuttapattana, or Madhurasuttapattana.

According to tradition, the great Buddhaghosa was a native of Magadha who afterwards became a celebrity of Kancipura and Anuradhapura. The *Gandhavamsa* gives at first a list of ten Buddhist teachers all of whom were men of South India and wrote various works, and then speaks of twenty other Buddhist teachers of South India who produced Pali books at Kancipura. The ten teachers are Buddhadatta, Ananda, Dhammapala, two unnamed former teachers (Pubbacariya), Mahavajirabuddhi, Cullavajirabuddhi, Dipahkara, Culladhammapala, and Kassapa (J. P. T. S. 1886, p. 66). In the extant text of the *Gandhavamsa* the names of the other twenty teachers cannot be traced.

According to the *Sdsanavamsa* (p. 33), Dhammapala resided at Padaratittha also known as Bhadratittha (J. Gray, *Buddhaghosuppatti*. Introduction, p. 25) in the Tamil kingdom adjoining Sihaladlpa or Ceylon, while in the colophon to the *Paramatlhavinicchaya,* Dhammapala is said to have been a native of Tambarattha which is no othei than the kingdom of Tamraparni or Tinnevelly in South India. He resided in the city of Tafija in Tamb^raHV»a (Buddhadatta's *Manuals,* pt. I. p. xiii, " TambaraUhe vasantena nagre Tahjanamake.") •

The list of Pali works that stands against the name of each of the ten teachers is as follows : — (1) Buddhadatta, the author of *The Vinayavinicchaya, Uttaravinicchaya, Abhidhammdvatdra, Rupdrupavibhdga, Buddhavar]isa-attakatha,* and *Jlnalankara ;* (2) Ananda, the author of Mulatika to the Abhidhammatthakatha, (3) Dhammapala who wrote *Nettipakaranatthakathd, Paramatthadipani,* a serial commentary on the Itivuttaka, Udana, Cariy-apHaka, Thera-Therlgatha, Vimanapetavatthu, Visuddhamagga-tlka to the commentaries on the first four Nikayas, anutlka to the Dhammatthakatha, tika to the Jatakatthakatha, tika to the NiruttipakaranaUhakatha, tika to the Buddhavamsa-atthakatha, (4 & 5) two former teachers *(pubbacariya)* who wrote Niruttimafijusa and Mahaniruttisahkhcpa, (6) Mahavajirabuddhi who wrote Vinayaganthi (a glossary of the five vinaya books), (7) Cullavajirabuddhi, the name of whose work is not found, (8) Dipankara who wrote the tika to Rupasiddhi and Sampapancasatti, (9) Culladhammapala who wrote the Saccasamkhepa and (10) Kassapa, the author of Mohavicchedani and Vimativicchedani.

The Gandhavamsa says that these teachers wrote works mostly of their own accord *(attano matiyd)* **[pp. 69-70, J.P.T.S., 1886]**

The Talaing records give us a list of Buddhist teachers of South India, which includes Kaccayana, the author of the first Pali grammar; Buddhavira, the author of the Sutta-sangaha ; Nanagambhira, the author of the Tathagatuppatti; and Anuruddha, the author of the Abhidhammatthasahgaha (Buddhaghosuppatti, p. 26). With regard to Anuruddha and his works, Mrs. Rhys Davids in her preface to the *Compendium of Philosophy* observes, " *the Manual* (Abhidhammatthasahgaha) is ascribed to a teacher named Anuruddha. Of him nothing further is recorded, save that he was the author of at least two other works on philosophy (namely Paramatthavinicchaya and Namarupapariccheda) the former of which (and possibly the other two also) was compiled at Kancipur or Conjevaram on the Madras coast, a seat of learning associated at an earlier date with the name of Dhammapala Acariya, the Commentator."[13]

Anuruddha's Abhidhammatthasangaha superseded as a "text book" the earlier compendium, saccasamkhepa (outlines of truth) ascribed in Ihe Gandhavamsa to Culladhammapala. The great importance enjoyed by Anuruddha's Manual may be indicated in the following words of Mrs. Rhys Davids : " The utility of the Abhidhammatthasangaha ranks very high among the world's historical documents. For probably eight centuries it has served as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Ceylon and Burma and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it, the latest additions to which are but of yesterday." South India continued to be the centre of Pali Buddhism as late as the 12th century A.D., a date to which Anuruddha, the celebrated author of the Abhidhammattha is assigned. The Kalyani stone inscriptions of King Dhammadazedi (1472-1492 A.D.) and the Sasanavamsa of Panfiasami (A.D. 1861) give an account of Chapada who returned to Burma, his native place, during the reign of King Anawratha (10th century A.D.), taking with him to Arimaddana-nagara (city of Pagan) five Buddhist savants, well-versed in the Pali lore, two of whom, namely, Anandathera and Rahulathera, were residents of Kaficipura.[11] Thus it is clear that Pali Buddhism flourished in South India even centuries after the time of Sahkara.

EDITORS' NOTE.

[It would be very interesting to consider the bearing of the data given in this informing article on the date of the *Manimekalai.]*

13. According to the Burmese tradition Anuruddha was a thera of Ceylon, and wrote the Abhidammatthasasahgaha at the Sinhalese vihara founded by Somadevi, Queen of King Vattagamani (88-76 B.C.), which is, however, far from the truth.

14. Sasanavamsa, pp. 40, 65 foil.

Saivism and Tamil Genius

BY

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IT is generally known that a variety of philosophical doctrines go under Ihe common name of Saivism, though they differ one from another even in fundamental concepts, such as the identification of Siva with a personal God or a super-personal Absolute, the relation of Siva to the jivas, the means of release, and so on. The belief that northern (what is known as Kashmir) Saivism is monistic, while southern Saivism (known as the Siddhanta) is pluralistic (teaching a doctrine of identity in difference) provided, till recently, a comfortable basis of classification of these doctrines. But it was found that a good many northern (Kashmir) writers, like Ramakantha, Narayanakantha and others, were Saivaites, not of the monistic but of the pluralistic type. The territorial classification, and any theories based thereon, have therefore had to be given the go-by. The assumption may no longer be ventured that Kashmir Saivism and the Saiva Siddhanta owe their difference to the regional or temperamental peculiarities of northerner or southerner, Aryan or Dravidian.

There is however no doubt that the Siddhanta has its stronghold in the south. And it has there received certain developments at the hand of Tamil writers and commentators, which are worth noting. Whether they will afford the basis for a generalisation, however cautious, about Tamil genius, it is too early to say.

Saiva-siddhanta, as taught in the south, is based on twelve Sutras constituting the *Sivajnanabodha.* These Sutras, in their Sanskrit version, are said to form part of the Raurava Agama. Tradition has it that the Tamil Sutras are translations made from the Sanskrit by the first of the Tamil Santana-acaryas, Meykanda Siva. This tradition has been questioned in recent years, on patriotic grounds supported by some analysis of both versions. The internal evidence reveals, no doubt, a divergence here and there ; but this of itself leads to no conclusion as to the priority of either the Sanskrit version or the Tamil; for what appears less developed doctrine may be, in truth, a reaction from what appears more developed, the appraisement of more and less depending on the philosophic view-point of the appraiser. External evidence, though not conclusive, may be of some help. The fourth of the Santana-acaryas, Umapati Siva, who should have come within a century of Meykanda, was

well versed both in Sanskrit and Tamil &aiva lore ; and he is credited with a bhasya on the Pauskara Agama. In this work (published at Chidambaram in Grantha characters) there are at least four references to the Sanskrit version of the *Sivajiianabodha.** As already stated, this is by no means conclusive ; for even if Umapati be acquitted of all intention to detract from the originality of his master's master's master, Meykanda, it is not finally established that he was the author of the *Pauskara bhasya* that we have. The general uncertainty is strengthened by the fact that the chapter on Pramanas contains a quotation from the *Nydydmrta,* a late Madhva work. However this may be, the discussion has lost much of its practical value in view of the fact, pointed out some years ago by Dr. Ramana Gastrin, that, behind the so-called Tamil Saivism, there is a good deal of Sanskrit literature pre-supposed in the works of Sadyojyotis, Narayanakantha, Ramakantha, Bhoja, and so on. Some of these books have been published by the Saivagama-paripalana Sabha of Devakotah ; and one of the important works, *Naresvarapariksd,* has been issued in Kashmir. A study of these will convince any one that, whatever may be the merit of the Tamil acaryas (and there is no question of their merit), there is no point in seeking to ascribe to them a degree of originality not claimed by themselves or by their proximate disciples. One of the corner-stones of Tamil Saivism, the *Tirumantiram,* is the work of Tirumular, who, according to tradition, brought down Saivism to the Tamil land from the north. There is no reason to discredit this tradition as entirely a fairly tale.

Though the question of Tamil originality in respect of the Siddhanta seems to defy solution, there would appear to be some grounds for assessing the reaction of the Tamil mind to the system in general. It is thought that the Tamilian is primarily practical ; that, though not impervious to mysticism, he seeks to drive it in harness with his practical sense; that his philosophy, though it may bake no bread, will yet keep it in eatable condition. Some justification for this position may be found on a comparison of the Sanskrit and Tamil *Sivajridnabddha.*

There is a good deal of similarity between Saivism, even of the Siddhanta type, and Advaita-vedanta. The 'original sin' is primal ignorance; it is not mere absence of knowledge, but is of a positive nature ; it is called *dnava* by the Saiva, and *muldvidyd* by the Advaitin. Since our ills have ignorance for their cause, release can come only through knowledge. There are no doubt prescribed codes of conduct and ritual; these, however, are of service only in securing knowledge through the onset of grace. Grace, expressing itself as *diksd,* is an absolute necessity according to the Saiva-siddhanta ; for ignorance is

1. See pp. 14, 29, 256, 447.

positive, and requires something over and above knowledge to remove it, inasmuch as knowledge as such can remove only its own absence. Such emphasis on the Lord's Grace is found even in Advaita-vedanta, though in a different form. Karma, however, is of service only as a channel to knowledge. This being the case, there should be admitted (1) release even while embodied, since, when knowledge comes, further delay is unintelligible, and (2) the inapplicability of prescriptions and prohibitions to the jivanmukta. It is interesting to note that, while there is agreement between the Sanskritic and Tamil scholiasts on the first point, there is no agreement on the second.

The Sutra that relates to this matter is the twelfth. In the Sanskrit version, only the first half of it is of doctrinal value, the latter half merely purporting to give the name of the work, " Know thus the ascertainment of all topics connected with Siva, from (this book) the *Svajiidnabodha."* The first line is thus interpreted by the commentator, Sivagrayogin : " (He who seeks knowledge) in order to secure release, should get to (the company of) good people, adopt their marks, and do service to the temples of Siva." The good ones are the assemblies of preceptors who wear rudraksa and sacred ashes, and delight in Siva-knowledge. Their company is to be sought in order to serve them and obtain knowledge through their grace. Their marks are to be adopted, i.e., sacred ashes are to be worn and so on, for the same purpose. Service in Siva temples, such as cleaning, decorating, tending the flower-gardens etc., is enjoined with the same end in view. All these have the effect of purifying the mind, preventing distraction and removing obscuration by *anava,* which, though removed, is never absolutely destroyed. As to this much, there is agreement ; but for whom is the injunction ? On this there is difference. Sivagrayogin holds that the Sutra relates to him who belongs to the lowest grade of eligibles, who is competent only for the dasa-marga, the path of service, as contrasted with the paths of knowledge and internal devotion.-> The last two have been disposed of in Sutras 8 and 11. The former runs thus : " ' Having remained in the company of huntsmen, the senses, you do not know yourself (as a prince)'; being thus taught by the preceptor to be not other (than himself), and released from those (senses), the happy one attains that state (which is Siva)." Release is knowledge or realisation, as of the forgotten gold ornament round one's own neck ; knowledge is the exclusive cause of release, not karma, not another. The next Sutra (9) seems to enjoin the contemplation of Siva and the recitation of the sacred paiicaksara. Here the commentator says that, for those who have realised, there can be no injunc-

2. See commentary on Sutra 12, *Sivaiiianabodha.* So too in his commentary on the *Sivajn&nasiddhidr,* Sutra 12, verse 1, he says that the Sutra deals with *bdhya-bhakti,* external devotion.

tions or prohibitions, and that the apparent injunction is only a description of the conduct of those who have realised. Or, in the alternative, he says, even an injunction may be intelligible since it is not for the sake of enjoyment in this world or the next, and for the released there is absence only of such injunctions as are worldly (for the sake of enjoyment here or hereafter). This is decidedly weak ; if there are no injunctions for the released, it must be because there is nothing else for them to accomplish, and because there is not a Being other than them to enjoin ; the worldliness or otherwise of the injunction is not relevant to this. It is in the realisation of this weakness that it has been offered as an alternative interpretation. Sutra 11 relates to those who are not directly eligible for knowledge, but have to seek it through intense devotion of the mind. Such supreme devotion to Siva is instrumental to knowledge and thence to release. " Even as the soul is the revealer (of objects) to the senses, Siva is the revealer (of himself) to the soul; therefore (he who desires knowledge) should practise the most supreme devotion in regard *to* Him who (thus) helps the soul." There are other souls who cannot rise even to this level. For them is enjoined the path of the servant (dasa-marga), and this is what Sutra 12 relates to. Nor is it that there is any unintelligibility in the final Sutra turning to what is the lowest of the paths; for, the procedure is paralleled in the Vedanta-sutras, which, in Sarikara's interpretation, treat of the lower saguna-vidya, in the final sections.

As against such an interpretation, the Tamil commentator, Sivajnanayogin, holds that Sutra to treat of the jivanmukta and to enjoin on him various acts of service in order *to* guard against the overpowering of the knowledge he has secured, by successive waves of the residue of all-powerful anava. Anava has been removed, but its samskara is left, as also prarabdha-karma, because of which the present body persists. The enjoyment of the fruit of prarabdha-karma is likely to lead to fresh karma and fresh obscuration even by the residue of anava. This can be avoided only by seeking constantly the company of the holy, behaving as they do, wearing their external marks, and worshipping them and Siva temples as Siva himself. On the purificatory efficacy of what is prescribed and as to the prescriptive character of the Sutra there is no dispute ; the difference is as to the person on whom the injunction lies, whether it is the jivanmukta, or he who is eligible for the dasa-marga. On the hypothesis that the Sutra relates *to* the jivanmukta, it *may* be yet possible to hold, as Sivagrayogin does in respect of Sutra 9, that there is no injunction, but only a description, of behaviour. This is summarily rejected by the Tamil commentator on the basis of injunctive words like " worship (தொழுக) " occurring in Meykanda's elaboration of the Sutra, though in the Sutra portion itself there is only a descriptive word "அரனெனத் தொழுமே." The whole Sutra is in-

tended to lay down the objects of the conative, affective and cognitive powers of the jivanmukta. He is to get rid of the threefold mala, since it communicates ignorance instead of knowledge ; this should be his cognitive activity. His affective side should find expression in association with the saintly, and his conative side in the worship of saints and temples. In the words of Meykanclar himself, there is little conclusive indication of these injunctions being intended for the mukta instead of the sadhaka. The only words that may be taken to be at all indicative are the vocative " அத்துவிதி " in a verse of the fourth adhikarana, interpreted as " O thou that hast realised non-duality," and " பின்னை " in another verse of the same adhikarana, which is taken to mean " subsequently to realisation." It is open to legitimate doubt whether these words are not capable of some other construction.[3] The *Siddhiyar* may be expected to throw some light on the disputed point since it is a simpler and more extensive work treating the same topics, and based on the Tamil *Sivajiuanabodha.* Unfortunately, the verses here too, with the exception of the first, are ambiguous. The first alone seems to refer to God-intoxication in unmistakable terms. The reference to the jivanmukta is therefore *prima facie* plausible. It must be confessed, however, that the dasa too may be God-intoxicated ; and the possibility is not completely ruled out, in view of Sivagrayogin's comment that this Sutra relates to bahya-bhakti. But taking the verses by and large, it is the conduct of the jivanmukta that seems to be inculcated in this Sutra as handled by the *Siddhiyar.* Now neither Meykanolar or Arul-nandi (the author of the *Siddhiyar)* has left us any book in Sanskrit. Though they must necessarily have known the Agamas in Sanskrit, it may not unreasonably be presumed that they were not too much impressed with Sanskritic developments of Saiva doctrine. In any case, we have in the third great Saiva writer in Tamil, Umapati Sivacarya, one who not merely knew both traditions, but left works in both languages. If the Sanskrit tradition be presumed to be antagonistic to the laying down of injunctions for the jivanmukta, and if Umapati was influenced by it, one may expect a trace of it in his writings. And that is just what one finds. The *Sivaprakasam* makes no mention of prescriptions or prohibitions for the jivanmukta. While, in the *Tiruvarutpayan,* there is an explicit description of the jivanmuktas, their illimitable bliss, their immeasurable compassion, their non-cognition of worldly things, their freedom from aversion and attachment, and their freedom from all activity whether like that of the Lord or like that of bound souls, there is not a word about what they are bound to do or are prohibited from doing. On the contrary, in contrast with the supposed teaching of the *Bodha,*

3. For instance, பின்னை may mean the same as the Sanskrit " tasmat" in " tasmat tasmin param bhaktim kuryad atmo-'pakarake." (Sutra 11).

that, in the enjoyment of the fruit of prarabdha, fresh karma would accrue, to avoid which a certain type of behaviour is necessary, we are expressly told in verse 98 that, while prarabdha dies with the present body, any other karma that may accrue before bodily decease (and after realisation) is nullified even by the Lord's grace. The influence of the Sanskritic tradition would appear to have gone against jnana-karma-tamuccaya. Such a guess is reinforced by what we have already seen of the Sanskrit version of the *Bodha* and Sivagrayogin's commentary thereon.

May we then conclude that the emphasis on the practical, vaguely indicated in Meykanclar and Arul-nandi, and forcefully developed by Sivajnanayogin, is characteristic of the Tamil genius and constitute its contribution to Saiva doctrine ? The insistence in the Tamil Siddhanta on the centrality of the individual, the teaching that even in release it is he who sees, with the aid of Siva, not Siva who sees through him, these would square with a doctrine of jnana-karma-samuccaya. But the guess is extremely hazardous, since the view that knowledge must be combined with karma is neither peculiarly Saiva, nor peculiarly Southern. Vedantins like Bhaskara have held this view, and, among Saivas, Srikantha, about whose domicile nothing is known, also held that view. Further, Siddhantins like Umapati and Sivagrayogin were also Tamilians. The most then that may be ventured is that, in so far as Saivism appealed to the characteristically Tamil genius, it had a more practical turn than in other cases, and adopted doctrines like that of jfiana-karma-samuccaya. And this position derives some support from the fact that five out of six commentators on the *Sivajnanasiddhiyar* favour the view of an injunction applicable to the jivanmukta, the dissentient being Sivagrayogin whose Sanskritic leanings have already been noted.

Asoka's Dhamma (Dharma)

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THE problem of Asoka's *Dhamma* has received the serious consideration of several eminent scholars since the middle of the nineteenth century, and a fresh study of the same after so many writers have traversed the ground may appear at once futile and uncalled for. But the recent attempts of some scholars[1] to revive the old controversies and propound new theories might be taken as a reasonable justification for opening up the whole question once more.

All Buddhist chronicles[2]—Ceylonese as well as Indian—are unanimous in saying that Asoka embraced the faith of the Buddha, and tried to spread it among his subjects and those of the neighbouring states. But since the publication of the inscriptions of Piyadasi,[3] some scholars have questioned the veracity of those chronicles and have expressed divergent views regarding the faith professed and preached by Asoka. H. H. Wilson[4] was the first to dispute the connection between Buddhism and Asoka's *Dhamma,* and Edward Thomas went a step further by affirming that Asoka was originally a Jain and was afterwards attracted towards the Buddhist ideals and doctrines/' Dr. Fleet, while conceding that he was a convert to Buddhism, asserted that the object of his edicts was ' not to propagate Buddhism or any other particular religion, but to proclaim the determination of Asoka to govern his kingdom righteously and kindly in accordance with the duty of pious kings'.[6] According to Buhler, Asoka had actually entered the *Sarhgha,*

1. M. Ghosh : 'Religion of Asoka' in the Proc. and Trans, of the 2nd Oriental Conference, pp. 553-8; Rev. H. Heras : 'Asoka's Dharma and Religion' in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XVII, pp. 255-76; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar : The Mauryan Polity, pp. 276-99.

2. The DIpavamsa ; the Mahavamsa ; the Divyavadana and the Samantapasadika.

3. Otherwise known as the Edicts of Asoka.

4. J. R. A. S., XII, pp. 234-256.

5. E. Thomas: 'Early Faith of Asoka' in J. R. A. S., **IX** (N.S.), pp. 155, **187** see also M. Ghosh: *op. cit.*

6. J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 491-2.

and had become a Buddhist monk.[7] While holding a similar opinion, Dr. V. A. Smith says that Asoka was a Buddhist monk and monarch at the same time, and it was due to * his heartfelt adherence to the teaching of the Buddha ' that the doctrine could ' impose itself upon the faith of India and half of the civilized world \[8] Dr. F. W. Thomas endorses[9] the view of Dr. Smith. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar[10] is of opinion that * Asoka was himself a lay follower of Buddhism, and preached to the house-holders/ and that his teaching was based on what that religion ordained for its laity.' Dr. R. K. Mookerji makes a distinction between his personal religion and the religion he sought to preach and introduce among his people by his public measures. While admitting that Asoka's personal religion was Buddhism, he says that his public religion * was certainly not Buddhism, his own religion. . . . .The *Dharma* of the edicts is not any particular Dharma or religious system, but the moral law, independent of any caste or creed, the *sara* or essence of all religions \[n] Recently, Rev. H. Heras has made a powerful attempt to controvert the Buddhist faith of Asoka. " We have been misled " says he[12] " by the Buddhist chronicles long ago. Modern criticism cannot accept other documents referring to Asoka than his own inscriptions.[13] And these do not say that he embraced the doctrines of Gautama. No document records his embracing a new faith. We know moreover that his family, and especially his father Bindusara, professed Brahmanical faith. Hence Asoka remained Hindu and Brahmanical till the end of his days." Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar accepts the opinion of Rev. Heras and says[14] that Asoka was neither a Buddhist nor a Jain, but a follower of the established religion of the land which he calls the earlier form of Hinduism.

These extremely divergent views are *inter alia* based upon the alleged total unreliability of the Buddhist Chronicles, the apparent ambiguity in the terminology of the Asokan edicts, and Asoka's benevolent attitude towards other creeds and sects.

7. See Ind. Ant., VI, p. 156.
8. V. A. Smith: Asoka (1920), pp. 35 and 47.
9. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 504-5.
10. D. R. Bhandarkar: Asoka (1923), p. 123.
11. R. K. Mookerjee: Asoka (1927), p. 69.
12. op. cit., p. 276.
13. Still when it suits him, he cites the authority of the *Rafatarahginx*; see his paper, *op. cit.*, p. 276.
14. *op. cit.*, p. 288; see also Proc. and Trans, of the 5th Oriental Conference, Vol. H, p. **934.**

I

The Buddhist chronicles that have come under severest adverse criticism are the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa.*[15] They are considered to be unreliable by some because they are full of accounts of prodigies and portents, mythical stories and moral reflections ; others reject them because they abound in sectarian matter. Rev. Heras says[16] " The Buddhist chronicles of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries have deceived many scholars. To count so great a monarch as Asoka among the disciples of Gautama was unquestionably a distinct advantage to the declining Buddhist monachism. Hence their statement is not reliable at all."

But no tradition deserves *total* condemnation simply because it is mixed up with didactic and supernatural legends. The remote past of any nation cannot be unveiled without the aid of traditionary materials, and extreme scepticism about their evidential value is unscientific and uncalled for in historical investigations. A historian should critically scrutinise them with a view to sift the substratum of fact from the superstructure of fiction. Otherwise there is nothing to prevent one from denying the very existence of the Buddha[17] or Christ of whom tradition waxes so eloquent. When a tradition is in conflict with known facts or is inherently absurd, it should certainly be discarded. But under no canon of historical research can a historian be justified in rejecting the *entire* tradition when only certain parts of it are disfigured by inconsistencies and exaggerations. Glaringly absurd statements in the *Indika* of Megasthenese[18] have not debarred historians from utilising the residuum of sober information contained in them. When certain portions of the Buddhist chronicles receive confirmation from archaeological evidence, it is wrong to assert that ' any endeavour to utilise them for historical purposes is to get ourselves stranded **on** the shore of imaginary history.'[10]

The tradition **embodied** in **the** Ceylonese **chronicles is not a didactic romance of the type of Xenophen's** *Cyropaedia* **or** Firdausi's *Shah-*

15. These works will be quoted below as Dip. and Mhv. respectively. Jointly they are known as the Ceylonese Chronicles.

16. *Op. cit.,* p. 255. This opinion of Rev. Heras is on a par with that expressed by him about certain Vijayanagara records : these he regards as fabrications of the ascetics of Sringeri Math to whom he attributes similar mercenary motives. See his ' Beginnings of Vijayanagara History (1929) \ pp. 34-5.

17. See Senart: ' Essai sur la legende du Buddha.'

18. See McCrindle: 'Ancient India (Megasthenese and **Arrian),** ***Fragments*** **xxix-xxxi and xxxix-xl.**

19. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar : 'Mauryan Polity' p. 278.

ndmd. Both the *Dlpavamsa* and the *Mahdvamsa* are founded on the *Atthakathas,* the commentaries and chronicles preserved in the monasteries of Ceylon ;[20] and some of the facts noticed in them and other Buddhist works find support in the Asokan inscriptions and other antiquities: —

(a) Before the discovery of the Maski record, the identity of Piyadasi of the Rock and the Pillar Edicts of Asoka was settled by Tournour on the authority of the Dlpavamsa.[21]

(b) We learn from the Ceylonese Chronicles[22] that Asoka secured the throne for himself by killing his brothers, and that there was an interval of four years between his accession to the throne and his coronation. That there is *some* truth in this tradition is suggested by the Asokan edicts, which date the events of his reign from his coronation-[3] as if to distinguish it from accession.

(c) According to the Ceylonese chronicles,[24] Asoka announced to the king of Ceylon[25] his own conversion to Buddhism thus : " I have taken my refuge in the Buddha, the Dharhma, and the Samgha ; I have avowed myself a lay-disciple of the Doctrine of the Sakyaputta." Is it not an echo of his confession of his great reverence for and faith in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Samgha* registered in the second Bairat Rock inscription ?[26] In this record he also recommended to the clergy and the laity for their practice certain expositions of the *Dharhma* which have been identified by competent scholars with certain Buddhist texts.[27] This public declaration of his on an imperishable rock is sufficient to prove that he was converted to Buddhism, and that the chroniclers have recorded this fact in their own inordinately extravagant style. To say that, as he addressed the monks themselves, he could not say otherwise,[28] is to accuse him of hypocracy and presumptuousness.

(d) The Chroniclers indicate two stages in Asoka's progress towards Buddhism: those of the *Updsaka* (lay-worshipper) and the

20. See Oldenberg: 'The Dlpavamsa\ Intro, p. 7-8; Max Muller: 'The Dhammapada', Intro, p. XXI. (S.B.E. X); and Rhys Davids: 'Buddhist India', pp. 273-278.

21. George Tournour in J.A.S.B., 1837.

22. Dip., VI, 21-22 ; Mhv., V, 18-22.

23. See R. E. IV, VIII, XIII; P. E. V, VI, VII.

24. Dip. XII, 5 ; Mhv. XI, 34.

25. Devanampiya Tissa.

26. Also known as the Bhabru or the Calcutta-Bairat Rock inscription.

27. See E. Hultzsch: 'Inscriptions of Asoka' (C.I.I., Vol. I), p. 174, Note 1.

28. Rev. H. Heras : *Op. cit.,* p. 275.

Sdsanaddydda (kinsman of Buddha's religion).[29] It is said that he claimed the latter status *in the midst of the Samgha* after the expiry of nearly three years from the date of his conversion. That this tradition is not entirely baseless is proved by his announcement[30] that for more than two years and a half he had been an *upasaka* without exerting himself for one year ; and that, when for more than a year he made some sort of *connection with the Samgha?*[1] he strenuously exerted himself. Further, the chronicles tell us that, at the time of his conversion to Buddhism, he was initiated into the Doctrine of *Appamdda,* i.e., manly exertion ;[32] and it is noteworthy that his own announcement deals with the progress in his attitude towards *Pakama* (Parakrama) which is akin to *Appamdda* (Apramada).

(e) The Divyavadana[33] says that Asoka went on a pilgrimage to the Buddhist holy places like the Lumbini Garden, Kapilavastu, Buddha-Gaya, Rishipattana (Sarnath), etc., and marked each of them with an enduring memorial. The veracity of this tradition is established beyond doubt by his own inscriptions,[34] which actually record his pilgrimage to Sambodhi,[35] Lumbini Garden and the stupa of Konakamana.[36] It is recorded that in the last two places he *performed worship.*

Rev. H. Heras and Mr. Dikshitar ignore the testimony of the Divyavadana, and explain away the epigraphical records with a view to nullify their evidential value regarding the Buddhist faith of Asoka.[37] According to them, Asoka's visits to the Lumbini Garden and the stupa of Konakamana were merely state visits, and an instance of his general policy stated in his Pillar-Edict VI : " All sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds." Referring to his worship in both places, Mr. Dikshitar says : " To-day Asoka could not be a follower of the Buddha and to-morrow of his rival. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that both were state visits to the holy places of different cults."

29. Dip. VI, 55 ; VII, 8-13 ; Mhv. V, 72 and 193-205.
30. Minor Rock Edict (M. R. E. Brahmagiri version).
31. The original phrase is ' *Samgha upayita';* it will be discussed below.
32. Dip. VI. 52-55 ; Mhv., 67-68.
33. Ed. by Cowell and Neil, pp. 389-397.
34. R. E. VIII, and the Rummindei and the Nigall Sagar Pillar inscriptions.
35. For * Bodha-Gaya'. See D. R. Bhandarkar in 7nd. *Ant,* XLII, pp. 159-160.
36. Name of one of the twenty-four Buddhas and the third to precede Gautama Buddha. Asoka's pilgrimage to his stupa is not noticed in the Divyavadana.
37. See Rev. ft. Heras: op. *tit.*, pp. 275-6; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar: op. *tit,* pp. 283-5.

But these arguments fail to carry conviction in the absence of some definite proof to show that Asoka made similar pilgrimages to any of the Hindu or Jain sacred places or that, *in the days oj Asoka,* the worship of Konakamana was outside the proper limits of Buddhism. There is fundamental difference between making pilgrimages to the sacred places of one's own faith, and honouring various sects with honours of various kinds. As a Buddhist, Asoka *performed worship* at the Buddhist holy places, and, as a ruler, he conferred honours upon all sects.

(f) The Ceylonese chronicles[38] refer to the expulsion of the adherents of false doctrine from the Sarhgha ; and Asoka's Kausambi, Sanchi, and Sarnath Pillar Edicts bear out this tradition by laying down a general order for the ' unfrocking ' of the schismatic monks and nuns.

(g) Both the Ceylonese chronicles and the Asokan Edicts have more or less preserved[39] the memory of the missionary activities of the reign of Asoka. Although the places and the peoples mentioned in them are not strictly identical, yet the little that is common[40] to them shows that they are referring to the same fact. Further, according to the Dipavamsa each mission consisted of a leader and four assistants, and those who constituted the mission to the Himalayan region were ' the Thera of the Kassapa-gotta, Majjhima, Durabhisara, Sahadeva and Mulakadeva \ The historicity of the first three is established by the fact that their names have been found inscribed in precisely the same connection on the urns discovered in the Bhilsa Topes.[41]

No doubt, the mission of Mihinda[42] to Ceylon, so picturesquely described in the chronicles,[43] does not find a specific mention in the Asokan inscriptions. Still, the whole story cannot be brushed aside as a mendacious fiction of unscrupulous monks. After all, the Tambaparhni of the Second and the Thirteenth Rock Edicts might be Ceylon.[44] A large number of places and monuments in the island and on the mainland as associated with Mahinda's mission ; and two bas-reliefs[45] on the Buddhist stupa at Sanchi represent the carrying of the Bo-tree from Uruvela to Ceylon.

38. Dip., VII, 53 ; Mhv. V, 270.
39. Dip. VIII, Mhv. XII ; R. E. V. and XIII.
40. Cf. the Yavanas and the Gandharas.
41. The Stupas near Sanchi. See A. Cunningham: 'Bhilsa Topes', pp. 119, 287, 316 ; F. C. Maisey : * Sanchi and its Remains \ pp. 108-15.
42. Mahendra, son of Asoka according to the Ceylonese chronicles.
43. Dip. Xn—XVI; Mhv. XVII-XX.
44. Tambapamni = Tamraparni, the ancient name of Ceylon ; see H. Ray-Chaudhuri: 'Pol. Hist, of Ancient India' (1932), p. 225.
45. T. W. Rhys Davids : 'Buddhist India', pp. 301 and 303.

Thus it is evident that this extraordinary coincidence between the testimony of the Buddhist chronicles and the evidence of Archaeology is not merely accidental, and it is reasonable to assume that both are independently bearing witness to the fact that Asoka was a convert to Buddhism.

II

The terminology of the Asokan Edicts has been the subject of considerable discussion among scholars for several years, and now most of the puzzles may be regarded as solved. Still, it is a matter of regret that perfect unanimity has not been attained regarding the interpretation of certain words and phrases which are crucial to the topic under consideration, e.g., *Upasaka, Samgha, Upayite* and *Dhamma.*

(a) In the Ceylonese chronicles,[46] the term *upasaka* is used to indicate that Asoka had become a lay disciple of Buddism. No one can deny that the term *upasaka* used in the second Bairat Rock inscription and the Sarnath Pillar inscription also means a Buddhist lay worshipper. Identical expression has been used with reference to Asoka in his first Minor Rock Edict discovered at Sahasram, Bairat, Brahmagiri and Siddapura, and it must be construed to convey the same* sense. Moreover, even the words *Sakya* and *Buddha-Sdkya,* used in this connection in the Rupnath and Maski versions,[47] find an apt parallel in the Buddhist chronicles wherein Asoka is said to have declared, " I have avowed myself a lay pupil of the Doctrine of the Sakyaputta."[48]

Yet Rev. H. Heras rejects the authority of the chronicles, and interprets these words in a manner most suited to his theory. He says :[4f>] " Certainly *upasaka* means a lay-worshipper, but a lay-worshipper does not mean anything else than one who is not properly acquainted with the deep dogmas of his faith and has not been initiated with its mysteries . . . . Naturally he could also call himself Sakya, Buddha-Sakya, because any conversion is a kind of enlightenment, and he could therefore consider himself the enlightened one. Such is the meaning of the word *upasaka,* Sakya and Buddha-Sakya." This interpretation reduces Asoka to the anomalous position of being * enlightened ' without being properly acquainted with the deep dogmas of his faith. **Rev. H. Heras** missed the true significance of the relation between Asoka's 'visit' to

46. Dip. VI, 55; Mhv. XI, 34-36.
47. See Dr. Hultzsch's reading in Corp. Inscn. Ind., Vol. I.
48. Dip., Xn, 5 ; Mhv. XI, 34.
49. *Op. cit,* p. 273.

the *Samgha* and its effect upon him as an *Updsaka.* The *Samgha* of the Asokan Edicts decidedly stands for the Buddhist monastic order,[50] and the *updsakatva* associated with it means that Asoka was a convert to Buddhism. Mr. Dikshitar offers another ingenious explanation of the word *updsaka.* Says he :[ni] " The *Updsaka* could not be a *de facto* or *de jure* member of the *Sangha.* All that is meant by the term is that the householder would minister to the needs of the members of the *Sangha."* Inasmuch as Asoka discharged this function, he was an *Updsaka,* and was not a convert to Buddhism. But this interpretation displays inadequate appreciation of the position of those householders who professed firm faith in ' the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Samgha',* and had little or no belief in the Brahmanical religion, its gods and rituals. Surely such people could not remain within the fold of Brahmanism. It is to such lay-followers of the Buddha that the term *updsaka* was applied in the Buddhistic literature and the epigraphical records.[52] This meaning is obvious from the second Bairat Rock inscription wherein Asoka exhorted the *Updsakas* and the *Updsikas* to follow certain canonical texts of Buddhism ' in order that the good *Dhamma* might long endure.' In the first Minor Rock Edict the term *updsaka* is used to indicate Asoka's conversion, and this term, when read in the sense in which it is used in the second Bairat Rock inscription, the Sarnath Pillar inscription and the Ceylonese chronicles, positively shows that this conversion was to Buddhism.

(b) In the first Minor Rock Edict,[53] the expression *Sarhghe Upayite*[5i] is used for describing Asoka's connection with the *Saihgha.* The nature and extent of this connection are the most disputed points in the life of Asoka.[55] The expression has been interpreted in three different ways : (i) that he entered the *Samgha,* i.e., became a Buddhist monk,[56] (ii) that he lived in the *Samgha* for some time as *Bhikkhugatika,*[57] (iii) that he paid a visit to the *Samgha.*[58]

50. P. E. VII, Second Bairat Rock inscription, etc.

51. Op. *cit.,* p. 281.

52. See Oldenberg: 'Buddhism' (Eng. Trans, by W. Hoey) pp. 161-4 and 382-3.

53. See the Rupanath, Sahasram, Bairat, Maski, Brahmagiri versions.

54. The Brahmagiri and Siddapur versions ; other versions use *upete, upayate* or *upagate.*

55. The discussion still continues. See *Indian Culture,* Vol. I, pp. 123-4.

56. See Buhler, V. A. Smith and F. W. Thomas, *op. cit.*

57. See D. R. Bhandarkar : Asoka, pp. 78-81.

58. See Senart in Ind. Ant., Vol, XX, pp. 233-4; E. Hultzsch: op. *cit,* pp. xliv-xlv.

But the first two interpretations are against the context, and unsupported by tradition. The word *sumi,* 'I am,' in the Rupnath and other versions of the Edict shows that Asoka had not ceased to be an *Updsaka* at the time of its issue. The contrast, intended to be shown in the Edict, is between his two stages of *upasakatva :* the stage of inaction and that of exertion. The Buddhist chronicles which are ever prone to exaggeration, do not countenance the theory that Asoka was both monk and monarch at the same time ; nor do they attribute to him the characteristics of a *Bhikkhugatika.* They simply refer to his conversion to Buddhism, his visit to the *Sarhgha* and his immense charities to it. The Ceylonese chronicles clearly show that he neither went through the *pabbajja* ordination, nor did he claim a higher status than that of *Sasanadayada.*[5*] The oft-quoted evidence of It-sing and the Divyavadana[00] suggesting that he took to monastic life most probably refers to his closing years. The Sanchi sculptures, if their identifications are correct, represent him not in the robes of a monk, but in full royal attire.[61]

The third interpretation is more in harmony with the tradition,[62] and does least violence to the context. Hence it may be accepted as nearer the truth : Asoka, having paid a visit or visits to the *Sarhgha,* strenuously exerted himself, and thus became an active *Updsaka.*

(c) *Dhamma,* in its Sanskrit form *Dharma,* is an ancient word with the very wide meaning of justice, morality, righteousness, religion, etc. In the Buddhist literature it is used to indicate the second of the Buddhist Triad—the Law of the Buddha. The same word occurs in the Asokan Edicts no less than thirty-seven times. The *Dhamma* of the second Bairat Rock Edict is accepted by all scholars to mean the Law of the Buddha ; but that of the other Edicts is understood differently by different scholars. Dr. Fleet[63] interpreted it as the ' ordinary *dharma* of Kings', while Kern[64] and Rhys Davids[65] took it to mean simply righteousness. If Dr. R. K. Mookherji[66] sees in it the *sara* or essence of all religions ', Mr. Dikshitar[67] finds in it ' the established ethical code of

59. Dip. VII, 8 ; Mhv. V, 193. Compare this term with the *Dhammasambadho* of R. E. XI.

60. E. Hultzsch : *op. cit.,* p. xliv.

61. J. H. Marshall: ' A guide to Sanchi', pp. 47, 50, 51, 60.

62. For Asoka's visits to the *Samgha,* see Dip. vi, 78 ; VII, 3 ; Mhv. V, 76, 185.

63. See J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 491.

64. See Ind. Ant., V, p. 262.

65. Rhys Davids : ' Buddhism '. p. 45.

66. *Op.* cit., p. 69.

67. *Op. cit.,* p. 271. *

the orthodox Hinduism. This diversity of interpretation is due to the fact that the word *Dharhma* is used in the Edicts in two senses : firstly, to mean moral duties in general; and, secondly, to indicate Buddhism. The task of right interpretation is rendered more difficult by the seemingly non-distinctive and non-sectarian character of the virtues and practices[68] preached by Asoka. But it should not be overlooked that the ethical codes of all civilized societies are more or less identical. Still their individuality is often marked by their source and the emphasis they lay on one or the other of the essential virtues. We have already seen that Asoka was a Buddhist lay-worshipper and observed Buddhist practices.[69] Hence it follows that the *Dhamma* preached by him *derived its inspiration* from the *Dharhma* professed by him, i.e., Buddhism. As pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar,[70] it consisted of those very duties which were prescribed for the Buddhist laity in the Sigalovada-Sutta and the Mahamangala-Sutta. Any tinge of Brahmanical or Jain influence that is discovered in it may be traced to Asoka's own catholic outlook. He insisted[71] that all sects should listen to one another's *Dhamma,* so that all possessed wide learning *(bahu-sruta)* and good doctrines.

It is true that in the Edicts of Asoka there is ' nothing concerning the deeper ideas or fundamental tenets of Buddhism ; there is no mention of the Four Grand Truths, the Eight-fold Path, the Chain of Causation, the supernatural quality of the Buddha : the word and the idea of *Nirvana* fail to occur \[72] But this cannot be taken as a decisive argument to assail the Buddhist faith of Asoka unless and until we are sure of the phase of Buddhism prevalent in his days especially among its lay-followers. Probably it was in a transitory state from Hlnayanism to Mahayanism. Asoka's pilgrimage to the stupa of Konakamana shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was already established in his day.

Indeed there is nothing in the Edicts of Asoka that is exclusively characteristic of Brahmanism or Brahmanical Hinduism as Mr. Dikshi-

68. Good deeds, mercy, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, self-control, etc. See P.E. II, VII; R.E. VII. These virtues were to be put into practice by being non-violent towards all living creatures ; liberal towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brahmanas and Sramanas ; obedient towards parents and elders ; courteous towards slaves and servants ; and so forth. See P.E. VII; R.E. XI, XIII, etc.

69. See *supra.*

70. *Op. cit.,* pp. 116-123.

71. R.E, XII.

72. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 505.

tar prefers to call it.[73] On the contrary, they are more or less Buddhistic in style, and reveal that he was intimately acquainted with the tenets, legends and literature of Buddhism, and that his ethical code really derived its inspiration from Buddhism rather than from Brahmanism. He too, like the Buddha, ignored the existence of God, insisted upon the necessity of man's own self-exertion[74] and self-examination,[75] and thus attempted to create a Kingdom of Righteousness independent of divine or priestly assistance. His total silence about the Vedic gods, the sanctity of the Vedas and Varnasrama-dharma, his prohibition of rituals[70] and animal sacrifices,[77] his insistence on the principle of non-violence[78] towards all living beings, his pilgrimages exclusively to the Buddhist sacred places,[79] his display of heavenly spectacles[80] similar to the rewards of a virtuous man described in the Buddhist canonical work *Vimanavatthu,* his keen interest in the unity and longevity of the Buddhist church *(Sarhgha)*,[81] and his observance of the *Uposaiha* Buddhist holidays,[82]—all these taken together can be reconciled only with Buddhism. His belief[83] in the other world and in heaven is not contrary to Buddhist tenets. The Buddha himself said[84] that a pious house-holder will be born as a god in one of the heavens, and the *Vimanavatthu* contains[85] a description of the bliss that is reserved for a virtuous man in the other world.

Thus the *Dhamma* of Asoka, ' despite all straining ' on the part of some scholars, cannot be said to differ from what may be termed lay Buddhism.

Ill

Asoka's benevolent attitude towards other creeds and sects is also cited[86] as an argument against his Buddhist faith. His gift of cave

73. *Op.* cit., p. 288.
74. Minor R.E. I and R. E. VI, X.
75. See P.E. I; explained in P.E. III. Cf. DIgha Nikaya, III, 55.
76. R.E., IX.
77. R.E., I, XI.
78. Minor R.E., II and R.E. II, III, IV, IX, XI. Also R.E. I ond P.E. V, VII.
79. R.E. VIII and the Rummindei and the Nigali Sagar Pillar inscriptions.
80. R.E. IV.
81. Kausambi, Sarnath and Sanchi P.E.
82. Sarnath P.E., and P.E. V.
83. RJE. VI, IX-XI and XIII; PJ3. I, IV, VII, etc.
84. Majjhima-Nikaya, I, 289, 388, cf. Sarhyutta-Nikaya, I, 87, 181, 232.
85. D. R. Bhandarkar : op. cit., p. 124-6.
86. Rev. H. Heras : *op.* cit. p. 272; Dikshitar: *op.* cit., pp. 287, 299.

dwellings to the Ajivikas,[87] his appointment of the Dharma-mahamatras to serve the interests of the Buddhists, Brahmanas, Ajivikas, Nirgranthas and various other sects,[88] his advice to his people to listen to one another's *Dhamma,*[m] and his bestowal of honours on all sects,[90] have been considered incompatible with his profession of Buddhism. Rev. Heras says : " His tolerance of all religions or sects is purely Hindu."[91] But Buddhism too nowhere preaches intolerance. It is the narrow-minded followers of the Buddha who sometimes assumed an antagonistic attitude towards the people of other faiths. Moreover, Asdka was not purely a religious enthusiast. He was also a ruler imbued with the true spirit of Indo-Aryan kingship. He regarded all men as his children,[92] and showed extreme solicitude for their welfare. Hence, there is no incompatibility between his profession of Buddhism and his regard for all sects. While holding the scales evenly between the competing claims of different sects to royal patronage, he relied upon the ' superior effect of reflection ' as the chief agent in the promotion of his *Dhamma.*[03] Centuries later, Kanishka, Harsha and Akbar also adopted a somewhat similar liberal policy in dealing with their subjects without prejudice to their own personal faiths. Indeed, Indian history is replete with examples of rulers who did not allow sectarian feelings to dominate their state-policy, and Asoka was one of them.

CONCLUSION.

Asoka was a convert to Buddhism, and the *Dhamma* professed and preached by him derived its strength and nourishment from the teachings of the Buddha. From the time of his conversion to the end of his rule, he remained an *Updsaka,* with progressive zeal in the cause of his new faith.

87. Barabar Hill Cave-inscriptions.
88. PJE. VII.
89. RJ3. XII.
90. PJ3. VL
91. *Op. cit.,* p. 272.
92. First separate Rock-Edict: Dhauli; P.E. IV.
93. *Nijhatiya is* the word used for reflection or inner meditation. PJE. VII.

Religious Catholicism in Mediaeval Karnataka

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IT has been pointed out by almost all writers on the history of India that, although there were three religions, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, prevalent in this country before the Muhammadan invasions, the relations between the adherents of these religions were very amicable, and that there was no religious persecution ; and this happy state of affairs is usually explained by them as being due to the fact that Brahmanism, while insisting on a definite course of conduct, allowed to its adherents the utmost latitude of belief.

Though there is an element of truth in these observations, it must be pointed out that these writers, as also the Greek and Chinese visitors that have left us accounts of their travels in India, have failed to notice that, in the eyes of the great bulk of the people, there existed not three or more different religions, but only one catholic religion. The name given by them to this religion was Dharma ; but, as this term is ambiguous, and I know of no other suitable name, I shall hereafter refer to it as Aryanism or Arya-dharma.

It is unnecessary to point out that Gautama Buddha was an adherent, throughout his life, of Brahmanism ; so were his immediate disciples also ; and Buddhism became a distinct religion, different from Brahmanism, only after the lapse of a hundred years or so after the death of the Buddha. The evolution of a distinct Buddhistic cosmogony and of a pantheon, comprising Marljusrl, Avalokitesvara, Adi-Buddha, Tara, and other gods and goddesses unknown to Brahmanism, was still later, and took place in perhaps the first centuries of the Christian era.

Similar is the case with Jainism also. The last Tirtharhkara, Mahavlra or Vardhamana, and his immediate disciples, were all adherents of Brahmanism ; and Jainism became a distinct religion different from Brahmanism, and developed a cosmogony and pantheon containing gods and goddesses unknown to Brahmanism, only some centuries after the death of Mahavira.

Viewed from the standpoint of religion,[1] then, the people of India in, say, the 5th century A.D. could be grouped into five classes :

1. Foreign religions like Judaism and Christianity are not included in this purview.

I. Adherents of Brahmanism, comprising (a) the clergy, i.e., a majority, perhaps, of the Brahmanas,[2] and (b) the laymen devoted to Brahmanism.

II. Adherents of Buddhism comprising (a) the clergy, i.e., bhiksus (monks), bhiksunis (nuns) and novices, and (c) laymen devoted to Buddhism.

III. Adherents of Jainism comprising (a) the clergy, i.e., Jaina monks and nuns, and (b) laymen devoted to Jainism.

IV. Adherents of minor religions, some of the names of which even now are unknown, comprising (a) the clergy and (b) laymen devoted to those particular religions.

V. The large bulk of people, inclusive of some Brahmanas, were followers of what I have above called Aryanism. These paid respect equally to the teachings and teachers of all the religions referred to above. Many of them had, naturally, a predilection for one of these religions and for one particular cult, which however did *not* prevent them from showing honour to other gods and goddesses and to the teachers of other religions. Just as, nowadays, it is not uncommon to come across a family the head of which is a worshipper of Siva while his wife, brother and son are devotees respectively of Visnu, the Sun, and the goddess Rajarajesvari, in the same way, at that time, it was not uncommon to come across a family the head of which worshipped Siva, while his wife, son and daughter were devotees respectively of the Jaina, the Buddha and Visnu. That is to say, while, nowadays, the worshippers of, say, the Jaina, do not show honour to Siva, Visnu or other gods and goddesses of Brahmanism or Buddhism, do not show respect to the Brahmanas or Buddhist teachers, and do not contract marriage alliances with persons professing Brahmanism or Buddhism, in the fifth century A.D., many persons who worshipped Jaina, worshipped also the gods of Brahmanism and Buddhism, showed respect to the Brahmanas and Buddhist teachers, and contracted marriage alliances with those who were not Jainas by faith. The case was similar with many who were followers of Brahmanism, Buddhism and the other religions referred to above.

The evidence for the existence of the last-named class is somewhat scanty in the literature of the first ten centuries of the Christian era ; nor do we know exactly at what time the catholicity of Aryanism ceased

2. It must be borne in mind that, although, in Brahmanism, all priests are Brahmanas, not all Brahmanas are priests. As at present, so in the past also, there were found at all times some Brahmanas who were not priests, and whose religious life differed in no respect from that of the Ksatriya and Vaisya householders who were their contemporaries.

to appeal to its followers and they became merged in the first four of the groups mentioned above. In the Kannada country, however, we have abundant evidence testifying to the existence of this catholic religion in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D., and I propose here to reproduce some of this evidence.[3]

A. (1) One of the chief generals of the Hoysala king Visnuvardhana was Gahgaraja who had the titles *samadhigata-panca-mahd-samantadhipati, maha-pracanda-dandanayaka, drdha-gharatta,* and *Hoysala-rajya-scnmuddharana* (* Rescuer of the Hoysala kingdom '). He was according to the statements made in many inscriptions (SB. 73, 117, 125, 127, 240, 251, 397, Bl 124 ; Ml 31 ; etc.) ' the foremost among those following the Jaina faith' (Jina-dharmagranI) and ' the moon causing the flow of the ocean of the Jaina faith ' (Jaina-matambodhi-pravardhana-sudhakara) ; and he built, as is recorded in these inscriptions, two *basadis* (Jaina temples) in Sravana-Belgola and the enclosure round the image of Gumma^a that were set up there by Camundaraya, and also gave many lands and whole villages to Jaina teachers and temples. Cn. 260, however, records that this Gahgaraja with others made a grant of land to the god Jayamgondesvara (i.e., a Sivalihga) at Virupaksapura, and Cn. 212, 213 records that he made similar gifts to the Nagesvara lemple (another Siva temple) at Naule. (2) It is said in Cn. 248, Bl. 124 and SB 384, that Boppa-dandanayaka, son of this Gahgaraja, Baganabbe, wife of Gahgaraja's elder brother Bammadeva-dandanayaka, and Eca-dandnayaka, son of this Bammadeva-dandanayaka, were all likewise devoted adherents of the Jaina faith ; and Bl 124 also records that, on the death of Gahgaraja, his son Boppa-dandanayaka built in his memory the temple of Parsvanatha at Dorasamudra. Cn. 248, referred to above, relates however that this Boppa-dandanayaka and the above-mentioned Baganabbe and Eca-dandanayaka made a gift of some land to the temple of Gahgesvara (i.e., a Siva temple) built by Mahadevasakti at Belhali; and Bl 137 records that Boppa-dandanayaka established at Kondali in Asandinadu an agrahara called Droha-gharatta-caturvedi-mahgala after himself (i.e., after one of his titles), and settled in it 52 Brahmanas.[4] Ng. 28 also records that the above-named Eca-danda-

3. The inscriptions referred to below are, unless otherwise indicated, from the *Epigraphia Carnatxca..* The abbreviations used are those explained by Rice at the beginning of his ' Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions'.

The numbering of the Sravana-Belgola inscriptions follows that of the second edition.

Unless the contrary is expressly stated, all **the** inscriptions referred to here belong to the period 1000-1300 A.D.

4. These Brahmanas **are** described in **BL 140 as 'always engaged in *aupasana,***

nayaka made a gift of some land to the temple of Mallikarjuna (a Siva temple) at Lalanakere. (3) SB. 66, 345, 349 and other inscriptions praise Rulla (Hullapa—, Hullamayya—) dandanayaka who held the office of *mahdpradhdna, sarvddhikdri* and *hiriya-bhandari* (senior treasurer) under the Hoysala king Narasimha I as ' a second Gangaraja ' and ' foremost among those devoted to the Jaina faith'; and they record that he built a basadi at Sravana-Belgola, and that he and his brothers Amaresvara-dandanayaka and Laksmana-danclanayaka granted, with the permission of the king, the proceeds of some taxes to that temple ; while Tk. 19 relates that Laksmana and Hulla set up the god Amrtesvara at Maleyuru and made endowments to the temple. (4) Ak. 141 mentions Parsva or Parisanna who held the office of *Mahapradlulna* and *Pattisa-bhandari* under the Hoysala king Narasimha I, his father Cavundamayya and grand-uncle Parsva who built a Jina temple at Nittur, and records that on the death in battle of *Mahdprudhdna pattisa-bhandari* Parisanna, his son Santiyanna-dandanayaka built a *basadi* in his memory. Ak. 144, however, records that the above-mentioned Cavundamayya made a gift of land to the Mulasthanesvara temple (a Siva temple) at Karigunda.

(5) Sh. 49 praises the *nalprabhu* and *vaddavyabahari* Hoysala-Goydi settiya-raya and his sons Boppa-gavunda and Balla-gavunda who were worshippers of the feet of Jina, and relates, that, one day, they listened to a Puranic account setting forth the great merit resulting from the performance of Siva-dharma, and, being moved thereby, made a grant of land to the god Siddhesvara (a Siva-linga). (6) Sk. 197 records that the Saiva priest Suryabharana, head of the Tripurantaka temple at Belgame, made a grant of land to the Jina temple at (Cikka-) Magadi. (7) Sk. 225 and 235 mention that Malli-setti or Malli-dano'anayaka of Kammata was the governor of Bandanike Seventy in the reign *oi* Vira-Ballala II, and that he and his *pradfidna* Surya-dandanayaka were devotees of Visnu *(Ndrdyana-pdda-kamala-dvandvabhrnga).* No. 225 records that these two dandanayakas made a gift of some land to the basadi of Santinatha at Bandanike, while No. 235 records that they, through Queen Abhinava-Ketaladevi, moved King Vira-Ballala to make a gift of lands to 33 Brahmanas. (8) No. VII of the Ratta inscriptions published by the late Dr. Fleet in JBBRAS Vol. 10 gives a detailed account of how Kesiraja brought a Saivalinga from Srisaila and set it up at Saundatti, naming it Mallikarjunesvara after his father, and how donations were made to that god by the heads of the twelve villages in Sugandha-

agnihotra, and the worship of gods and gurus, with fame as bright as the sun, proficient in the Rig, Yajus, Sama, and Atharva Vedas with their meanings and in all Sastras.'

varti Twelve and other persons and associations. Among these grantors of gifts we find mentioned the Jaina priests Subhacandra, Indrakirti and Sridhara-deva of the Manikyatlrtha-basadi of Huli.

(9) Tk. 45 relates that the Amara-dandanayaka and his brothers Massanayya dano!anayaka devoted to Siva (Siva-pada-sekhara), Kallayya-danolanayaka and Basavadandanayaka built the Amrtesvara temple at Amrtapura; Kd. 36 records that these four brothers built the Ekkoti-jinalaya at Vakkalagere, and says that their guru was the Jaina priest Nayakirti. (10) Bl. 137 states that the Mahaprabhu Adi-gavunda, son of Honna-gavunda built the temple of Adi-mallikar Junes vara (a Siva temple), while Bl. 138 records that he built a basadi and made an endowment for it. (11) Sk. 170 records that the dandanayaka Rupabhattayya, general of the W. Ca]ukya king Somesvara I, built a vihara (monastery) for Buddhist monks and made a gift of some land to the temples of Kesava (i.e., Visnu), Lokesvara (Siva?), and Buddha. (12) The Mahamandalesvara Camundaraya, feudatory of the W. Calukya Jayasimha II (or Jagadekamalla I), it is said in Sk. 151, granted a village to the temple of Bherundesvara in Belgame ; in Sk. 120, it is said that he gave some land to a Jaina temple, and also caused to be built, through his subordinate Nagavarma, temples of Siva, Visnu and Jina. (13) Dg. 12 describes as ' a devotee of Siva ' *(Isa-padabja-sambhrtdnmastaka).* Bammarasa who was the superintendent of *accupannaya* in Nolambavadi 32,000 under the *Mahapradhdna banasa-verggade dandanayaka* Anantapalayya, and says that he made gifts to temples and basadis.

(14) Tm. 9, describing in detail the excellences of Baci-deva, ruler of Murugare-nadu in 1151 A.D., says that he restored temples consecrated to Jina, Visnu and Siva, that he was a *Kdmadhenu* to the Jaina faith, the kalpa tree to the Saiva religion, a river of *siddha-rasa* to Buddhists, and a wish-gem to devotees of Visnu. It applies to him the epithet *catus-samaya-dharmoddhara-dhaureya,* ' foremost among those that promote the four faiths ', and records that he built the Bhima-jinalaya, and the temples of Garigesvara, Caluvarivesvara and Ramesvara, and established an *agrahdra* at Dirbburu. (15) The *Mahasaynanta* Govinda or Govi, who too was a promoter of the four faiths, that is of Saivism, Vaisnavism, Buddhism and Jainism, and was ruling Magare 300 as a feudatory of Vira-Ballala II, is eulogised in Ck. 13, 14 and other epigraphs ; and Ck. 21 contains the praises of his elder brother's wife Santaladevi who too promoted *Saivagdma, Jaina-dharma, Vaisnavdgama and Baddhdgama.* (16) Another ' promoter of the four faiths' named Purusa-manikya-setti is mentioned in Ng. 15, together with his son Hemmeya-nayaka who was a Jina-samaya-samuddharana and * worshipper of the feet of Parsva-deva', and grandson Durmmeya-nayaka who was a catus-samayasamud-dharana and built the Hemesvara temple at Jettiga.

B (1) S.B. 327 records the gift of a village named Banuneyanahalli by Acale to the Jaina guru Balacandra for the maintenance of the Parsvanatha-basadi built by her. The inscription applies to her the epithet anavarata-vinamad-amara- mauli- milita- carana- nalina-yugala-bhagavad arhat-paramesvara-snana-gandhodaka-pavitrlkrtottamahga, and states at the same time that her husband Candramauli, who was a minister of Vira-Ballala II, was a Brahmana and a devotee of Siva, and that he petitioned the king for, and got from him, the above-mentioned village for being made over to the basadi of Parsvanatha built by his wife. (2) Dg. 90 makes mention of a Surya-dandanayaka who was a mana-pracanda-dandanayaka in 1128 A.D. under the Mahamandalesvara Tribhuvanamalla-Pandya of Nolambavadi 32,000, and of his younger brother Aditya who was an officer of the W. Calukya Vikramaditya VI and had the titles samadhigata-panca-mahasabda, mahasamantadhipati, and maha-pracanda-dandanayaka. They were both, it is said in the inscription, devotees of Siva, while Kaliyakka, wife of Surya, was a devotee of Jina (Jina-pCja-vinoda, jinesvara-carana sarasiruha-madhukaropamana-kutila-kuntala-kalapa), and built a basadi at Sembanuru. (3) It is said in Cn. 257 that the pergade Javanayya who was a subordinate of Surigeya Peramalu-dandanayaka and his brother Singa-pille were both officers of Vlra-Ballala II. Javanayya, who was a devotee of Siva, (Siva-pada-sekhara) set up the god Singesvara and built a tank in Hebbalalu, while his wife Kalliyakka, it is said in the inscription, was devoted to Jina. (4) S.B. 143 records the gift of a village and other lands by Santaladevi, senior queen of the Hoysa]a king Visnuvardhana, for the upkeep of the basadi (Savati-gandhavarana-basadi) built by her in Sravana-Belgola. Her maternal grandfather Baladeva-dandanayaka, it is stated in the inscription, was a devotee of Jina (Jina-samaya-maha-gagana-sobhakara-divakara Jina-dharma-nirmala, Jina-dharma-katha-kathana-pramoda, Jina gandhodakapavitrikrtottamahga) ; and so were her maternal uncle Singimayya (Jina pati-bhakta, Jina-dharmambara-tigmaroci) and mother Macikabbe (Jina-caranabhakta, Jina-pada-bhakta). Her father Marasingayya, however, was greatly devoted to Siva and built the Dharmesvara temple at Grama. Santala-devi herself is eulogised in this inscription as catus-samaya-samuddharana, and receives in Hn. 116, Bl. 16, Bl. 58 and many other inscriptions the epithet nagaraja-nandinipadaravinda-vandanabhiruci (fond of worshipping the goddess Parvati *) and in this inscription the epithets Jina-samaya-samudita-pr^akara, Jina-dharma-katha-kathana-pramoda, Jina-gandhodaka-pavitrikrtotta-manga. As recorded in this inscription, she built the Savati-gandhavarana-basadi at Sravana-Belgola, and as recorded in other inscriptions (Bl 16 and 58, and the Belur inscription referred to on p. 43 of the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1911), the Ramesvara temple at isapura and the **Kappe**-Cannigaraya shrine at Belur. We do not know what she did for the pro-

motion of Buddhism. As regards her husband, King Visnuvardhana, Bl, 58, Bl. 71, Hn. 89 and many other inscriptions apply to him the epithet Mukunda-padaravinda-vandana-vmoda and thus make out that he was a devotee of Visnu. In accordance with this, we find it recorded in inscriptions at Belur and Talkad that he built two other Visnu temples at Gadag and another place. Cm. 160 applies to him not only the epithets Srimad-Acyutapadaradhana-labdha-jisnu-prabhava and Nrsimha-dhyana-NiscalibhCtta-nirmalacaritra, but also Visnu-isvara-Vijaya-narayanady~asamkhyata-devakula--kulacalakula--Yadavajaladhi--Visnusamudramudrita-mahiloka-navikaranacaturya-Caturanana, and thus makes out that he was a devotee of Siva also. Bl 124 relates that, when Boppa-dandanayaka built the Pars vanatha-basadi at Dorasamudra in memory of his father and established the Jina image there, he sent to his master Visnuvardhana who was then camping with his army at Banka-pura, the tlrtha and prasada from the basadi with some *indras* (Jaina archakas), and that the king received them in reverence after prostrating himself before the *indras.* Cn. 260 records that Visnuvardhana too made a grant of land to the god Jayamgondesvara at Virupaksapura, while Hn. 89 records a similar gift to the Siva temple built by Siva-dharma-sri-tilaka Jakkiyabbe in memory of her daughter Santale (whom after the death of the above-mentioned Santale, Visnuvardhana married) and her child. Further, it is said in Mg. 22 that Visnuvardhana's daughter Hariyave or Hariabbarasi was a devout Jaina and built a basadi at Hantiyuru. (4) We have already mentioned above the dan^anayakas Hulla, Amaresvara and Laksmana, who were brothers, and who made gifts to a basadi at Sravana-Belgola and a Siva temple at Haleyuru. It is said in Gb. 12 that they were Brahmanas, and the wording of SB. 349, 345, 66 and other inscriptions which praise Hulla only as a devout Jaina seems to indicate that his brothers Laksmana and Amaresvara were not Jainas but devotees of Siva. Ng. 30 mentions as the elder brother (i.e., paternal uncle's son) of Hulla the Mahapradhana Kantimayya, and his younger brothers the Mahapradhana-dandanayaka Cokkanna, and the dandanayaka Hariyanna who are all described as ' devotees of Siva', and relates that they built a Siva temple and made gifts of land to the temple of Madhukesvara in 1165 A.D.

The instances given above of religious Catholicism are all concerned with individual men and women. To these should be added the numerous inscriptions that record gifts made to temples by associations of persons known as *nakhara* (nagara), *virabananju,* and *Mummuri-dan^a.* Such gifts are recorded, in connection with almost all important temples, whenever dedicated to Siva or Visnu or to Jina, whose building is recorded in inscriptions ; and they show that the merchants or traders who formed these associations were followers of catholic Arya-dharma. I shall cite here two such inscriptions, both published by Fleet in **JBBRAS,**

Vol. 10. One of them, No. 5, which is at Kalholi, is dated on 25th December, 1204 A.D., and records that, when the Ratta ruler Kartavlrya IV made a gift of land to the Santinatha basadi at that place, the association of merchants, known as Mummuri-danda of the Seven-and-half and Eleven-and-half, also made gifts to that basadi. The other is No. 6 which is at Nesarige and is dated on 24th January, 1219 A.D. i.e., fourteen years later than the above inscription ; and it records the building of three Siva temples at Nesarige, and gifts made to them by, among others, the Mummuri-danda of the Seven-and-half and Twelve-and-half,[5] and by the association of merchants known as ubhaya-nanadesi of the Kundi Three Thousand.

Asvasa V of Nayasena's *Dharm&mrta* (written in 1112 A.D.; see page 49 of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. 8), relates in detail the story of how a Jaina Sravaka assumed through supernatural power on four successive days the forms of Brahma, Visnu, Siva and Vardhamana-Jina respectively, and appeared in pomp and splendour before the people of Madura in the north, and how all the people of the city with the exception of the queen (and following her example, the king) flocked to the place and offered worship on all the four days. The relation of this story by Nayasena shows that in his days the great majority of people used to offer worship to Siva, Visnu and Jina impartially, or, in other words, that they were not narrow-minded Saivas, Vaisnavas and Jainas, but followers of the catholic Arya-dharma

The examples given above make it quite plain that in A.D. 1000-1300 the great majority of the people living in the Kannada country, though having individual predilections for Siva, Visnu, Jina or Buddha, offered worship to all these deities ; that it was very common for persons belonging to the same family to worship different deities ; and that some persons had no partiality for any one of the four deities named above but worshipped them all with equal devotion and built temples to them. As we have also seen, there were Jaina priests who made gifts to temples of Siva, and Saiva priests who made gifts to Jaina basadis ; and Buddhism was still flourishing in the country, though not in the same degree as Brahmanism and Jainism.

Since the Kannada country is not an isolated one, it is legitimate to conclude from the above examples that the case was similar with the rest of India ; and, in fact, as observed above, we have at hand some evidence that points to this.

The inscriptions of Emperor Aioka reveal that he honoured all religions equally, and that he made grants to teachers and institutions, not

5. **Perhaps 'twelve* is a mistake for [4]eleven'**; in any case it includes the **'eleven' mentioned in the Kalholi inscription.**

only of Buddhism, but of other religions also. Similarly, we learn from the travels of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang that Emperor Harsavardhana of Kanauj worshipped not only Siva, but also the Buddha and the Sun. It is of interest to note that, among his predecessors, Maharaja Srf Rajyavardhana, his son Maharaja Adiyavardhana, and his son Maharajadhiraja Paramabhattaraka Prabhakara-vardhana were devotees of the Sun (paramadityabhakta), while Harsa describes himself as a devotee of Siva (parama-Mahesvara) in his Banskhere inscription, and his elder brother Rajyavardhana as a devotee of Buddha (parama-Saugata). His court-poet Bana too, who had a predilection for the worship of Siva, describes sympathetically in his Harsa-carita not only the Saiva teacher Bhairavacarya *(Ucchvasa* II), but the Buddhist teacher Divakaramitra also *(Ucchvasa* VIII).

In the Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1919, the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri has pointed out (p. 94) that an inscription at Dadapuram records that the Cola princess Kundavvai, elder sister of Rajaraja I, built three temples at that place, one to Siva, known as Ravikula-manikka-Isvara, one to Visnu, called Kundavai-vinnagar-alvar, and a third to Jina, called Kundavai-Jinalaya, and made costly gifts to them. The same officer's Report for 1917 points out (p. Ill) that a pillar inscription at Amarapuram (No. 40 of 1917), dated in 1277 A.D., records a grant to a Jaina temple in the hands of two priests, one of whom, named Calla-pille was a Jina-Brahmana of Yajurveda, Aitareya-sakha (So!) and Vasistha-gotra with pravara Kaundinya-Maitra-varuna-Vasistha. As is well-known, there are no castes in Jainism, and the above-named Jina-Brahmana was therefore evidently one who, remaining a Brahmana, had an attraction for, and undertaken, the worship of Jina.[6]

Similarly, the Brahmanas referred to by the Chinese traveller Fa-hsien (Travels of Fa-hsien, Second translation of H.A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923 ; p. 47) as coming * to invite the Buddhas ' (i.e., the rathas or cars containing images of the Buddha, Bodhisatva, and other devas), were evidently followers of Arya-dharma ; and so likewise are the Brahmanas Raivata and Manjusri mentioned by him in the following passages (pp. **45-46)** :

6. Such Jaina-Brahmanas are not unknown to Kannada literature. The poet Pampa, author of the *Adipurana* and *Vikramdrjunavijaya* (A.D. 942), describes himself as a Jaina-Brahmana. His father Abhirama-devaraya of the Vatsa-gotra, being attracted by Jaina-dharma, became a follower of it, and Pampa too practised it. Nagavarma, author of the *Chandombudhi* and other works, was another such Brahmana. In the above-named work, he describes himself as the son of Vennamayya, a Brahmana of the Kaundinya-gotra, while it becomes evident from his *Kavyavalokana* and other works that he was a worshipper of the Jina.

" There was living inside this city and belonging to the Greater Vehicle, a Brahman whose name was Raivata ";
" There is resident in the former a Brahman teacher who is named Manjusri, and who is very much looked up to by the leading Shamans and religious mendicants under the Greater Vehicle throughout the kingdom ".

It follows then from what has been said above that one should be very circumspect when dealing with the writings of professed Buddhists, Jains, Vaisnavites or Saivites, and not place implicit faith in what such writers say about the religious persuasion of the people mentioned by them. For instance, it has been said by Buddhist writers that the emperor Asoka was a Buddhist. Since Asoka has himself said in his inscriptions that he honoured all religions equally, it is evident that the above statement is erroneous, and that Asoka was not a Buddhist, but a follower of the catholic Arya-dharma. Similarly, though the Chinese writer Hiuen Tsang claims that Emperor Harsavardhana of Kanauj was a Buddhist, it is evident from his own Travels, that Harsa worshipped Siva and Surya also, and showed honour to the Brahmanas ; he was thus not a Buddhist, but a flower of the Arya-dharma. Similarly, it has been said of the Hoysala king Visnuvardhana by Vaishnavite writers that he was originally a Jaina but was converted into a Vaisnava by Sri-Ramanujacarya, while it has been said of the same king by Jaina writers that he was, later, converted again into a Jaina. Both beliefs are erroneous ; for, as we have seen above, Visnuvardhana offered worship to Visnu, Jina and Siva, and was thus evidently a follower of the Arya-dharma.

Again, when Fa-hsien writes (p. 20): " The Faith is here becoming very popular ; and all the kings of the countries in Northern India to the west of the desert are firm believers ", it is almost certain that the kings referred to were not, as Fa-hsien believed, Buddhists but followers of the Arya-dharma ; and similarly, there can be no doubt that many of the ' believers' mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in his *Travels* were likewise followers of the Arya-dharma.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the religion which the Indian emigrants took with them to Java and Further India,[7] was not Saivism, Vaisnavism or Buddhism, but Aryanism. As in India, so in the kingdom of Java, Kambuja, and Campa, too, we find in the same dynasty kings who were devotees of Siva, Visnu and the Buddha, and ministers and other high officers who built temples to Siva and also to the Buddha, and who showed honour to Buddhist priests as also to the Brahmanas.

7. See in this connection p. 589 in the (Hindi) article on ' The Pillar Inscription of Sdok Kak Thorn* published in the Hindi Journal Kalyana for September 1933.

Society and Religion in the Age of the Tolkappiyam

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THE *Tolkappiyam* is divided into three books or chapters, i.e., *Eluttu, Sol* and *Pond.* Each is sub-divided into nine sub-chapters. Now, in the Eluttu-adikaram or the chapter on letters, we find no invocation to any god, as we do in later books. The book starts with a short preface by a colleague of the author, and there are no traces in the whole chapter to indicate what the author's beliefs in matters of religion were. But the preface of Panamparanar tells us clearly that there were Brahmans in the age. They were learned in the four Vedas, as there is mention of an Atankottan who was well-versed in them. There was sufficient knowledge in the land of *Aram* or righteousness. The Brahman was honoured by the king, and he often presided when literary questions were discussed. A word towards the end of the Preface has given much room for speculation. It is the expression 'Padimayon'. Nachchinarkiniyar, the last among the great annotators of the work, gives the meaning as 'Tavavedam' (guise of penance). Some critics believe that the word was borrowed from Jainism, and that therefore Tolkappiya's religion was Jainism. Again, the *VlrasoUyam,* a Buddhistic work of the 12th century A.D., states that Agastya learnt his grammar from Avalokita, and wrote his famous treatise. It is argued from this that Tolkappiya, being a disciple of Agastya, according to tradition, must have been a follower of Buddhism as his master was. It is not our purpose now to examine these two claims ; but from such references in the books as

(1) நான்மறை முற்றிய...ஆசான் (தொல். சிறப்புப்பாயிரம்)
(2) மரபிற் கோடல் அந்தணர் மறைத்தே (பிறப். 20)
(3) ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணமென்ப (கற்பி. 4)
(4) நூலே...... அந்தணர்க்குரிய (மரபு. 70)
(5) மாயோன்...... (அகத். 8)

we can clearly come to the conclusion that the prevailing faith during Tolkappiya's age in the Tamil land was Brahmanism. At any rate, though we are not quite sure about the author's own faith, there are more references to Brahmanical religion and gods in his book, and few or no references to either Buddhism or Jainism.

2. ELUTTADIKARAM.

Now, going into the text of the work, we find very little reference to religious ideas of the author's time in the first two chapters, as they mainly deal with letters and words and their grammar, and as there is no necessity for discussing philosophical or religious matters. But, indirectly, we can try to know something about the mode of thought of those ancients from the way in which they arranged the alphabets and named them. The letters are divided into Primary and Subsidiary *(mudal* and *sirappu)* groups. The primary group is again sub-divided into life-letters (உயிர்) or vowels, and body-letters (மெய்) or consonants. This nomenclature is peculiar to Tamil. Again, the following Sutras describe the action of these letters.

1. மெய்யோடியைபினும் உயிரியல் திரியா (எழுத். 10)
2. மெய்யின் வழியது உயிர்.

[The life (vowel) even when in the body, retains its nature. Life expresses itself through the body.]

These clearly prove that the seed for the later Agamic faith was well laid in these simple beliefs of our ancients. They thought that life was independent; that matter without life could not function ; and that Life, though unchangeable, retained its individuality even when it was in a body into which it was interned. Again, Sutram 15 of the chapter, which runs as *meyyi-riiyakkam akaramoqLa Sivanum* மெய்யி னியக்கம் அகரமொடு சிவணும். (A consonant can be pronounced only with the adjunct of *a)* which contains the highest pitch of religious truth which could be held at any time. There are two phases of *Aharam* or அ, according to the ancient grammarians. Both are the same in origin, but they function differently. One is always the *Mei* or consonant, because without the adjunct of the அ no consonant can be pronounced. Again, it is separated and independent, and functions as a thorough vowel. This function of the Primary vowel has given rise to the later explanation of the functions of the Almighty, the personal god of the Aryans and the Dravidians. It is to the effect that God is at the beginning of all, is independent, and permeates all bodies. But one can safely surmise that the religion of the ancient Tamil people, at least of their savants, was highly metaphysical, that their conception of life and matter, and of an omnipresent all-life substance was very clear, and that it formed the basis for the later development of their philosophical inquiries. It may also be remembered that, side by side with philosophic subtlety and mystic doctrines, conveyed to us by these references in this ancient grammar, there were the worship of the Tantric symbols and devil-dances among the bulk of the people. That is the strangest feature of Indian historical evolution

The other sub-chapters are dry of religious ideas. The sub-chapter on the origin of letters closely follows the Aryan works on the subject; and Sutra 102 states,

'அகத்தெழு வளியிசை யரிறப நாடி, அளபிற் கோட லந்தணர் மறைத்தே',

(The art of sound-production due to the action of air passing through certain organs of the body is described in the Vedas of the Brahmans); and it clearly proves the author's indebtedness to the Aryan Vedas and other works for his knowledge of this part of the subject. The aphorism beginning ''உந்தி முதலா முந்துவளி' (undi-mudala-mundu-vali) helps us to infer that the early Tamils along with the Aryans held that all human utterances had their origin at *undi*—the basis of the mythological belief that Brahma the Creator, was born of the navel of Visnu.

3. &OLLADIKARAM.

The second chapter, *Solladikdram,* on Words, has the following Sutra : —

தெய்வஞ்சுட்டிய பெயர்நிலைக்கிளவியும் (சூத். 4.)

(Nomenclature denoting divine beings, etc.) This is in reference to the classification of words into higher and lower classes (உயர்திணை and அஃறிணை),— a peculiar division which is found only in" the Tamil language. Later grammarians like Pavanandi, under the influence of foreign religious ideas like those of Jainism, include Naragar or infernal beings in the category of the higher classes. This is a sure indication that, at the time of the *Tolkdppiya,* the prevailing religion was only Vedic. Again, the division of Makkal and Makkal in Poruladikaram is very interesting. The Makka] are the human beings whose commonsense is not developed, and they along with the animals, are to be classed under five-sensed beings, while the word *Makkal* denotes human beings who have their commonsense well-developed.

That there existed some works on philosophy and religion even before the time of our author is borne out by the fact that a phrase *Meyyari-panuval* (which suggests a deep interpretation,) is used at a place where a very ordinary form of expression to denote the meaning of the Sutram could easily have been found.

These are perhaps the only evidences in the first two chapters of the earliest grammatical work in Tamil, from which we may form an idea of the religious conditions of the time. They show that the Aryan religion had penetrated into our land even in those early times, but then it only affected the higher classes and literary works. Sutram 395 stipulates that Sanskrit words, when they are used in Tamil, should be clothed in pure Tamil letters. This clearly shows the tendency of the early Tamils

to borrow Northern words and ideas, but to dress **and change** them to suit their genius of language and temperament. This is the key to the problem of the peculiar development of Tamil culture **and** thought, **and** this is the reason why Tamil alone exists in its pristine beauty in spite of the onslaught of the Aryan language and culture, while its sister languages like Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam have lost their originality and have become Aryarused.

4. PORULADIKARAM.

For a fuller conception of the religious thoughts of those days wc have to look into the third chapter of the Tolkappiyam, Poruladikaram. which, as a part of the grammar of a language, is found only in Tamil.

The whole literature of the early centuries of the Christian era took this chapter as its authority. This is not the place for giving even a short analysis of the chapter. It is sufficient to state that three out of the nine chapters deal with the course of love permitted in the early days between man and woman, two speak of the art of the warfare and other material aspects of the world, and one chapter is devoted each for *meippadii, ouvamam, seyyul* and *marapu.* The land was divided into four natural divisions. They were *kururiji,* (the hilly region); *mullai,* the forest land ; *neydal* or the littoral region ; and *marudam* or the plough-land to which was later on added *palai,* the sandy desert. Each of these is treated under three heads, i.e., *inudal, karu,* and *art. Mudal* tells us of the land and time peculiar to the particular region. *Karup-porul* details the gods, man, trees, beasts and other things that are found in the lands, as also the occupations, tools of man, etc. ; and the last divisions *(uri)* deals with the particular phases of a married or pre-marital life.

In explaining what ' land ' really means, IJampuranar opines that it includes the other elements like the sky, water, fire and air. Again in the phrase *kadarai-ulagam, ulagain* implies the five elements that comprise it as a later Sutra definitely stipulates.[1]

Thus, the early Tamils had a clear conception of the five natural elements, and of the fact that they in conjunction form what is called the Universe. This idea of the conception of the Universe is even pre-Tolkappiyam, as a stanza in Purananuru. *(uijru.* 5.) by Murificiyur Mudinagarayar, traditionally believed to have been a member of the first Sangam, mentions these five elements in a slightly different order. The

1. *நிலந்தீ நீர்வளி விசும்போ டைந்தும்*
கலந்த மயக்க முலக மாதலின்

stanza under reference also tells us how these elements are interdependent, and how one is formed out of the other.

5. GODS.

There is ample evidence in the Tolkappiyam to prove that our forefathers had a conception of a Supreme God. Their trinity did not coincide with that of the Aryans. They had the mysterious terms *Kodinilai* (கொடிநிலை) **Kandaḻi** (கந்தழி) **and Vaḷḷi** (வள்ளி). The exact meaning of these three terms is not known. These terms are qualified by clauses *' Vadunihgiya-sirappin '* (வடுநீங்கிய சிறப்பின்) and *' Mudalana-munrum'* (முதலன மூன்றும்)' i.e. the above-mentioned three were of an excellence without any blemish, and they formed the foremost. Ilampuranar, the earliest of the annotators now known to us, does not help us to form a correct impression of what these three terms actually meant. He included Kodinilai, Kandali, and Valli among the various forms of praise to the divine beings. But the examples he has given lead us to believe that the first meant a flag-stand, the second a mighty and brilliant being, and the third a *Veriyattn* or a kind of dance to please the gods. But Naccinarkiniyar gives a different explanation. Kodinilai he believes to be the Suryamandalam ; Kandali, One Being which stands without any support, which has no shape or form, and which is beyond all philosophical pursuits ; and Valli to be the Chandramandalam. (We may here refer to the belief that Siva's two eyes were the Sun and the Moon). We do not know what the authorities of the annotator are for giving these definitions—particularly for the second. He says that Kandaji stands in the middle, because *the* other two are implied in it. Again, he suggests the idea that the sun represents the male ; that the female is implied in the sex-less being Kandali ; and that the moon represents the female energy. His example for his Supreme Kandali is,

> ' சார்பிற் றோன்றா தானுருவா யெப்பொருட்குஞ்
> சார்பெனநின் றெஞ்ஞான்று மின்பந் தகைத்தரோ
> வாய்மொழியான் மெய்யான் மனத்தா னறிவிறந்த
> தூய்மையதா மைதீர் சுடர் '

(புற. 36. நச். உரை.)

(We find in the Tolkappiyam itself a more direct definition of a Supreme Being in another place. In defining what a *Mudanul* is, the author says:

> வினையி னீங்கி விளங்கிய வறிவின்
> முனைவன் கண்டது முதனூ லாகும்

Munaivan means the earliest or the foremost, and it means none other than the Supreme Being. He is deprived of the *Iruvinai* (results of bad and good actions), and He is a possessor of an all-shining knowledge.

Again, the expressions (சிதைவில வென்ப) and 'முதல்வன் கண்ணே,' emphasise the fact that He has no blemish and that He is the Supreme. Thus, Kandali, which literally means the ' breaker of all shackles \ expresses the conception of the Foremost, All-powerful Supreme Being.

That the early Tamils also believed in minor divinities is evident from references to Daivam, Ka4avul, Imayor, Devar, etc. They were either provincial gods or celestial beings, who are very powerful, and therefore must be propitiated and worshipped. They are, however, represented as weak and susceptible to love and anger like ordinary mortals. They had abodes of their own. Even in the * Imayor-tettu ' ov the land of the divinities, there were the experiences and enjoyments of Dharma, Love and Happiness. (Such was the place which the Tamilians gave to the theme of love.) We do not meet in this period with such later deities as Vinayaka, Paramesvara, Brahma, Rama, Kala, Surya, Chandra, and others, who figure in abundance in later Sarigam works. But the five natural divisions of the land had five territorial deities. They were: —

'மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புனல் உலகமும்
வருணன் மேய பெருமணல் உலகமும்
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருதம் நெய்தலெனச்
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே. (அகத். 5)

Here, 'meya ', if extended, would mean ' led by his own inclination to settle in '. Therefore, Mayon and others were not gods that pertained only to the lands mentioned, but they were divine beings who liked to dwell in these regions. Mayon means a black person ; Scyon, a red person ; and Vendu suggests overlordship. These three terms agree with the peculiar conditions of the lands over which they ruled, and vaguely suggest that even in pre-Aryan days the Tamils worshipped Nature-gods. Further, Varuna is a purely Aryan word, and we are not in a position to know by what name the sea-god was known to the early Tamils (in the pre-Tolkappiyan days), though some think that Varuna was only a later form of Vanna. Tolkappiya does not include Palai or the barren desert among the natural divisions of the land ; but later works have included it also,, and fixed the Sun, Fire, and the Goddess Korravai as its deities. Korravai is, from the word Korram, success in war; the Goddess was worshipped by warriors while entering on war, i.e., while taking the first step in war, namely, Nirai-kodal or cattle-lifting.

All the above-mentioned were only minor gods in the beginning. They were included among the various features characteristic of the land

(Karupporul). They had images to which worship was made. 'Separation from one's wife was permitted (to a hero) only for the following reasons: — (1) for the sake of getting idols for their glorious deities; (2) for rescuing Dharma from evil-doers ; and (3) for earning money. This is the interpretation put on the following Sutra

மேவிய சிறப்பின் ஏனோர் படிமைய
முல்லை முதலாச் சொல்லிய முறையாற்
பிழைத்தது பிழையா தாகல் வேண்டியும்
இழைத்த வொண்பொருண் முடியவும் பிரிவே.

6. HERO-WORSHIP.

The early Tamils were a martial people. A good deal of their literature speaks of their heroic deeds in battles waged for the cause of righteousness or for satiating their greed for land, which was considered a virtue. Their love of fame was truly great, and there are various references to their valorous deeds in later works. One chapter in Poru]adikaram, i.e., *Purattinai-iyal,* is mainly devoted to this subject. In elaborating his subject, Tolkappiya describes how heroes were worshipped in those days. When a man was killed in battle—cut by a sword—a certain dance called *Pillay&ttu* was enacted, wherein many drums were beaten, and the dead hero was raised to the heavens. Then a search was made to find a suitable stone to immortalise him. This went by the name of *katshi.* The next was *kdlkol* (கால்கோள்) which means taking possession of such stone. Then it was washed in scented holy water—*Nirpadai* (நீர்ப்படை). The fixture of the stone or *Nadnkal* (நடுதல்) was the next stage. The valiant deeds of the dead person were then written on the stone and he was made a god. Worship was offered to him. Praises (வாழ்த்து) were composed and sung. Thus, a hero was made a divine being by these processes. Here we find the real beginnings of the South Indian temple and temple-worship.

7. TEMPLES AND TEMPLE-WORSHIP

There is no direct mention of temples in the Tolkappiyam, but one could be sure of their existence from the accounts above given. Worship was considered part of the duties of married life. *Daivam an)al* (தெய்வம் அஞ்சல்) or fearing god was a characteristic duty of a married woman. *Deivam-vclttu* (தெய்வம் வாழ்த்து) or prayer to god was surely a method of worship. *Deivakkadam* (தெய்வக்கடம்) or vows to god, through which one's prayers were obtained, was a regular feature. Each family or group of persons had their own *Valipadu-deivam* (வழிபடு தெய்வம்) or god that must be worshipped, and separate gods were worshipped for separate objects, and were called *Valipadudeivam* for the time being. Gods could be addressed directly in the 2nd person.

The poems thus addressing a god were called *Devapdni* (தேவபாணி). Puranilai Valttu (புறநிலை வாழ்த்து) was only a poem which addressed the prayer to the deity in the third person.

Veriyddal was a particular kind of worship which was then in vogue. Velan, or the priest with the *Vel* in his hand, took the chief role in the action. Sheep were sacrificed then. A beautiful description of this dance-worship is found in the *Tirumurugarruppadai.* Kuravai was a kind of dance which was originally one of merriment on account of victory, but which in later times became a divine dance to please gods. In the days of the Tolkappiyam, Kuravai was danced in front and in the rear of the victor's car in a battle. Valli was another such. A line- in Sutram 76 of the Poruladikaram is annotated *to* mean that there were bloody sacrifices made to please the Fire-god. This suggests that Fire was also, though sparingly, worshipped in those days, and sacrifices were made to it. This has no reference to the Aryan fire-worship or the Yajfias, but was purely Tamilian, as the custom is mentioned among various other Tamil ways of expressing victory.

Mantras had a special significance in the early days. 'நிறைமொழி மாந்தர் ஆணையிற் கிளந்த, மறைமொழிதானே மந்திரமென்ப> that is, these were unintelligible expressions of saintly people, and they were considered to have real effects on the persons or things pronounced. Mantras were used as charms either for destruction or welfare, but not used in matters of worship. These Mantras were termed *Angadach-cheyyul* (அங்கதச் செய்யுள்), when they took the form of poetry.

8. IDEAS OF HEAVEN AND RENUNCIATION

That the early Tamils had a clear idea of ' Turakkam ' (துறக்கம்) or Heaven, is inferred from the commentary of Ilampuranar on the expression '*Pillayattu'* in Seyyuliyal, Sutram 129. Though there is no direct mention of Heaven in any of the very early works of the Tamils, we can safely conclude from their practices in life, as explained in the various sub-chapters of *Poruladikaram,* that they had a clear idea of a Moksha as the culmination of this worldly life.

9. SUPERSTITIONS

Many of the present-day superstitions are mentioned in the Tolkappiyam. We read, for example, that a mother who was in a fit of great disappointment when she heard of the elopement of her girl, read about her future from a lizard's cries. She also heard at random what

2. தொல்லுயிர் வழங்கிய அவிப்பலியானும்

others were speaking at that time, and read in their words good and evil omens. Sometimes men became possessed by gods, and their words were eagerly sought by others who wanted to peep into their future. When a nurse suspected her ward of secretly loving a man and saw that she was failing in her health under pressure of anxiety, she tested her by proposing *Kattu* (கட்டு), *K a l a* (கழங்கு), n d *Veri* (வெறி). The (கட்டுவிச்சி) Kattuvichchi was a sorceress who could read the fortunes of others by a peculiar examination of paddy thrown over a winnow. The Velan or the temple priest also told fortunes by means of Kalangu and by invocations to the god, as a result of which he became possessed by the deity. Among the duties of Brahmans was one : Avodu-patta-nimittam-kuralum[3] (ஆவொடுபட்ட நிமித்தங் கூறலும்). They claimed to determine the auspicious or inauspicious nature of a particular time by observing the milk of a cow. They had also to tell '*Chelavuru-kilaviyum* and *Chelavalangu-kilaviyum* ', i.e., whether the time was propitious for a journey or not. Astrology was cultivated as an art, and the hour and the clay, '*Orayum nalum* '. were carefully noted for various purposes. Even while proceeding for war, omens were invariably observed. '*Pakkarru-virichchi*' was systematically observed before sending the army, and auspicious days were chosen for sending the royal umbrella and sword for war. There is also occasional mention of the sacredness of rivers and groves, to which pilgrimages were made.

10. CASTES

There were very few castes among the early Tamils as we understand them now ; but they had professional guilds. Their learned sages were Sanror or Arivar ; their kings were Koman, Mannan or Vendan ; their tillers were Velanmandar who were sub-divided into *Ulu-dunbar* and *uluvittunbar,* the actual tillers and the owners of land. There were several hill-tribes. These were the Kanavar, Vettuvar, Irular, Kunruvar. The Kovalar, Idayar, Avar, and Poduviyar were those who lived in forest lands. The Kalamar, Ulavar, and Kadayar belonged to the *Marxidain* or the cultivated tracts. The *Neydal* inhabitants were Nulayar, Timilar, Bharatavar, etc. In the desert lived Einar and Maravar. The noblemen of each tract of land were given separate names. They should be addressed as Verpan, Poruppan, Annal, Tonral, Kongan, Turaiyan, Sirpan and tjran. Ladies also had honorific titles.

Thus, the social divisions were based on occupations and territorial divisions. There were also the beginnings of a higher and lower strata

3. Reading omens in the random words of a way-farer while standing in the dark at an open space (at the outskirts of the military camp). This was observed before cattle-lifting.

of society, and separate namings for such divisions. At the time of the Tolkappiya, and even long before him, the Aryan influence was felt in the land, and so we find the mention of the Aryan castes and divisions in the land. Slowly the Tamil Arivan (அறிவன்) became merged with the Brahman, the Kon became the king, and the Ulavars and others became other castes. We also find the *Vaisya* in this period.

This in brief was the condition of the religious and social conditions of the Tamils as can be gathered by a study of the monumental work of the great Tamil sage and grammarian who lived, according to traditions, long before the third Sarigam period. We find therein an influx of Aryan thoughts and ideals. It was the age when the ancient native culture lived quite independently of the foreign culture, but allowing it also, in a friendly manner, to have its growth in the land and slowly incorporating into it its attractive essentials. The result was, the next age saw a beautiful mixture of two civilisations which gave birth to a new life wherein the noble ideas contained in the Tamilian and the Aryan cultures blended into a fine compound which is still the pride and boast of the Tamil land.

Some rare works on ' Vaidyaka '

BY

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THE *Brahmavaivarta-purdna-(Brahma-khanda,* adhyaya 16) actually supplies us with the titles of five works on Medical Science.

1. चिकित्सातत्त्व by Dhanvantari.
2. चिकित्सादर्पण by Divodāsa.
3. चिकित्साकौमुदी by Kāśirāja.
4. चिकित्सासारतन्त्र by Aśvinīkumāra.
5. तन्त्रवैद्यकसर्वस्व by Nakula.

All these five are persons whose very names are declared to be destructive of diseases : —

धन्वन्तरिर्दिवोदासः काशिराजस्तथाऽश्विनौ ।
नकुलः सहदेवश्च षडेते व्याधिघातकाः ।।

So says an ancient text.

This lends additional importance to their works.

The *Brahmavaivarta*—luckily or unluckily—is among those Puranas which have been supposed by persons learned in those matters to be comparatively recent. If so, it should be later than the times of Kali-dasa, and (hence) of Bhasa. Is it too much to hope, then, that the libraries that have supplied us with manuscripts of Bhasa's works, will also supply us with manuscripts of the above-mentioned works on medicine ?

The works were evidently well-known to the writer of the *Brahma-vaivarta.*

Will the Manuscript-hunters kindly make a note of the names, and trace them in the old libraries, public and private, of the country ?

I-tsing and Bhartrhari's Vakyapadiya

BY

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I

I-TSING the Chinese traveller who visited India in the seventh century A.D. says that the Grammarian Bhartrhari wrote three works on Grammar, namely the commentary on the Mahabhasya, the Vakyapadiya, and the Prakirna. Vardhamana, the author of the *Ganaratnamahodadhi,*[1] says that the commentary on the Mahabhasya was only for the first three Padas of the Mahabhasya. A fragment of the work is in Berlin ;[2] photographs and transcripts are available in India.[3] It covers only a part of the first Pada.[4] I need not go into details regarding the term Mahabhasyatripadyah vyakhyata found in the Ganaratnamahodadhi of Vardhamana,[5] and discuss the question of the extent of Bhartrhari's commentary on the Mahabhasya. It will have to be done in a separate paper.

About Vakyapadiya I-tsing says that its extent was seven-hundred slokas, and that it had a commentary extending to seven-thousand slokas. The printed book of the Vakyapadiya in two Kansas[6] contains a little below seven-hundred stanzas. Thus I-tsing's report is quite correct. We must also keep in mind that his report regarding the Astadhyayi of Panini, the Mahabhasya and the Kasikavrtti is also quite correct. When we consider the report of I-tsing regarding the Vakyapadiya there are three points on which difficulty arises. One is the extent of the commentary on the Vakyapadiya ; the second is the extent of the Prakirna ; and the third is the date of Bhartrhari. We will take up each of them in order.

1. Edited by Eggeling.
2. Weber's catalogue ; No. 720.
3. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras; R. 798, R. 1326. Adyar library, 38, I, 3.
4. First two leaves missing; up to I, 1, 55.
5. Vrtti by the author on the second Karika from the beginning.
6. Benares Sanskrit series edited by Ganganatha Sastri in 1887.

II

THE EXTENT OF THE COMMENTARY ON THE VAKYAPADIYA

The extent of the commentary on the Vakyapadlya as reported by I-tsing is seven-thousand slokas. The Benares Edition of the Vakya-padlya contains the commentary attributed to Punyaraja for the first two Kansas, and the commentary of Helaraja for the third Kancla. The commentary attributed to Punyaraja comes to a little over five-thousand Granthas.[7] I calculated it myself. Regarding this commentary of Punyaraja, there is one great difficulty ; there is not a single manuscript available. From the Preface to the Benares edition by Ganganatha Sastri we find that he has used a manuscript belonging to Bala Sastrin, the teacher of the editor, and another belonging to Dundhirajacharya. These two manuscripts contained only the first two Kandas, and the edition of Ganganatha Sastri stops with the second Kanda.

Where did the editor get the name of Punyaraja ? At the end of the commentary on the second Kanda, there are sixty Karikas. In Karikas 58 and 59 we have the passages :

. . . . .viracita
rajanakasuravarmanamna vai
sasarikasisyac chrutvaitad
vakyakantfam samasatah
punyarajena tasyoktya
sangatifr karikasrita.

Here the name Punyaraja occurs as the author of the Karikas, in which is given a summary of the Vakyakantfa. From this it may also be concluded that the commentary preceding these Karikas also belongs to Punyaraja, provided there is no evidence to the contrary. So far as the second Kancla is concerned, there is nothing to stand in the way of assigning the commentary to Punyaraja. But the case is different with regard to the first Kan^a. In the first Kancla, at the end of the commentary we have the colophon in the printed edition which reads :

iti srimahavaiyakarana-harivrsabhaviracita-vakyapadiyaprakase
agama-samuccayo nama brahmakanclam prathamam samaptam.

Here the commentary is definitely assigned to Harivrsabha. In spite of this, the editor has given the title page in the following way for the whole book :

7. K$IratarariginI ed. by Prof. Bruno Liebich; Breslau, 1930 in the Indische Forschung, p. 267.

Vakyapadlyam sangavaiyakaranasiddhantanirupanam
sri bhartrhari-mahavaiyakarana-viracitam sri punyarajakrta-prakasakhya-tikayutam.

The heading for the first Kancla reads :

Vakyapadiyam punyarajakrta-prakasakhya-tikayutam prarabhyate.

The oversight is not confined to the editor Ganganatha Sastri ; the editors of the series, Griffith and Thibaut, have also overlooked the point. In all the catalogues, where Bhartrhari's Vakyapadiya is noticed, there is the mention of its three Kansas with the commentary of Punyaraja for the first two Kandas, and of Helaraja for the last. It is the late Hara Prasad Sastri who, in his catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,[8] for the first time raised a doubt on the point. After describing the manuscript of the commentary[9] he says : —

Punyaraja's name appears in the commentary of the second Kan^a, but not in the first. In the printed text the editor attributes the commentary to Punyaraja, but on what authority he does not say. Neither in the body of the commentary nor in the colophon of the first Kanda is Punyaraja's name mentioned.

Even such a critical student of the Grammatical literature in Sanskrit like Prof. Liebich of Breslau University did not notice this point, and in the edition of *KslratarauginV*[0] in 1930 he says :

Wir kennen nur einen Kommentar zu den beiden ersten Biichern, den des Punyaraja, der sich selbst als unmittelbaren Schliler des Bhartrhari bezeichnet . . . [!]

Besides the copy of the commentary on the first Kanola in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,[12] there is another copy in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.[13] The original from which this transcript was prepared belonged to Bhavadasan Namboodirippad of Mundanat Mana, Ottapalam, S. Malabar. The original, which is a palm-leaf manuscript, has been returned to the owner after

8. Descriptive Catalogues, Volume dealing with Vyakarana.
9. No. 4318 in the Descriptive catalogue.
10. Anhang HI.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
12. No. 4318 in the descriptive catalogue.
13. No. T. 5. 226. This work Is not yet described in the catalogue. The number given is the shelf No.

the transcript was prepared. The reading in this manuscript is substantially the same as in the printed book, with this difference that in this manuscript there are many passages which are not found in the printed book. The colophon found in this manuscript is as follows :

> iti harivrsabha-mahavaiyakarana-viracite vakyapadlye
> agamasamuccayo nama prathamam kan^am.

There is some difference between this colophon and the colophon found in the printed book, which is identical with the colophon found in the manuscript of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Here the work is called the Vakyapadiya instead of its being a commentary on the Vakyapadiya and the name Prakasa does not appear here. But the name Harivrsabha is common. Harivrsabha cannot be any other person than Bhartrhari. I have been able to find only one manuscript of the Vakyapadiyakarikas where the work is assigned to Harivrsabha, and that is the manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.[14] There the colophon reads :

> iti sri bhagavadbhartrharivrsabhamahavaiyakarana-
> padaviracite vakyapadaviye (diye) prakirnaka-namani
> padakanqle samuddesas caturdasah.

Apart from this, there are other evidences to show that the commentary was written by Bhartrhari himself. *On* this commentary to the Karikas there is another commentary by Vrsabhadeva. There are only two manuscripts known to me. One is the transcript belonging to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras[15], and the original which is a palm-leaf manuscript belongs to Koodalur Mana, S. Malabar. This manuscript extends only to about half of the first Kancla. The other is a palm leaf manuscript belonging to the Adyar Library.[16] It is complete for the first Kanda. It is in a fairly good condition, but very old. There is a carefully prepared copy of this in the same Library. After a prayer in the first stanza, Vrsabhadeva says :

> vimalacaritasya rajfio
> vidusah sri visnuguptadevasya |
> bhrtyena tadanubhavat
> sridevayasas-tanujena | |
> bandhena (?) vinodartham

14. D.C.S., No. 1483.
15. R. 2789.
16. 41 B. 2.

srl vrsabhena sphutaksaram nama |
kriyate paddhatir esa
vakyapadlyodadheh sugama 11
yady api tika bahvyah
purvacaryaih sunirmala racitah
santah parisramajnas
tathapi cainam grahisyanti

The author of this commentary is Vrsabhadeva, whose father is Devayasas. We know practically nothing about this Devayasas. He was further a servant of King Visnu Gupta. There is a King Visnu Gupta about the year 700 A.D. who is one of the later Gupta Emperors.[17]

This is not a commentary on the Karikas, but commentary on the commentary on the Karikas by Harivrsabha. Vrsabhadeva calls that commentary, which is the subject of his commentary, by the name of Vakyapadiya. In the manuscript of this commentary on the Karikas by Harivrsabha in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, there is a great break in the middle. The commentary on stanza 48[18] is complete and the first word in the text of the Karika 49, namely, pratibimba is also seen. The next portion in the manuscript is the commentary on Karika 129. Only two words in the beginning of the commentary on stanza 129 are wanting.[11'] Then the manuscript goes on to the end of the first Kancla and there is the colophon. Again there is a break. For the second Kanda the manuscript begins with Karika 13. The Karika itself is written and the commentary begins. In the second Kanda there are many breaks. A few of them are noted in the manuscript by the statement : *atra granthapdtah.* But there are many places where there is a break, but where we get no such direction. In the second Kancla I find that there is a break extending to about seventy-five stanzas commencing from about stanza 80. But there is no mention of it in the manuscript itself. I have noted other

17. Compare C. V. Vaidya's History of Medieval India, Vol. I, pp. 328, 329. For Vi§nu Gupta, List of North Indian Inscriptions ed. by Kielhorn, Epigraphin Indica, Vol. V may be consulted. I am indebted to Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the Madras University for helping me to locate this king.

18. The stanzas are as they are numbered in the Benares edition of Ganganatha Sastri. There is a recent edition by Mr. Charu Dev Sastri, Lahore. There is an Introduction in Sanskrit which may be consulted on many of the points raised in this Paper. This edition contains only the first Kanda with the author's Vrtti and extracts from Vrsabhadeva's commentary on it.

19. The words are : pravibhaktasadhyasadhanarupo hi. Then the manuscript begins the next words sabdabrahmano vivartah.

places also. With such occasional breaks, some noticed in the manuscript and some not so noticed, the commentary on the second Kanola proceeds to stanza 483. Then the stanzas 484 to 490 are given without any comment and the manuscript stops there. There is no colophon. Except the fact that this commentary on the second Kanota is found in the same manuscript as the commentary of Harivrsabha on the first Kan^a, there is nothing definite to show that the commentary on the second Kanda is by Harivrsabha. We must not miss the fact that in the manuscripts which served as the basis for the Benares edition of the first two Kandas, the commentary on the first Kan$a by Harivrsabha is followed by the commentary on the second Kanda by Punyaraja. But after examining the commentary on the second Kanda found in this manuscript along with the commentary on the first Kanda, I am inclined to believe that the commentaries on the two Kansas found in the Madras Manuscript is by the same author. The style and the method of commentary are the same. We do not find the difference which is quite noticeable in the printed book between the commentaries on the two Kandas.

The extent of the Madras Manuscript, as it exists now, is only a little over three thousand granthas. It is only about half the portion of the commentary for the first Karujla that is available and that comes to about 750 granthas. Therefore the extent of the entire first Kanqla must be about 1,500 granthas. The second Kantfa is about three times as big as the first Kanda and so the commentary on that Kanqia may proportionately be taken to be about 4,500 granthas. Thus we get the total of about 6,000 granthas. This shows that I-tsing's report about the commentary too must be substantially accurate, allowing due margin for possible errors in such a rough calculation.

Ill

EXTENT OF THE PRAKIRNA

I-tsing reports that the Vakyapadiya is different from the Prakirna, which is now regarded as the third Kano!a of Vakyapadiya in fourteen samuddesas. The colophons of the three Kandas give the names of the three Kandas as the Brahma Kanda, the Vakya Kancjla and the Pada Kantfa. The Government Oriental Manuscripts Library manuscript has the colophons :

iti brahma kandam samaptam

and

iti vakya kandam samaptam

on folio 5(a) and 18(b) respectively in the manuscript of the Karikas mentioned above ; the colophon for the third Kancla is given in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Library and also above.

The colophons in the Manuscript belonging to the India Office Library*[0] read as follows :

1. iti sri bhartrharikrte vakyapadiye agamasamuccayah prathamah kandah. (It is called Vakyapradipa there).
2. iti vakyapadiye dvitiyam kanclam. Samapta ceyam vakya-pradlpika.
3. iti sri bhartrharikrte vakyapradlpe trtiyah kanolah.[21]

The Editor in the Benares Series, Ganganatha Sastri also says that in the manuscripts he has used there is the mention that the work ends at the close of the second Kancla. That a particular work of Bhartr-hari ended with the second Kanqia as we have it now is quite evident. Otherwise the stanzas beginning with :

prayena sarikseparucin
alpavidyaparigrahan.[22]

have no propriety at the end of the second Kan^a. If Bhartrhari wrote the third Kanda as a continuation of the same work, these stanzas ought to have found a place there. Further, it is not merely I-tsing who speaks of the Vakyapadiya as different from Prakirna. Vardhamana in his Ganaratnamahodadhi says the same. The only thing that stands in the way of accepting the Vakyapadiya as ending with the second Kanda is the difficulty of reconciling the title with the work. Trie name of the book is Vakyapadiya, and the second Kanda is now known as the Vakya Kanda. Then where is the propriety of the term *Pada* in the title of the work if the third or Pada Kanaka is not a part of the work ? Further, there is mention in many places of the three Karidas of the Vakya-padiya. In the title Vakyapadiya, the element *vdkyapada* is taken as a dvandva compound. It must be observed here that such a dvandva compound is not quite in accordance with the rules of compounding

20. No. 706 in Eggeling's catalogue, Vol. I, p. 186.

21. There is a note in the following words : " According to a note by Colebrook.» in the fly-leaf this (3rd Kanda) is different from Harikarika and is not Bhartrhari's work, but compiled from it. The Vakyapadiya is now being published, all the three Kandas with Harivrsabha's, Punyaraja's and Helaraja's commentaries respectively by Pandit Ramakrishna Sastri Patwardhan in the Benares Sanskrit Series." This shows that the attribution of the commentary on the first Kanda to Punyaraja was a later invention when the work was undertaken by Ganganatha Sastri.

22. Stanza 484 in the second Kanda.

words in a dvandva.[23] And the usual combination we have in usage is padavakya in expressions like padavakyapramanatattvajfiah. Further if the title of the work is based on the subject matter of two of the three Kandas, why is the subject matter of the first Kanpla, which is not inferior in value, ignored in framing the title of the work ? The name ought to have been Brahmavakyapadlya, a work dealing with (Sabda) Brahman, Vakya and Pada. Even accepting the terms as containing Dvandva, I am not bold enough at this stage to venture with another interpretation of the title Vakyapadiya. But there is much to be said against accepting Vakyapada as having the meaning assigned to it.[24] The name padakanola assigned to the Prakirna portion is not known to I-tsing. The three Kandas being parts of a single work is also against the testimony of I-tsing. It is true that the work is being known at some stage as being made up of three Kandas, In Karika 56 at the end of the commentary on Kan^a II, Punyaraja speaks of

> kano!atrayakramenayarn
> nibandhah pariklrtitah.[25]

It is also certain that Punyaraja has written a commentary on the first Kan<;la as well, as is evident from the way in which he begins the commentary on the second Kanda. The first sentence is :

> evam sabdasya prayojanasahitam svarupadikam lesato
> nirnltam.

This is not the beginning of a work, but a continuation of what was left off in a previous section. Perhaps he has written a commentary on the Prakirna portion also.

I-tsing says that the Prakirna contained 3,000 slokas. The work as it is now available is only half or a little less than that in extent. In commenting on the Karikas of the Vakyapadiya (the first two Kansas) Bhartrhari often speaks of what he would say in the portions which ought to find a place in the Prakirna. But in the work as it is available now, there is no such portion. From this and from the mention of various other portions, which it is not possible to trace to the

23. See laghvaksaram purvam, vartika 5 under sutra II, 2, 34, in Kielhorn's edition of Mahabhasya. According to this the order ought to be padavakya. True in the vartikas other sequences are also allowed on other grounds. In Kasikavrtti on IV, 3, 88 Vakyapadiya is given as an example of a formation from a dvandva compound under the sutra sisukrandayamasabhadvandvendrajananadibhyahchah. So even at the time of Kasika. the word was accepted as dvandva.

24. What Salikanatha says about the term Vakyapadiya is interesting in this context, cf. BrhatI with Rjuvimala ed. by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri in the Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 3, pt. 1, p. 389-90.

25. Mention of three Kandas at the end of the 2nd Kanda is slightly puzzling.

Prakirna now available, it is safe to assume that the work in its original form as known to I-tsing was much bigger than what is left *to* us. I see no reason to accept Prof. Liebich's alternative suggestion that sein Umfang ist von diesem ungenau angegeben.[26]

For the Prakirna there is only one commentary now available, and that is by Helaraja. The commentary as printed from Benares is full of breaks. No complete manuscript has come to light. There is one palm leaf manuscript in the Adyar Library,[27] which is in a very injured condition, in which the commentary is available in a complete form. A careful copy of it is being prepared slowly. But having regard to the condition of the manuscript and the size of the work, it will take some time before a transcript is ready. It is also certain that Helaraja has written a commentary on the other two Kandas as well. Now it is very easy to understand how the whole work came to be regarded as a single work ; all the three sections deal with grammar. The work is by the same author, namely, Bhartrhari ; there is also a commentary for the Karikas of the three sections by the author himself. Later commentators too have commented on all the three sections. When once the three sections are made into a single work, it is easy to see how an interpretation of the title Vakyapadiya was forced in to fit in with the third Kanda also as a part of the Vakyapadiya.[28] Such an interpretation according to which the second Kanda was called the Vakya Kancla and the third Pada Kanqia necessitated the first Kancla being regarded as an annex to the second Kanda. But from the report of I-tsing, from the accuracy with which he reports on other well-known works like Astadhyayi and Kasika and from the way in which Bhartrhari ends the second Kancla, there is only one conclusion possible and that is that the Vakyapadiya is the title given originally to the first two Kansas, and third Kanda was, till a later date, regarded as a separate work.

IV

DATE OF BHARTRHARI

From the mention of Vasurata as the teacher of Bhartrhari found in the commentary of Punyaraja to stanzas 486 and 489-[29] in Kanda II,

26. L.C.

27. Not yet catalogued and numbered.

28. Although Kasika lakes vakyapada as a dvandva compound from which Vakyapadiya is derived, it does not take vakya and pada as terms applicable to definite parts of the works. The words in the Kasika are : sabdarthasambandhlyam prakaranam. vakyapadiyam.

29. The words of Punyaraja are : na tena asmadguros tatrabhavato vasuratad

the date of Bhartrhari has to be fixed in the fifth century. It is true that Bhartrhari himself does not say that Vasurata was his teacher. He mentions only Candra by name. He says :

candracaryadibhih punah.[30]

Paramartha speaks of a Vasurata in the time of Baladitya in the biography of Subandhu. The date of Bhartrhari, if he is the disciple of Vasurata, must be in the fifth century.'[31] But I-tsing says that Bhartrhari died in the middle of the seventh century. Considering the accuracy with which I-tsing reports on various matters, we have to hesitate before we say that he must be wrong. Prof. Liebich says : Wir haben also zwischen zwei Moglichkeiten zu wahlen: entweder wir mussen doch zwei verchiedene Vasurata 's annehmen, die noch dazu beide Grammatiker sein mussen, oder, I-tsing hat sich in diesem geirrt, d.h. vcrhtirt oder verschrieben. Ich glaube dass zweite annahme die grbsserc wahrscheinlichkcit besitzt.[32] There are many other possibilities. It may be that Punyaraja's statement that Bhartrhari meant his teacher Vasurata in the stanzas of the second Kanda of Vakyapadiya, namely, stanzas 486 and 489 are wrong. We could as well accept two Vasuratas and place Bhartrhari in the seventh century. But in assigning such a late date for Bhartrhari, there are other difficulties. There is the difficulty mentioned by Prof. Liebich, namely, that the fame of Bhartrhari could not have spread far in India by the time I-tsing came to India in 671. Says Prof. Liebich : 1st eine so allgemeine verbreitung seines Ruhmes in so kiirzer Zeit fiir die damaligen Verhaltnisse sehr wahrscheinlich ?[33] Again Kasika was written before 670 A.D. and in IV.3.88 Kasika mentions the name of Vakyapadiya.[34] So Prof. Liebich adds : Auch das lasst, da Bhartrhari in Ujjayini Jayaditya in Benares schrieb, auf einem grosserem zeitlichen Zwischenraum zwischen beiden schliessen.[35] But this is not a serious difficulty to get over. It must be understood that in ancient India there was frequent communication

anyah kascid imam bhasyarnavam avagahitum alam ity uktam bhavati. and: candracarya-vasurataguru-prabhrtmam. The name occurs also in stanza 54 at the end of the commentary on the second Kanda: acaryavasuratena nyayamargan vicintya sah.

30. Stanza 498 in the second Kanda.

31. See Kslratarahgini ed. by Prof. Liebich, Breslau, 1930, p. 268.

32. Ksiratarangini ed. by Prof. Liebich, Breslau, 1930, p. 269, 270.

33. Ibid., p. 270.

34. Explanation of the sutra sisukrandayamasabhadvandvendrajananadibhyahchah (IV, 3, 88); Vakyapadiya is given as example for formation from Dvandva compound.

35. Kslratarahgini ed. by Prof. Liebich, Breslau, 1930, p. 270.

between the different parts. Scholars and students went from one centre of learning to another and people undertook pilgrimages to holy places. The time for a pilgrim to travel from the south to Benares and to return home, according to old calculation when people had to perform the whole journey on foot, was only six months. These scholars moving about from place to place served as a regular postal service ; and if in any centre of learning there is a great scholar or philosopher or poet, his fame spread throughout India in a very short time, and in all the centres of learning the works of that great person were eagerly awaited. Thus there is no difficulty in assuming that even in the life-time of Bhartrhari he was a very famous person throughout India. The real difficulty in assigning Bhartrhari to the seventh century lies elsewhere. Vrsabhadeva, the commentator of Bhartrhari, says that Visnu Gupta was his patron. If this Visnu Gupta is to be identified with the Gupta Emperor of that name, then the date of Virsabhadeva as stated above, is about 700 A.D. He says that many Acaryas have already written commentaries on the Vakyapadiya.[36] The word he uses is *purvacaryaih.* If many purvaearyas had written commentaries on the Vakyapadiya before Vrsabhadeva, then the date of the author of the Vakyapadiya cannot be only fifty years before Vrsabhadeva. It must be a few centuries before. This supports the possibility of assigning Bhatrhari to the fifth century rather than to the seventh century. There are other points also to be considered.

There are at least two quotations from the Vakyapadiya in works which must be earlier than Kasika. There is a commentary on the Nirukta of Yaska by Mahesvara.[37] This is a direct commentary on the work of Yaska as is evident from a passage in the beginning of the commentary. This passage reads as follows :

> tasya niruktasya pancadhyaya gaur gma ityadayo nighantavah. tesam vyakhyanartham sasthaprabhrti samamnayah samamnatah iti bhagavato yaskasya bhasyam. tasya . . . . .alpagrantha vrttih **kriyate.**[38]

36. Compare line yady api {flea bahvyah purvacaryaih sunirmala racitah given above.

37. Ed. by Dr. Laksman Sarup, Lahore, under the title of Fragments of the Commentaries of Skandasvamin and Mahesvara on the Nirukta, for Part I (Ch. I) and Commentary of Skandasvamin and Mahesvara on the Nirukta for Parts **H and m (Ch. II—XH).**

38. Ed. by **Dr. L. Sarup, Part I, p. 4.**

In this work, the following stanza[39] from the Vakyapadiya is quoted : aha ca—

Purvam avastham ajahat
samsprsan dharmam uttamam
Sammurchita ivarthatma
jayamano 'bhidhlyate.[40]

The manuscripts bring in the name of Skandasvamin also into the authorship of this work,[41] as the name of Skandasvamin is found in the colophon for some sections. Interpreting the name niruktabhasyatika given to this work, as a tika on a bhasya on the Nirukta, Dr. L. Sarup in his edition of the work assigns the Nirukta to Yaska, a Bhasya thereon *to* Skandasvamin, and the tika *on* that Bhasya to Mahesvara.[42] But from the passage already quoted from the beginning of the work, it is certain that the work is by Mahesvara and it is a direct commentary on Yaska, who in innumerable places in Vedic exegesis is styled Bhasyakara.[43]

Mahesvara mentions his Upadhyaya in three places[44] in his work, and in one place the reference can be traced to the commentary on the Rgveda by Skandasvamin.[45] Thus Mahesvara is a disciple of Skandasvamin, and he quotes from Vakyapadiya.

Harisvamin has written a Bhasya on the Satapatha Brahmana[46] and he quotes the following Karika[47] from the Vakyapadiya in the course of the Bhasya :

anye tu sabdabrahmaivedam vivartate
'rthabhavena prakriya ity ata ahuh.[48]

39. Ed. by Dr. L. Sarup, Part I, p. 28.
40. Vakyapadiya, III, 116.
41. Ed. by Dr. L. Sarup, Part I, Introduction, p. 11.
42. *Ibid.,* p. 13.
43. By Durga, Sayana and Devaraja.
44. Vide proceedings of the fifth Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore. Vol. I, my paper on Commentaries on Rigveda and Nirukta, p. 253. The pages in the edition of Mahesvara by Dr. L. Sarup are Vol. Ill, p. 20 for the 1st quotation, and Vol. II, p. 157 for the 2nd and 3rd quotations.
45. Rigvedabhasya of Skandasvamin, ed. by me in the Madras University Sanskrit Series as No. 8, p. 299.
46. Fragments printed in the editions.
47. See proceedings and transactions of the sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna. Paper by Dr. Mangal Dev Sastri on Harisvamin, p 602.
48. This is a reference to the first stanza in Vakyapadiya.

Harisvamin is another disciple of Skandasvamin. I need not quote all the passages here to show this fact, which by this time ought to be well-known.[49] Harisvamin gives his date as 638 A.D. The passage where he gives his date reads as follows :

yadabdanari kaler jagmuh
saptatrimsacchatani vai
catvarimsat samas canyas
tada bhasyam idam krtam.[50]

The first line in the manuscript is yadadinam, which is evidently a mistake for yadabdanam. This is Kali 3,740, which is 638 A.D. The only difficulty in accepting this date of Harisvamin is that Harisvamin speaks of his patron, the king of Avanti as a Vikramaditya. And there is no King of Malva at this time who is known to History as a Vikramaditya. It is not too much to assume that a dependent of even an insignificant king spoke of his patron as a Vikramaditya, especially when there were Vikramadityas who adorned the throne of Avanti in former days. We must not tamper with well-established facts in chronology by saying that the Kali Era began in 3201 B.C. instead of 3101 B.C.,[51] or by altering readings in the manuscript[52] to convert the date into 538 A.D. when there was a Vikramaditya in Avanti or Malva. If we accept the date of Harisvamin as the beginning of the seventh century, then the date of Mahesvara too is the same, both being disciples of Skandasvamin. Both of them quote from the Vakyapadiya. Thus the evidence of these commentators of Vedic literature, along with the evidence of Vrsabhadeva, shows that the author of Vakyapadiya must be anterior to the seventh century. This coupled with the name of Vasurata associated with Bhartrhari as the teacher of Bhartrhari, makes it necessary to put Bhartrhari in the fifth century.

Did I-tsing go wrong on this point and, if so, to what extent ? According to I-tsing's report Bhartrhari died about 645 A.D. I venture to suggest that it is Harisvamin who may have died in 645 A.D. and that I-tsing may have confused this Hari with the other Hari, the author of Vakyapadiya. About Vakyapadiya itself, there can be no doubt that

49. See Mangal Dev Sastri's Paper noted above and Dr. Sarup's Indices and Appendices *to* Nirukta. Introduction, p. 29.

50. Ibid.

51. Indices and Appendices to Nirukta, by Dr. L. Sarup. Introduction, p. 29.

52. Commentary of Skandasvamin and Mahesvara ed. by Dr. L. Sarup, Vol. III. Introduction, p. 57.

at first it must have been the name only for the first two Kandas, that apart from the Karikas Bhartrhari has written a Vrtti too which extends to about 7,000 slokas, and the Prakirna was an independent work. Of this latter we have only less than half of the original preserved to us. For this also, apart from the Karikas, there must have been a commentary by Bhartrhari extending to about 17,000 granthas

Grammatical Literature in Kannada as compared with that in the Sister Languages of Southern India

BY

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GRAMMAR forms the basis of scholarship in any language. The study of grammar has always formed a very important branch of the ancient curriculum in India.

The grammatical treatises on the Kannada language were constructed on the Sanskrit plan. The ancient Kannada grammarians held the study of grammar in high esteem. The tenth *siitra* of the Kannada grammar *Sabdamanidarpana* runs thus : —

vyakaranadinde padam a | vyakaranada padadin artham
arthade tattva 1
lokam tattvalokadin j akarikshipa muktiyakkum ade
budharge phalam i j

" Through grammar (correct) words originate, through the words of that grammar meaning (originates), through meaning the beholding of truth, through the beholding of truth the desired fmal beatitude ; this (final beatitude) is the fruit for the learned."

This *sutra* is a paraphrase of the following verse of Prabhachandra in his *Amogha-vritti-nydsa* : —

Vyakaranat pada-siddhih pada-siddher artha-nirnayd-bhavaU j
arthe tattva-jnanam I tattva-jnanat param sreyah ; j

We may also compare the following verse in Yakshavarma's *Chintd-rnani*, a commentary on Sakatayana's *Sabdanusasana* : —

dharmartha-kama-moksheshu tattvarthagatir yatah |
sabdartha-jnana-purveti vedyam vyakaranam budhaih I

" Since the comprehension of truth with regard to virtue, wealth, desire and final beatitude is based on a knowledge of the meaning of words, the wise ought to study grammar."

There is further this verse quoted by Bhattakalanka in his *Sabdanu-sdsana*, namely,

dharmartha-kania-mokshartha-vidyai-sabda-nibandhanal?. |

which means " Knowledge relating to virtue, wealth, desire and final beatitude is dependent on a knowledge of words."

The earliest work in Kannacla that treats of the grammar of the language, though incidentally to a limited extent, is the *Kavirajamarga,* written or caused to be written by Nripatunga or Amoghavarsha, a Rashtrakuta king who ruled from 815 to 877 A.C. He speaks of the violation of *yati* or caesura as having received the approval of ancient poets (I, 74), of *Kdraka* or relation of a noun to the verb in a sentence, *vachana* or number, *samuchchaya* or conjunction of words, *avadhdrana* or emphasis, *vikalpa* or option and *visanke* or doubt (I, 113-141), of long and short vowels in the accusative and genitive cases (II, 14), of the lengthening of vowel in the vocative case (II, 21-22), of tautology (II, 23-24) and of the avoidance of the use of several epithets (II, 25-27).

Nagavarma II in *sfitra* 73 of his *Karnataka-Bhashabhushana,* namely, *Dlrghoktir Nayasenasya,* mentions Nayasena by name and says that according to that authority the final vowels of nouns in the vocative case are to be lengthened, from which we may conclude that Nayasena was a writer on Kannacla grammar who came after Nripatunga and preceded Nagavarma II, though his work has not come down to us.

Nagavarma II, who flourished in the middle of the 12th century, has written two works bearing on grammar, the *Kdvydvalokana,* a standard Kannacla work mostly treating of poetics, and the *Bhdshdbhushana,* a Sanskrit work on Kannacla grammar. The first chapter of the *Kdvydvalokana,* styled *Sabdasmriti,* is devoted to a brief exposition of the grammar of the Kannacla language. It may be looked upon as the earliest systematic Kannacla work extant on the grammar of the language. Its introductory portion deals with grammatical terminology, the subjects treated of in the following five sections being respectively euphonic combination, nouns, compounds, derivatives and verbs. The *Bhdshdbhushana* which, as stated before, is in Sanskrit, treats more exhaustively of the subject of Kannacla grammar than the *Sabdasmriti,* and is the earliest extant Sanskrit work on the grammar of the Kannacla language. It is in *sutras,* each *sutra* being accompanied by an explanatory gloss and by illustrative examples. The number of *sutras* is 269, arranged in ten chapters, the subjects treated of in them being respectively terminology, euphonic combination, declension, uses of the cases, forms of pronouns and other words, compounds, derivatives, verbs, indeclinables and particles. It will be seen that the order of the subjects dealt with is the same as that in the *Sabdasmriti,* though the present work contains more detailed information about nouns and verbs and additional chapters on indeclinables and particles. The *Kdvydvalokana* seems to have been written first, as it is quoted in this work.

About a century after Nagavarma II, came Kesiraja, the author of the *Sabdamanidarpana,* the principal standard grammar of the Kannaola language, written, like the *Sabdasmriti,* in Kannaola verses which are styled *siltras.* Each *sutra* is accompanied by a gloss, also by the author, and illustrated by examples. The total number of *siltras* is 320, arranged in eight chapters, the subjects dealt with in them being respectively euphonic combination, nouns, compounds, derivations, verbs, verbal roots, words corrupted from the Sanskrit and indecUnables. Kesiraja has closely followed Nagavarma in the treatment of the subject, though in certain points he has gone beyond him. He has also largely availed himself of the quotations occurring in the *Kdvydvalokana* for illustrating his rules. The *Sabdamanidarpana* may in fact be considered as an expansion of Nagavarma II's grammatical works.

About three and a half centuries after Kesiraja, in 1604 A.C., appeared the *Karrwtaka-Sabddniisdsana* of Bhaftakalanka, whose ambition it was to produce an original independent treatise which should be a final standard authority. He does not slavishly follow his predecessors but holds independent views on several important points. His work is not only more elaborate and exhaustive than the previous ones but also more methodical in the treatment of the subject. It contains 592 *sutras* which are arranged in four *pddas* or fourth parts. The subjects dealt with in them are : 1. the alphabet, definition of technical terms, indeclinables, euphonic combination, particles ; 2. gender, words corrupted from the Sanskrit, case affixes ; 3. compounds, uses of personal pronouns and of the singular and plural numbers and numerals, derivatives ; 4. verbs and verbal affixes. The general arrangement resembles the natural system of the older grammars and the Kaumudi simplifications of Panini. The work may in a manner be said to be to Kannaola what the *Ashtddhyayi* is to Sanskrit, and its learned commentary, the *Manjarimakaranda,* in which all the objections of critics are anticipated and answered, may perhaps be compared to the *Mahdbhasya* of Patanjali. Considered as a whole, the work is one of the greatest interest and importance for the study of the Kanna^a language and an enduring monument to the erudition of the author. It has, however, to be stated that nothing of the comparative method is to be found in the work.

It is worthy of note that every one of the above-mentioned authors was a Jaina.

TAMIL

We may now proceed to examine briefly the treatises on grammar in the sister languages of Southern India. The oldest grammar extant in the Tamil language is the *Tolkdppiyam* by Trinadhumagni who is

generally known as Tolkappiyar after the name of his work. The author is generally supposed to be a Brahman, though some scholars are of opinion that he was a Jaina. His period is said to be the early centuries of the Christian era, though some would place him before Patafijali, the author of the Mahabhashya. The work contains 1,612 *sutras,* arranged in three parts, namely, letters, words and matter *(porul)*, the last including under it also prosody and rhetoric.

The next Tamil grammar in point of time is the *VirasoUyam* written by the Buddhist author Buddhamitra during the reign of the Chola king Virarajendra I who ruled from 1064 to 1070 A.C. It is stated in this work that the sage Agastya learnt Tamil under the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. The work consists of 181 verses arranged in five chapters which treat of letters, words, matter *(pond),* prosody and rhetoric, the five-fold division of grammar according to the Tamils. The author differs in some points from his predecessors.

Two more Tamil grammars, namely, the *Neyninatham* and the *Nanniil,* are by Jaina authors. The former, composed by Gunavirapan^ita, consists of 96 verses. It treats of letters and words, the etymology portion having nine sub-sections. The work is also known as *Sinnid.* The *Nannul* was written by Pavanandi (Bhavanandi) at the instance of Slyagangan Amarabharanan, a Pallava feudatory of the Chola king Kulottunga III, who ruled from 1178 to 1217 A.C. The work treats of letters and words. Though ostensibly based on the Tolkappiyam, it closely follows the arrangement of Panini. Though perhaps the latest chronologically, the *Nanniil* has well-nigh superseded all the previous treatises and is now looked upon as *the* Tamil grammar. Mayilainadar, the first commentator on the *Nanniil,* was likewise a Jaina.

TELUGU

The oldest extant work on Telugu grammar is the *Andhrasabdachintamani,* written by Nannayya-bhatta, a Brahman author who flourished during the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Rajaraja who ruled from 1023 to 1063 A.C. This work, also known as *Prakriydkaumudi,* consists of 82 Sanskrit verses in the *dryd* metre and has been commented upon both in Sanskrit and Telugu by several authors. Elakuchi Balasarasvati wrote a Telugu commentary on it for the first time ; then Vasudeva wrote a gloss known as *Vdsudevavritti;* then Kaku Suryappa translated the chapters on terminology and euphonic combination into five chapters of Telugu poetry ; and then Ahobala-pantfita wrote a Sanskrit commentary on it known as *Kavisirobhushana.* Nrisimhapan^ita and Appakavi have also written commentaries. Nannayyabhatta is known as Prathamacharya, as being the first grammarian of the Telugu language.

The next writer on Telugu grammar was Ketana, who flourished at about the middle of the 13th century. His work on grammar is called Andhra-Bhashabhushana. Atharvanacharya, who comes next, appears to have been a Jaina. He has written two works, namely, *Vikritiviveka* and *Trilinga-Sabddnusdsana.* The former, also known as *Vydkarcnia-karikdvali,* consists of 300 Sanskrit verses arranged in five chapters which treat of terminology, euphonic combination, words ending in vowels, words ending in consonants, and verbs. The latter is an independent work on Telugu grammar written with the object of showing the antiquity of Telugu. The author says that he wrote this work after mastering the grammars of Brihaspati and Kanva. He names in his works the Jaina authors Piijyapada, Akalanka and Hemachandra and probably belongs to the close of the 13th century. He is styled Dvitiyacharya or the second *Achdrya* to distinguish him from Nannayya-bhatta who was known as Prathamacharya or the first Acharya, as stated above.

The next work of importance on Telugu grammar is the *Kdvydlankdra-chuddmani* of Vinnakota Peddanna who flourished in the first half of the 14th century. The work is dedicated to Visvesvara-maharaja of Rajahmundry.

MALAYALAM

The earliest work on Malayalam grammar is the *Lildtilakam,* in Sanskrit, which may be assigned to the 14th century. It is an interesting work as it contains besides grammar discussions on the linguistic features of the Malayalam language. The first *silpa* or chapter explains the individuality of the Malayalam language as distinguished from Tamil ; the second treats of the phonetics of unique Dravidian sounds and the morphology of Malayalam inflections ; while the third is exclusively devoted to the examination of the rules of vocative and consonantal *sandhi* or euphonic combination.

Other works on grammar are all modern, belonging to the 19th century.

I may, in conclusion, mention here the encomium by Dr. Burnell on the *Sabdamanidarpana,* the only Kannada grammar that had been made public at the time that he wrote : —

The great and real merit of the *Sabdamanidarpana* is that it bases the rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute ; in this way it is far ahead of the *Tamil and Telugu treatises, which are much occupied with vain scholastic disputations.*[1]

And this is what Dr. Kielhorn wrote with regard to the *Karndtaka Sabddnusasana* : —The author was evidently a profound grammarian.

1. The Aindra School of Grammarians, p. 58.

A Hindu University at Kanci

BY

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INDIA has been reputed for her learning and philosophy from very early times. But what confronts an antiquarian at the outset is whether there were schools and colleges, like those we have to-day, and whether these educational institutions were affiliated to a University as we understand to-day. The impression created on the average reader of Indian literature is that, when a boy attained sufficient age to begin his educational career, he was often sent to a village schoolmaster who was a pandita and, until the course was complete, he was to live under the control and guidance of the teacher. In some cases there was a Patasala or school, one in the midst of ten or twelve neighbouring villages with free boarding and lodging, something like the Raja's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies in Tiruva^i, Tanjore district to-day. Besides the *pial* school of the village and Patasala of a group of villages, there were also colleges which went by the name of Vidyasthana. We have the unimpeachable testimony of epigraphy to corroborate this statement. Professor Hultzsch gives an extract of a set of five copper-plates of Vijaya Nrpatunga varman which were discovered at Bahur near Pondicherry by M. J. dela Fon (See *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IV., pp. 180-181). The purpose of the charter was the gift of three villages, Chettupakkam, Vilangattankaduvanur, and Iraippunaicceri, to the Vidyasthana at Bahugrama (Bahur). The donation was made at the request of the ministers of Tuhgavarman, or more precisely, Nrpatuhgavarman. There are some interesting details given about this institution. It was the organization of the learned men of the locality who were also responsible for its maintenance and control. It also received encouragement from the State. The grant is expressly said to have been made for the advancement of learning, and was consequently exempted, on the authority of a written document, from all taxes due to these villages. Another interesting detail that is furnished in this inscription is that the college at Bahur consisted of fourteen ganas, identified with fourteen divisions of literature—four Vedas, six Angas, Mlmamsa, Nyaya, Purana and Dharmasastra, and fourteen divisions of Musical Science. It would thus appear that the fine arts were not neglected. The verse in question runs as follows : *

1. (See for the full text of the Grant S. I. I., li., pp. 514 ff, and for a translation

विद्यानदी तथागाथा चतुर्दशगणाकुला ।
बाहुग्रामजुषां स्थानं व्याप्य यस्मात् व्यवस्थिता ॥ २५ ॥

Epigraphy again throws welcome light on the existence of a Hindu University at Kafici, the capital of the Pallavas from A.D. 200 to 900. We are familiar with the great University of Nalanda, its curriculum of studies, and the life led by the University students.- It is refreshing to know of the contribution made by South India to create a University atmosphere and to enrich the University life in general. The ancient city of Kafici figures prominently in legend and history. We have elaborate description of the foundation, by celestials, of the Kamaksi shrine in that city in the *Lalitopdkhyana* portion of the *Brahmanda Purana.* In Tamil literature of the Sarigam period and especially in the *Manimekalai,* a classic which belonged to the second half of the second century A.D., Kafici figures as a centre of great learning and as a great school of Buddhist philosophy. Side by side there flourished also other schools of thought and religion..[3]

Next we have the Pallava charters which show that Kafici continued to be a University centre under the liberal and progressive administration of the Pallavas. The Velurpalaiyam plates of Vijaya Nandivarman III are interesting in this connection. The versos (7 and 8) run thus :

स्कन्दशिष्यस्ततोभयद्विजानां घटिकां राज्ञस्सत्यसेनात्जहार यः ।
गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरः ततोभूत्कुमारविष्णुस्समरेषु जिष्णुः ॥
S. I. I., II, pp. 501-13.

This means that Skandasisya became the controlling authority of the Ghatika of the twice-born, which was so long under the control of King Satyasena. The late Mr. V. Venkayya identified this Skandasisya with Skandavarman in his article on Tirukkalukkimram inscriptions ; and if this identification is correct, he must be Skandavarman II. The next verse of the inscription shows that Kumaravisnu was the son of Skandasisya and a conqueror of Kafici. This bears testimony to the fact that, while Skandasisya succeeded in getting at the management of the University at Kafici, it was given to his son to take over the administration of the city. Or if we read the half line गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरः with the stanza preceding it, it would appear that Skandasisya conquered Kafici and

of the Sanskrit portion in Prof. J. Dubreuil's *Pallavas:* pp. 48-51): See also Prof. V. Rangacharya's *Ins. of Madras Presidency,* Vol. Ill, p. 1694.

2. See in this connection Sankalia's *The University of Nalanda,* published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1934.

3. See S. K. Aiyangar : *Intro,* to his book ' *Manimekalai in its Historical Setting* ', 1928.

*Mr. Kavi points out that the half verse ends with ततोऽभवत्, and the next half begins with द्विजा After if: a new verse in a different metre begins

became the patron of the University as well. One thing is clear, and that is that when the Pallavas assumed sovereignty in Kafici, it was already a flourishing University centre.

This is not all. The same Velurpalaiyam plates furnish more information on this subject. In verse 13, it is said

तत्पुत्रसूनुर्नरसिंहवर्म्मा पुनर्व्यधा द्योघटिकां द्विजानां। शिलामयं वेश्म शशांकमौलेः कैलासकल्पञ्च महेन्द्रकल्पः।

With regard to 'पुनर्व्यधाद्यो' it is strange that the Editor of the inscription has adopted a wrong reading while the correct one was available to him. The correct reading which gives the correct sense is पुनर्व्यधात्. Again in the second line *katpa* in both places is *kalpa* meaning equal. Narasirnhavarman II, son of Paramesvara I's son, who was equal to Indra, reorganised the Ghatika and erected a stone-house for Siva, like the very Kailasa. The latter shows that it was Narasirnhavarman who built the Kailasanatha temple at Conjeevaram. But what we are more concerned with here is that the Pallava king reorganised the Ghatika (पुनर्व्यधात्). It is unfortunate that we have no materials to show in what direction this reorganisation was effected. But it would not be wrong if we infer that a patron of art and letters like Narasirnhavarman II should have improved the University both on its academic and financial side.

Passing on, we find the Ghatika mentioned in the Talagunda inscription of Kakusthavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff). Professor Kielhorn ascribes this epigraph to the first half of the sixth century A.D. It may be observed that Kakusthavarman belonged to the Kadamba family who were Brahmans and devoted to the study of the Vedas and performance of yajnas or Vedic sacrifices. It is said that a member of this family, Mayurasarman by name, went to the Pallava capital Kafici, accompanied by his guru, to complete the full course of his studies. The story goes that their stay at Kafici led to misunderstanding with the reigning king, which ultimately led to war and Mayurasarman's success. Confining ourselves to verse 10 of the inscription which runs as follows :

यः प्रयाय पल्लवेन्द्रपुरीं गुरुणासमं वीरशर्मणा अधिजिगांसुः प्रवचनम् निखिलं घटिकां विवेशाऽशु तर्कुकः॥

We have to note that this is very important from more than one point of view. First, it shows the universal recognition of the University learning at Kafici. If this were not so, a prince of the neighbouring kingdom would deem it derogatory to enter an alien's territory with a view to further investigation of his studies. Though he belonged to an entirely different kingdom, and though he held the status of sovereignty not

inferior to the Pallava, yet the Brahman prince MayQrasarman who had heard so much of Kanci as a centre of learning made an humble petition to the University with a view to get the full benefit of the exposition of fundamental doctrines. In this connection the term *Tarkuka* is taken to mean a suppliant, and does not at all mean mendicant. It is said that the prince came along with his guru Virasarma. It is difficult to explain why the guru came to Kanci. Two explanations are possible. One is that Vlrasarma had not seen the institution and longed to visit it. Or the term *tarkuka* is a misreading for Tarkika meaning logician and philosopher. Both pupil and master came to Karici to hold contest with University authorities on all chief doctrines worth investigating. If neighbouring princes and kings resorted to the citadel of learning, need it be told that Kanci occupied a unique position as a University centre ?

Next we have evidence to show that the University of Kanci continued to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. This is furnished by the Kanci Inscriptions of Vikramaditya edited by Dr. Hultzsch *(Ep. Ind.* III. pp. 359-60). This Vikramaditya was Vikramaditya II, who, according to the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Badami, conquered Kanci and returned the riches of the Rajasimhesvara temple. But what is interesting *to* us is the text of the inscription covered by the lines 6-8. The inscription is in Kanarese, and refers to the *Ghatikeya Mahajana.* It is said that those who destroyed this charitable grant would go to hell as those who commit the sin of killing the members of the Ghatika. Hultzsch's rendering " men of the assembly " is not happy. The Ghatika under reference is not assembly, but the University itself. Perhaps Hultzsch was led to this interpretation by the term Mahajana occurring with Ghatika. The honourable members of any big public institution in ancient India went by the name of Mahajana. The term must not bo taken in its restricted sense. Viewed in this light it shows the sense of high appreciation and sincere feeling on the part of king Vikramaditya towards the University and its shining lights. To the king, the University authorities were sacred and inviolable, and it was a heinous crime to do injury to them.

Thus we see that, for at least a thousand years, from the early centuries before the Christian era down to 800 A.D., Kanci flourished as a great University centre. The antiquity of the Kamaksl cult, the evidence of Tamil literature, and lastly the evidence of inscriptions, show unmistakable traces of different institutions specialising in Vaidic, heretical and other systems of philosophy which existed side by side, and all of them collectively made up the great Ghatika of the history of which South India may feel proud.

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Notices of some of the Vidyas mentioned in the Puranas

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ANCIENT writers have defined the term 'Vidya' differently. Thus Kau^ilya thought that the characteristic feature of the four-fold Vidya is that it helps men to know their duty as well as their objective (Artha Sastra, II, i)[1]. His disciple Kamandaka represented it as a means of knowing the caturvarga thoroughly (Niti Sastra, II. 3, 17).[2] The Visnu Purana identified all Vidyas, other than the Para one, with Silparh (I. 19, 41)[3]. iSukracarya opined that works which could be accomplished by means of speech, are called Vidyas (Niti Sara, IV. 3, 25)[4]. Finally Jayanta Bhatta in his Nyaya Marijarl represented Vidya as a means of knowing how to attain the object of human striving (p. 3)[5].^

It appears, however, that none of the definitions quoted above are satisfactory as they mostly represent the particular view-points of different writers, who flourished between the fourth century B.C. and the ninth century A.D. In this circumstance some such definition may be suggested.

VIDYA,—PARA AND APARA

The term 'Vidya' is derived from the root '*Vid*'-to know. Hence the derivative sense of the word is 'knowledge\ But in our country true knowledge or Vidya proper has always been identified with Brahma Vidya or Moksa Vidya, technically called Para Vidya or Pure Know-

1. चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः ।
तामिर्धर्मार्थौ यद्विद्यात्तद्विद्यानाम् विद्यात्वम् ।
2. विद्याभिराभिर्निपुणं चतुर्वर्गमुदारधीः ।
विद्यात्तत्रासां विद्यात्वं " विद् ज्ञाने " निगद्यते ॥
3. तत्कर्म यन्न बन्धाय सा विद्या या विमुक्तये ।
आयासायापरं कर्म विद्यान्याशिल्पनैपुणम् ॥
4. यद् यद् स्यात् वाचिकं सम्यक् कर्म विद्याभिसंज्ञकम् ।
5. वेदनं विद्या तच्च न घटादिवेदनमपितु पुरुषार्थसाधनवेदनं विद्यायाः-
स्थानमाश्रय उपाय इत्यर्थः ।

ledge. Now, knowledge helps us to discover the truth by removing the veil of darkness or ignorance, called A-Vidya, which by blinding our eyes, renders us incapable of having a direct vision of the true character of things. Hence Brahma Vidya has been called सिद्ध-विषयक for it helps us to realise the Supreme Truth which is eternally self-existent. In other words, it unfolds the vision of truth.

Sharply distinguished from the Para or Pure Vidya stands the Apara or impure Vidya which has been called साध्य विषयक for with its aid one can call into being the non-existent, or more properly, bring into manifestation the unmanifest, just as a sculptor with the help of his chisel may wrest a beautiful image of Sarasvati imbedded in a block of marble.

In other words, Para Vidya is directly connected with jrianam or knowledge in its highest form, while Apara Vidya though partaking of the nature of Vidya in a certain sense, is the fountain-head of action or kriya. But Vidya in his highest sense is Brahma Vidya, and as such it is ज्ञानात्मिका, and hence beyond the range of description or communication. Apara Vidya, however, bridges the gulf that separates jnanarh from kriya.

Then Apara Vidya helps us to discover the secret of, and thereby gain control over, certain phases of the cosmic processes and functions, in a way unknown to the laymen not initiated into its mysteries.

DISTINGUISHED FROM KALA.

On the other hand Vatsyayana has described Kala as ' what can be put into practice by repetition ' (अभ्यासप्रयोज्या ; I, 3, 14), while Sukra defined the term as ' what could be practised even by a dumb person ' (IV. 3, 25).[6]

Then Kala is the art or device by the employment of which the knowledge of the manifestations referred to above may be utilised, consciously or unconsciously, for practical demonstration.

Thus Apara Vidya and Kala agree in that both are साध्य-विषयक, i.e., the scope is more or less limited by pragmatic efficiency ; and they disagree in the fact that while Vidyas deal generally with the theoretical side, Kalas lay more stress on the practical aspect.

But it appears ancient writers have at times used the terms rather loosely, for instance Vatsyayana has identified Kala with Vidya ; the.

6. शक्तो मूकोऽपि यत् कर्तुं कलासंज्ञन्तु तत् स्मृतम् ।

Amara Kosa with Silparh, while Hemachandra with Silparh and Vijnanam (cf. The Kalas, JRAS. 1914). As a matter of fact it is not always possible to make a fine distinction between Vidya and Kala, for the two are often found to cover much the same ground in connotation. ^

ANTIQUITY OF THE VIDYA

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The antiquity of the Vidyas can be traced as far back as the Rgveda which makes mention of the Madhu Vidya (I. 116, 12 ; 191, 10), and the Pravargya Vidya (I. 116, 12 with Sayana). The former Vidya represented the occult science whereby poison could be converted into nectar, while Sayana explains the latter one as the knowledge of the three Vedas and the corresponding Brahmanas. The Pravargya Vidya, as explained by Sayana, appears to be identical with the Trayi Vidya, which is described by the Chandogya Up. to have originated when Prajapati brooded upon the creation (II. 23, 2). The term Vidya when used by itself and without any qualifying prefix, has probably been used in the Vaj. Sam. (XL, 12), Tait. Sam. (II. 1, 2, 8 ; V. 1, 7, 2), Atharva Veda (VI. 116, 1 ; XI. 7, 10) and the Ait. Br. (VIII. 23, 8 ff) in the sense of Trayi.[7] Various branches of learning prevalent in our country before 600 B.C. are enumerated in different works, viz. the Satap. Br. (XL 5, 6, 8) with the Brhadaranyaka Up. (II. 4, 10 ; IV. 5, 11), the Jaim. Up. Br. (I. 53, 9), the Chand. Up. (VII. 1, 2), the Maneluka Up. (I. 1, 4f) etc. Names of the special Vidyas current at that time lie scattered in these texts, of which mention may be made at this place of the Sarpa Vidya (&atap. Br. XI. 5, 6, 9), the Deva Yajana Vidya (Ibid 10), the Asura Vidya (Ibid, XIII. 4, 3, 11), the Agni Vidya (Katha Up. I. 13ff), the Paficagni Vidya (Chand. V. 3 ft), the Sandilya Vidya (Ibid, III, 14, Iff), the Paryahka *Vidya* (Kaus. Up. I, 3), and of the Sarhvarga Vidya (Ibid, IV. 3, 1 ff). It appears, however, that most of the Vidyas mentioned last are esoteric ones..'

It is worth noting here that attempts were made as early as the age of the later Sarhhitas to classify the Vidyas on some well-recognised principles, e.g. Vidya and A-Vidya (Vaj. Sam. XL, 12 ff), Para and Apara (Manclrika Up. I, 1, 4ff), as also Atma Vidya and Mantra Vidya (chand. VIII. 1,3).

The number of the branches of learning as well as that of the special Vidyas naturally increased as time wore on, and the Puranas, com-

7. The names of the four Vedas, however, are mentioned as early as the Satap. Br. (XI. 5. 6. 4ff) and the Gopatha Br. (I. 2. 16); besides this the latter work gives the names of the five minor Vedas (I. 1. 10. 21).

piled as they mostly were at a later date, give us the largest number of these, some of which we shall deal with in the present paper.

It may be mentioned here, in passing, that various synonyms have so far been suggested for the term Vidya, *viz.*, Mantra, Sastra, Vijfiana, Manta, Vijja (in Pali) etc.

With these few words by way of introduction, we directly proceed to enumerate the Vidyas mentioned in the Puranas.

VIDYAS MENTIONED IN THE PURANAS

(i) *Assuming various forms at will* इच्छारूपधारिणी Taken recourse to by Madanika, the daughter of Menaka (Markano!. II, 30); by Mahisa, the Asura while fighting with the Devi (Ibid, LXXXIII, 20-41 ; Skanda, Setu Mahatmayam, VII, 20-25) (also cf. Padma, Srsti, 21,3 ; Rmn. VI. 37, 7-8 ; Mbh. III. 96, 7-8).

(ii) *Travelling a thousand yojanas in half a day*—with the help of an ointment rubbed on the sole of the feet पादलेपम् and certain prescribed formulae (Mark. LXZ, 8ff.).

(iii) *Astragrdma-hrdaya Vidya*—Efficacious in killing all enemies. A list of possessors beginning from Siva given (Mark. LXIII, 23-27).

(iv) *Sarva-bhuta-ruta Vidya*—To understand the speech of all living beings (Mark. LXIV, 3 ; Padma, Srsti, 10,, 85 ; Matsya, XX, 25), (cf. Rmn. II. 35, 19 ; Mbh. I. 70, 45 ; XII. 116, 15; XIII. 117, 8; Jataka, I, **211;** II, 388, etc.)

(v) *Padminl Vidya*—The possessor became the lord of the Nidhis, who supplied him with unheard of wealth (Mark. LXIV, 14-15).

(vi) *Raksoghna Mantra*—To ward off the intruding Raksasas from a sacrifice (Mark. LXX, 21-22).

(vii) *Jdlandhari Vidya*—Communicated to Lava and Kusa by Valmiki along with other arts and sciences. (Padma, Patala, XXXVII, 13).

(viii) *Vidya-gopala Mantra*—For acquiring supernatural powers in speech (वाक् सिद्धि) (Ibid. **XLI,** 132).

(ix) *Para Vald Vidya*—For attaining super-human powers instantaneously. First communicated to Arjuna by Tripura Devi (Ibid, XLIII, 40).

(x) *Sakuna Vidya*—Science of omens. Specimens given (Ibid, **LXIII,** 49ff). (cf. Mbh. **III.** 65, 24).

(xi) *Purusa-pramohini Vidyd*—To win over a man (Padma, Bhumi, XXXIV, 38).

(xii) *Indrajdla Vidyd*—with the help of which Sulocana changed herself into a man (Padma, Kriya, Yoga-sara, V. 214). Cf, Kadambari, P. 75).

(xiii) *Yayna Vidyd, Veda Vidyd*—(Padma, Srsti, XVIII, 47). (cf. Mbh. I. 70, 38).

(xiv) *Ulldpana-vidhdna Vidyd*—Krsna cured the hunch-back of Mathura with the help of this Vidya (Visnu, V, 20, 9-10).

(xv) *Asuraka Mantra*—for counteracting the effects of ordeals (Skanda, Kumarika, XLIV, 21).

(xvi) *Sdrasvata Mantra*—for attaining mastery over all arts and sciences (Ibid, XLVI, 132-33).

(xvii) *Dakini Mantra*—First communicated to Parvati *by* Siva ; being infatuated she began to drink the blood and eat the flesh of her lord (Ibid, XLVII, 61-64).

(xviii) *Eight Siddhis* or super-human powers attained by a Yogin enumerated (Ibid, LV, 92ff.).

(xix) *Mahd-Garuda-Mantra*—to neutralise the effect of snake bites (Skanda, Verikatacala Mahatmyam, XI, 28).

%xx) *Vasikarana Mantra*—(Skanda, Vaisakha Masa, XXIV, 33).

(xxi) *Marana, Mohana, Vasya, Akarsana and Ksobhana*—(Skanda Dharmuranya, XX, 27).

(xxii) *Sdvarl Mantra Vidyd*—Efficacious in bringing into control others by producing infatuation (Ibid. XXXVI, 41).

(xxiii) *Agni Stambhana ; Jala Stambhana, Vdk Stambhana, Khecaritvam, Adrsyatvam* (Skanda, Kasi, XLV, 15). (cf. Mbh. III. 122, 14; 124, 17; IX. 29, 52, etc.).

(xxiv) *Visa Vidyd* (Ibid, XLVI, 17) (cf. Mbh. I. 20. 16ff ; Jataka, VI, 181).

(xxv) *Visosini Vidyd*—cultivated by Agastya before drinking off the contents of the ocean (Skanda, Nagara, XXXV, 33). (cf. Mbh. Ill, 105, 3ff.).

(xxvi) *Punlinga Mantra* — *Garbhopanisad*—Efficacious in producing a son (Ibid, XXXVI, 6-7).

(xxvii) *Vdmadevya Mantra*—for protection against evil spirits **(Ibid, 9).**

(xxviii) *Sri Sukta Mantra*—for obtaining wealth (Ibid. 14).

(xxix) *Sarpa Sukta*—for keeping away snakes (Ibid, 23).

(xxx) *Vyaghra Sdma Mantra*—for keeping away tigers (Ibid, 26).

(xxxi) *Devavrata Mantra*—for temporising freaks of nature (Ibid, 28).

(xxxii) *Pancendra Mantra*—for overcoming droughts (Ibid, 29).

(xxxiii) *Prajapatya* and *Varuna Mantra*—for stunning enemies (Ibid, 35) .

(xxxiv) *' Kali Karali' Mantra*—for sucking anything dry (Ibid, 36).

(xxxv) *Nagara Mantra*—to neutralise the effect of poison and indigestion (Ibid, CXIV, 79-83).

(xxxvi) *Vajra Vidya*—to foil snake bites (Ibid, CXVII, 25-26).

(xxxvii)' *Laghima Vidya*—for levitation of the body (Ibid, CXXIX, 66).

(xxxviii) *Varuna Mantra*—for drawing water from the earth (Ibid, CLXXIII, 11).

(xxxix) *Khecari Vidya; Bhiita Tantra ; Vyantarl Vidya and Gandharva Vidya*—(Skanda, Prabhasa-Ksetra, VIII, 6-9).

(xl) *Vaisnava and Mahesvara fevers*—created by Visnu and Siva respectively for overwhelming the armies of each other (Skanda, Avantiksetra, IL, 32ff.; Bhagavata, X, 63, 24 ; Brahmavaivarta, IV, 120, 50-52).

*^(xli) *Sabda Vidya*—described as extensive (Skanda, Prabhasa, CCIV, 14) (cf. Hiuen Tsang. I, p. 78).

(xlii) *Sanjivani Vidya*—for bringing back to life the dead people. Applied by Sukracarya to restore to life Andhaka's fallen heroes, while the latter was fighting with Siva (Vamana, LXIX, 7-8 ; £iva,[8] Dharma, IV, 187) (cf. Mbh. I. 76, 7-8).

(xliii) *Mrtyunjaya Vidya*—Sukracarya did not lose his life even when devoured by Siva, because just then he was repeating the Mantra (Siva, Dharma, V, 8-10 ; Skanda, Kasi, XVI, Iff.; Padma, Uttara, IV, 35).

8. The Siva Purana is not included in the traditional list of the Mahapuranas, but see Farquhar's Outline of the Religious Literature, p. 139.

(xliv) *Vaisnava Yoga*—To outwit Siva, Urvasi assumed the form of Parvati with the help of the Yoga. Her companions too assumed the forms of other companions of Parvati (Siva, Dharma, VII, 28-32). Veda-nidhi's eldest son vanished with the aid of this Yoga from the presence of the Gandharva maidens (Padma, Svarga, X, 45). Similarly did the Rsi lad Agnipa (Padma, Uttara, CXXVIII, 54).

(xlv) *Infusing life into a wooden figure*—through yogic powers (Siva, Dharma, XIII, 17ff.) (cf. the rite of Prana-Pratistha in connection with image worship).

(xlvi) *Mahesvari Mahdvidyd; Dhanur Vidya; Sastra Vidya;* Astra *Vidya ; Laukiki Vidya ; Ratha Vidya ; Gaja Vidya ; Asva Vidya ; Gadd Vidya; Mantrdhvdna Vidya and Mantra Visarjana Vidya*—transmitted to Rama and Laksmana by Visvamitra (Brahma, CXXIII, < 97-98).

(xlvii) *Vajra-vdhanikd Vidya*—for vanquishing the enemy in the field of battle (Linga, II, 51).

(xlviii) *Sinha Vidya*—could give the desired colour to the stones wherewith to make images (Agni, XLIII, 13).

(xlix) *Garga Vidya*—The science of constructing residential houses (Agni, LXV, 7) (cf. Vastu Vidya, Mbh. I. 51, 15 ; Jataka II, 297, etc.,).

(1) *Narasinha Vidya*—Helps one to attain the object of one's striving (Agni, LXIII, 3).

(li) *Bhelakhi Vidya*—Proof against death and enemies in the battle field (Agni, CXXXIII, 40).

(lii) *Mahdmdri Vidya*—for crushing the enemy (Agni, **CXXXVII,** Iff.).

(liii) AntardFidna *Vidya*—communicated to Prthu by the winged beings (Bhagavata, IV, 15, 19). (cf. Mbh. III. 244, 22).

(liv) *Vai$navi Vidya*—with the help of which Indra vanquished the Asuras (Ibid, VI. 7, 39-40). Summed up in the Narayana Kavaca (VI, 8).

(lv) *Asvasird Vidya*—for attaining emancipation in the course of this life (Ibid, VI, 9, 52).

(lvi) *Deva-huti Vidya*—Employed for calling upon the gods. Communicated to Prtha by Durvasas (Ibid, IX. 24, 32).

(lvii) *Mahdmdyd Vidya*—Destroyed all magical charms **(Ibid, X.** 55, **16)**.

(lviii) *Sarva-kama-prada Vidya*—for fulfilling all desires to be repeated for seven nights together (Garuda, I, 201).

(lix) *Visnu-dharmakhya Vidya*—To attain the status of Indra by defeating all enemies (Ibid, I, 202).

Citra Sastra—The science (?) of Painting (Bhavisya, I. 162, 53).

(lxi) *Dyuta Vidya*—The science (?) of gambling (Ibid, III (b). 13, 3). (cf. Jataka, VI, 281).

(lxii) *Gupta Vidya*—for spiriting away persons (Ibid, III (c), 30, 42-43).

(lxiii) *Yaksamayl Vidya*—Yielded five pieces of gold whenever repeated (Ibid, III(d), 7, 13).

(lxiv) *Susild Mahdvidyd*—Sharpened the intellect and helped to acquire learning (Brahmavaivarta, III, 17, 14).

It will be evident from the list of the Vidyas compiled that it was possible to acquire one in different ways ; *e.g.*, :

(a) through control of the mind or the vital force (yogic),

(b) through psychic force represented by a dynamic sound (Mimtrik).

(c) through potencies and properties inherent in natural objects or objects artificially manufactured for specific purposes, and

(d) through other sources.

AGE OF THE PURANAS

After giving a tolerably complete list of the Vidyas mentioned in the Puranas it may not be considered irrelevant if we do now proceed to fix the approximate age of the texts in which most of them find a literary recognition for the first time. Fortunately for us, the previous researches of such noted scholars as Wilson, Fleet, Smith, Pargiter, Keith and others in this field have made our task easy to a certain extent so far as the fixing of the lower limit is concerned.

Though the Puranas in some form or other existed *as* early as the days of the later Sarhhitas (Vide Atharva Veda, XI. 7, 24), modern authorities, however, are not prepared to assign such an early date to the existing texts. As is well-known, most of the scholars led by Pargiter are inclined to assign the third century A.D. to the Markantfeya Purana, though the Devi Mahatmya section was not added to it till

the Sixth Century A.D. (Farquhar, p. 150). Next in order come in the Padma, the Bhavisya and the Brahma, verses from which have been freely quoted in the land grants of the fifth century A.D. (J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 248fi\). With reference to the first-named Purana, which is encyclopaedic in character, though the facts that Kalidasa, who is said to have flourished in the fifth century A.D., made use of it, and that the frequent mention of the term 'Dinara', make it probable that a part of the text was known as early as the fourth century A.D. in the Maratha country, it will be more reasonable if we can see our way to assign a period beginning from the fourth century A.D., rather than a particular date for the compilation of the work. In regard to the Bhavisya Purana though it is certain that the Apastambiya Dh. Sutra—a production of the fifth century B.C.—quotes from a Bhavisyat Purana (II. 24, 6), the Bombay edition of the text appears to have been substantially recast at the Court of Jayachandra of Kanauj in the twelfth century A.D.

Then come in the Vayu, the Matsya, the Visnu and the Brahmanda which, on grounds of the historical data furnished by those texts, have been assigned to the fifth century A.D. by Smith and Pargiter. So that we shall not be far wrong if we fix the period from the third to fifth century A.D. as the lower limit of the age of some of the Puranas, as we mostly find them to-day.

Of the other Puranas, the Skanda has been assigned to the middle of the seventh century A.D. by the late Mm. Pt. Hara Prasad Sastri (JASB. 1893, pp. 250ff.), while Mr. Vaidya and others are in favour of assigning 900 A.D. to the compilation of the Bhagavata Purana (JBRAS, 1925, I, p. 144ff. etc.,). The Agni, the Garuola and the Narada group, saturated as each is with Tantric doctrines, and influenced as it is by the tenets of the Bhakti cult, cannot be placed earlier. No definite dates have so far been suggested for the compilation of the Vamana, the Kurma, the Varaha and the Linga, but these must have come into being by 1000 A.D. as the existence of all the eighteen Puranas has been testified to by Al Beruni. The Brahma-Vaivarta, as it is published to-day, seems to have been thoroughly recast after the Chaitanya movement in Bengal. So that it can be safely placed in the fifteenth century A.D., though the *kernel* might have been ready as early as the tenth century A.D. In these circumstances we are inclined to propose the period ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth century A.D. as the upper limit of the date of the compilation of the Puranas.

So, it will not be unreasonable on our part to conclude that the Vidyas enumerated above were cultivated in our country roughly during the first twelve centuries of the christian era and even earlier, and that most of them were gradually forgotten for want of culture brought on by political causes.

Some features of the Primitive Dravidian Tongue

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JUST like the Primitive Indo-European mother-tongue, which the Philologists have constructed as the result of an inter-comparison of the facts of the various groups of languages belonging to the Indo-European family, the primitive mother-tongue of the Dravidian group of languages may also be traced by an inter-comparison of the grammatical facts of the languages spoken in Southern India. To talk of a primitive Dravidian language may be exasperating to some of those who, while denying an independent existence to the languages of South India, are inclined to maintain that the languages spoken throughout India or even perhaps the whole world, are either allied to the Indo-European or derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit. But a family relationship between Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tulu and some other languages of the hill tribes spoken in southern and central India cannot be doubted by anybody, and until the grammatical facts and the word material of all these languages are satisfactorily traced to the Aryan sources, their cognate relationship with the Aryan or Indo-European cannot be an accomplished fact. Some Dravidian scholars like Dr. Caldwell, while connecting these languages with the so-called Scythian group, considered that there might be a remote possibility of contact between the Aryan and the Dravidian groups of languages at their original sources in pre-historic times, while others thought that the Dravidian was a direct off-shoot of the Aryan. But there are a few other scholars who consider the Dravidian to be neither Aryan nor Scythian, but an independent group by itself.

Leaving aside the question of ultimate relationship of these languages for the present, and depending upon the family-relationship that these languages of South India bear to one another, one can try the possibility of tracing the earlier form of language of which these must have been the later developments, since they bear a family-relationship with common linguistic characteristics of their own. If we bring together all the distinguishing features found common to these languages and try to trace them to their original sources, we may get an idea of the general features of their common mother tongue. Of course, much has yet to be done even by way of comparison and construction in connection with these languages, unlike Indo-European. Yet the general agglutinative nature which these languages have yet preserved to a great extent, may help to make our task easier. By a comparison of their grammatical facts and word-

material one can have a distant vision of the primitive mother tongue, which the following characteristics seem to indicate.

The language of the primitive Dravidian seems to be mainly a language of roots. These were not merely the results of grammatical analysis, but forms of regular usage in the language. They were placed one after another in a sentence, the relation between them being indicated by their position in it, the former generally standing in an attributive relation to the latter. There was nothing like what we now call inflexion either verbal or nominal. The root itself did the function of a verb as well as of a noun,—first without any change, but later on with a little change in the ending. What we now call the grammatical forms and inflexion gradually developed in the language in the following manner. The root words which were appended to other roots in order to convey different significations in meaning, lost their original shape and meaning owing to the rapidity in pronunciation and other causes, and began to be used as unmeaning suffixes, and made to perform certain grammatical functions in the sentence. This stage must have developed rapidly after it came into contact with the highly inflexional Aryan language, Sanskrit, and after the languages came to be analysed after the manner of Sanskrit grammatical methods. The root itself was used as a verb in the primitive language, just as we now use it in the imperative second person singular. The ideas of mood, tense, gender, etc., must have been indicated either by means of gestures made along with the utterance of the roots or by suffixing other independent roots to them in order to draw the distinction in meaning. Thus the principle of root-agglutination was brought into operation with the growth of the ideas regarding time, gender, number, etc. The agglutinative nature of these languages is still preserved in such a way that even at this distance of time it is quite possible to separate from the roots the various parts denoting gender, number, etc. In the early stage of the development of that language the forms of *agu, isu, utu,* developed from the simple primitive roots a, I, u., seem to have been very much in use as auxiliary roots emphasising the verbal function of the roots to which they were appended. Forms in ' Ku *, and * Kum' which appear in the major languages of this group, namely, Tamil *Seygum,* Kanarese *Geygum,* Telugu *Cheyu(m)n*$_r$ Velgu(m)n, etc., which are used in them even to this day without distinction of time, mood, number, or gender, and on that account termed as Taddharmardhaka forms by the Telugu grammarians, indicate the early condition of the common mother tongue when such distinctions in the verbal forms have not yet developed. Later on, this ' Ku ' or * Kum ' appearing at the end of a good number of roots was considered as a formative suffix by the Tamil grammarians, while still later Telugu grammarians consider-

ing this *Ku* or ' gu ' as a part of the original root called the gu-ending form *' velugu '* the root.

Thus, most of the so-called ' *git* '-ending roots found in Telugu have to be considered as secondary roots, and not as primary ones. Later on, distinction in time was drawn by the help of other roots. The word ' itu ' appended to other roots indicated past action (c.f. Tamil *Sey (i)den,* etc. Kanarese *Madidenu,* Telugu *Chesitini),* while ' iru ', ' undu' and ' avu ' denoted present tense in Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese, *Seyg(u)iren, Cheyuchunnanu, geyd-apem,* respectively. The very fact that these languages used different roots to express the idea of the *Present* goes to show that the Present forms in these languages were formed after they got separated and settled as independent languages. The idea of causation seems to have been first indicated by the doubling of the final consonants of the roots as now found in Tamil, but later on the help of the root ' isu ' was sought to express this idea, as is found in Kanarese and Telugu. Similarly, various other roots or words were pressed into service by different languages at different times to express various ideas. Different roots brought together to express particular shades of meaning got fused after a time into one, and came to be considered as new roots having particular meanings of their own. Thus new roots developed in the Languages, and it is sometimes very difficult to split up these compound roots and trace their original forms. One language considers the compound root itself as the simple one, while the original component parts are preserved in other languages. We have thus to compare the roots in different languages and carefully note the changes in meaning they have acquired during this process of composition before we can get at the original forms of roots, which seem to be generally monosyllabic. It can be thus clearly shown that this process of root-agglutination has been going on since the time of the primitive Dravidian to this very day in the development of these languages.

The same method can be applied in the case of Nominal Inflexion. The root originally functioned as a verb as well as a noun. As has already been said, the position of the roots in a sentence indicated their relation to one another, the former standing in the relation of an attribute to the latter. This was the condition of the primitive language. When it was felt that the idea of their relationship should be made clearer or more expressive, various words like ' atu \ f in ', etc., came to be introduced between them. These lost their independent existence in course of time, and began to be considered as mere connecting links or sariyai, inflexional increments, or aupavibhaktika-pratyayas. A comparative study of the methods of nominal inflexion in these languages clearly shows that the whole of this so-called inflexion merely depended origin-

ally on mere attributive relationship. It is because the grammarians who first analysed these languages and wrote their grammars, merely followed the methods of analysis adopted by Sanskrit grammarians in their analysis of that highly inflexional tongue that these languages also came to possess a nominal inflexion with eight cases, and a verbal inflexion with many moods, voices, etc.

Since the principle of root-agglutination has been at work throughout all these ages in these languages, we can, by just forgetting for a time the analogy of the highly inflexional Sanskrit, and by tracing the various forms of inflexion to their original sources in independent words or roots, reach the common primitive Dravidian form, which was made up of mere roots, without any special unmeaning marks of tense, gender, number, case, etc. It may be argued that the various languages of the Indo-European group or of any other group, for the matter of that, must have developed their inflexion on similar lines, but it cannot be denied that they do not give us sufficient clues for tracing their history back to their original root stage, while it can be said that the Dravidian Languages still possess clues which lead us gradually back towards their common origin, namely the parent Dravidian tongue.

The Ramayana

BY

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INDOLOGISTS, particularly those trained in the scientific and critical methods so characteristic of the West, have always maintained that the more ancient and extensive masterpieces, representatives of the early Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature, have come down to us from antiquity, not in the form in which they were originally composed, hut generally with great and considerable additions and omissions due to the interfering hands of the several redactors through whom such works have passed. This orthodox view of the Western Pandits has never found favour with the traditional view of the Hindu savants, who always maintain that the ancient seers and others who wrote such monumental works took special care to guard their works from such interpolations and omissions by enumerating in the introductory portions of their work, the scope, contents and sometimes the number of chapters and stanzas also, which their works contained.

When we examine the earliest literary work of the Aryans, to wit, the Rg-veda, it is remarkable how the Text has come down to us with wonderful accuracy. The various expedients devised by the ancient seers for the correct oral transmission of the Rg-veda from father to son or teacher to pupil, have co-operated together in preserving for us a Text which is substantially the same from the time it was known to the world. Still, Western Indologists like Macdonell and those of his way of thinking detect various stages in the development of the Rg-veda Samhita, doubt the simultaneous origin of all the ten mandalas of the Rg-veda, and are inclined to relegate the first and the tenth and last mandala to a period subsequent to the creation of the intervening mandalas. To support such a contention, several arguments based on the unity of subject matter, differences in style, etc. are advanced. It is enough for our present purpose to emphasise this,—that, at no time in the recorded development of Sanskrit literature, has the Rg-veda Samhita ever been known to any author who flourished in India or abroad at any time before the discovery of Sanskrit in Europe to have existed without the first or the tenth mandala forming an integral part of the whole work. It has come to be a fashion with some Indologists, at any rate, to point that the beginning and the end should necessarily be later

additions as compared to the middle, which must have been the real nucleus of all great and extensive works.

These Indologists, therefore, view the Mahabharata also, the longest literary work so far available, in the same way. They hold that the Adi-parvan does contain very many additions of a later date, and that the original Mahabharata could not have had these additions. Higher criticism of the Mahabharata has gone so far as to suggest three distinct stages in the development of the Mahabharata as we have it now. In our introduction to the Southern Recension of the Mahabharata,[1] we have shown that the Mahabharata Text Tradition has come down to us from the time of Vyasa in an unbroken chain, that the Mahabharata was written by Vyasa in one lakh of stanzas ; and that it is possible to reconstruct the Text into its original extent by a proper sifting and collection of the manuscript material happily still available with us.

Besides the Vedas and the Mahabharata, the next great national work of the Hindus is the Ramayana composed by Valmlki. The Ramayana too has suffered in the same way at the hands of Western critics. Modern scholarship is inclined to the view that the first and the last. Kanolas of the Ramayana, the Bala and the Uttara Kandas, are later interpolations, and that Valmlki's original must have probably begun with the Ayodhya-kanda. Even as Vyasa sought to preserve the text of the Mahabharata by stating in the introductive chapters that he has composed his *magnum opus* in one-hundred thousand stanzas of two thousand chapters, divided into eighteen major books, Valmlki has also categorically stated that he originally composed the Ramayana within definite limits. In I. IV. 2 we are told that the poet composed his work in 24,000 stanzas. We are also informed that the work was divided into six books of five hundred chapters, with an additional seventh book as well. Thus Valmlki's work is composed of seven books comprising 24,000 stanzas. Indeed, we are very fortunate that, even now, manuscripts there are that contain all the 24,000 stanzas, conserving in their colophons the tradition that Kusa and Lava recited before Sri Ramacandra for twenty-five days the Ramayana, beginning from the first chapter of the Bala-Kanda to the end of the Pattabhi§eka-sarga of the Yuddha-kancla at the rate of twenty chapters each day. The Southern Recension of the Ramayana, available in cadjan leaves of Grantha characters, contains all the 24,000 stanzas of Valmlki.

1. Mahabharata (Southern Recension) published by V. Ramaswami Sastruiu & Sons, Madras.

Indian Indologists have, therefore, a great task to perform. While pressing into service all the canons of scientific and critical scholarship so characteristic of the West, they should not allow themselves to believe that only the truncated portions of all our national works represent the original, those at the beginning and at the end being necessarily later additions or interpolations. Due weight should be given to the internal evidences in the works themselves. And above all, the deciding consideration should be the verdict of Indian tradition itself on the scope and character of the work. Judged thus, we have no doubt that Valmiki composed his Ramayana in seven books of 24,000 stanzas.[2]

2. For further arguments, see our introduction prefixed to the Yuddha-kancla of the Ramayana (Southern Recension), published by Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

A Note on the name Dvigu

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Dip, in German, Madras.

IT is a well known fact that *Dvigu* is the name given to the determinative secondary adjective compounds of the descriptive class, whose first member is a numeral adjective. This very name is arresting. The traditional *vigrahavdkya* given for it is *dvayoh-gavoh samdhdrah,* an aggregate of two words, that is, a compound made up of two component words *(gau).*

Panini gives the name Dvigu only to those compounds which are brought under the rule संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः (II. 1. 52), which is to be read together with the Sutra तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च (II. 1. 51). The point to be noted in the word *samdhdra* of this Sutra is that the meaning of the idea of the collection of the compound lies outside the scope of the meaning of the idea or concept of the component parts of the compound.

Possessive compounds, having a numeral adjective for the prior member are not uncommon in Sanskrit. They, for the most part, follow the same rule of accent *(Piirvapada*[1]*-prakrtisvarah)* of the epithetised compounds with adjectives other than the numeral for the prior member.-

These facts are indeed favourable for the standpoint taken by the modern linguists who classify the so-called Dvigu compounds under the possessive class. Panini does not seem to have been unmindful of this possibility. On the other hand, he recognised that the Dvigus require special treatment. But he brings them under *Tatpurusa,* as a special variety of *KarmadJuiraya,* probably in view of the fact that the earliest Dvigus were determinative[3] compounds in origin, which later on were transmuted into the *Balnivrihi* class. Vedic examples of the numeral abstracts and collectives are *Dvi-raje* (Atharva-Veda, V. 20. 9.); *tri-*

1. Bahuvrihau prakrtya purvapadam (P. VI. 2, 1).
2. Whitney : Sanskrit Grammar, 4 Edn., Sec. 1300.
3. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, VIII, p. 140. (The Journal is henceforth referred to as JORM).

yugam (Rg-veda X 97. 1.) ; *dasdiiguldm* (Yajur-veda 31.1). All these compounds have a collective sense. In their origin, they might have been descriptive compounds accenting only the prior member. As they were shuffled into a new class of compounds (the possessive), in order to distinguish them from such Karmadharaya which bore the accent on the first member, the accent, in all probability, was shifted forward to the final member on analogy with the then existing determinative compounds of the descriptive class. This accentual shift is in accordance with the distinction formulated by Schroeder : " When the accentuation of the first member *(immutata)* according to the main rule for all compounds, is not possible, then the accent is not, as in the mutata, drawn back as far as possible, but the second member receives the same stress which it possesses as an independent[4] word. These collective compounds which are nearly allied to Dvandvas accent the last syllable of the final member. Probably, owing to the influence of these collective compounds, the later Dvandva compound like *indra-pusno'h* (Rv. 1, 162, 2) accent the last[5] syllable of the compound.

The above select examples of Dvigu as well as others given by Whitney and Macdonell are determinative compounds at least in their origin." I give below, for the sake of clearness, a few numeral collectives which are doubtless determinatives used in the plural and the original gender : *Saptarsdyas* ' the seven seers ' ; *saptagrdhrds.* (Atharva-Veda); *tri-kadru-ka* (plural), 'three soma vessels', from *kadru'* (feminine).[7]

4. " Wenn die accentuirung des I. glicdes (nach dcr hauftregel fur alle composita) nicht moglichist, dann wird der accent nicht wie bei den mutatis, moglich ist weit zuruck gezogen, sondern das. 2. gied erhalt diejenige betonung, welehe es al?. selbstandiges wort besass." Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Band XXIV. Die Accentgesetze der Homerischen Nominal Composita dargestellt und mit denen Veda Vergleichen. p. 110. See also p. 49 of "The Accentuation of Nominal compounds in Lithuanian." Language Dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America, Number **VII** (December 1930), Supplement to Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America. (I owe to the courtesy of the Librarian, the University Library, Madras, for having kindly borrowed on loan last year the 24th Volume of **Kuhn's** *Zeitschrijt* **from** the Bombay **Branch** of the Royal Asiatic Society. Recently, this volume as well as the earlier ones of the above periodical were **added to the University Library, Madras. Sanskrit Department** Section).

5. **Vide C. R.** Sankaran, "Five stages of pre-Vedic Determinative Compound Accentuation as surmised by their historic survivals of their Representatives **in Sanskrit." JORM, IX, p. 124 ; Macdonell's Vedic Grammar, 1910, p. 157 ; footnote 4,** section **262.** See also Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik **11.** i, section 63, **p. 153**

6. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 4th edition, section 1312, pp. 512-3. Cf. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, section 290, p. 174.

7. *Ibid.,* f.n. 7.

In all probability, Pāṇini felt it quite convenient to treat the Dvigus as Tatpuruṣa compounds, in respect of dealing with the accent of the Dvigu compounds. For the accent of the substantively used compounds having a numeral as prior member like *dvi* and *tri* along with in part, some of the adjective compounds themselves are more prevailingly on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.[8]

The noteworthy exceptions to this rule of accentuation Pāṇini brings under the tell-tale Sūtras from इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ (VI. 2. 29) up to द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद्दन्मूर्धसु बहुव्रीहौ... द्विशिचितस्योश्च (VI. 2. 31). Instances are, *páñcāratnih*. This is an example of Taddhitārtha Dvigu (11. 1. 51 and 52) and is equal to *pañcāratnayah pramāṇam asya*. Here the *pramāṇa* denoting suffix मात्रच् is always elided in Dvigu[9]; *Páñcamásyah*. This is formed by the affix यप्.[10] Similarly *dáśamāsyah* (Rv. V. 78, 7; Atharva-Veda. 111. 23, 2). It is an interesting fact that this compound is a double-accented one in *Āpastamba Mantra Pāṭha* II. 11. 15. *dáśa-másyāya*. But in 1, 13, 9 of *Āpastamba Mantra Pāṭha*, the compound accents only the last member[11] *dáśamāsyah*, *páñca-kapālaḥ* (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[12] 2. 2. 3. 14). Páñcavarṣaḥ[13] Bahu'māsyaḥ[14] Páñcadiṣṭiḥ.[15] I use the phrase tell-tale (for which I am indebted to Mahāmahopādhyāyā Prof. Kuppuswāmi Śāstri), with an intention to show the importance of this Sūtra which comprehends such telling instances of the earliest Dvigu compounds, compelling our attention and giving an insight into the prehistory of the Dvigu compound formation. These Dvigu compounds, originally determinatives, were doubtless earlier in origin.[16]

8. Vide JORM, VIII, p. 143; Whitney Sanskrit Grammar, section 1312.

9. Vide the Vārtika under the Sūtra *Yavayavakaṣaṣṭikādyat* (V. 2. 3). See also S. C. Vasu's English translation of Pāṇinl. Book VI, 1897, p. 1148.

10. तमधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी । मासाद्वयसि यत्खञौ ॥ द्विगोर्यप्॥ V. 1, 80, 81, 82.

11. Vide JORM, Volume VIII, part II, p. 143. See also C. R. Sankaran, Double-accented Vedic Compounds to be published shortly in the Madras University Journal. Vol. VIII, No. 1, Jan. '36. p. 61.

12. Pañcakapālah is formed by the sūtra संस्कृतं भक्षाः (IV. 2, 16). The affix अण् is elided by the sūtra द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये (IV. 1. 88).

13. The affix ठञ् is elided by the sūtra वर्षाल्लुक् च (V. 1. 88).

14. Vide JORM, Volume VIII, Part IV, p. 341. The word *bahu* has acute on the final, being formed by the affix कु (लङ्घिबंह्योर्नलोपश्च uṇādi sūtra, 1, 29).

15. The affix मात्रच् is elided after the प्रमाण denoting the word *diṣṭi* (प्रमाणे द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रचः V. 2, 37.).

16. Vide JORM, Volume VIII, Part II, pp. 142-143.

Now the question is, **keeping** this in mind, how to give a satisfactory etymology **for** the name Dvigu. Narayanabhatta in his *Prakriydsarvasva*[17] answers this question. He says : **द्वयोर्गवोर्भवादि हि द्विगुर्येनैव स द्विगुः।**

This can be explained as follows. According to Panini's Sutra *tatrabhavah* (IV. 3. 53)), the affix *an* is added to express the idea *dvayoh gavoh bhavah.* Now, by Panini's Sutras 11. 1. 51. and 11. 1. 52 (quoted above), the compound is to get the name *Dvigu* and the affix *an* is elided by the Sutra **द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये** (IV. 1. 88.), so that the operation of the Sutra **गोरतद्धित(टच्)लुकि** (V. 4. 92.) is warded off,—therefore the affix tac **(टच्)** does not come, and hence the form *dvigu.* The word *Dvigu* can thus be seen to stand on a par with the compound *Pahcukapdlah,* a Dvigu compound of doubtless a very early date, whose derivation is explained thus by the Sanskrit grammarians. **पञ्चसु कपालेषु (निष्पन्नः) संस्कृतः पुरोडाशः पञ्चकपालः। संस्कृतं भक्षाः इत्यण्। द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये इति लुक्॥**

17. Manuscript in Nagari, No. 15397 in Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras, p. 114 and in Malayalam script in the Adyar Library, at the end of *Samdsaprakarana.* I am indebted to Dr. C. K. Kunhan Raja of Madras University for this reference. I learn that he is shortly editing this work. I further learn from Mr. Sambasiva Sastri, Curator, Oriental MSS Library, Trivandrum, that the *Samdsaprakarana* will appear as the third part in the sequel to part I published already in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Camoens and his Epic of India

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1

IT must always be interesting for an Indian student of literature to come across Western poets dealing with Indian subjects, whether in elaborate poetical works, in smaller pieces, or even in stray lines and references. The German poet and philosopher, Friedrich Ruckert, embodies some of the thoughts of ancient India in the volumes of his *Brahmin's Wisdom.* There is again a cycle of three little poems by Goethe, befriending the cause of the poor Pariah, narrating a legend of God's benignance to the miserable and oppressed. The sweet Irish Lyrist, Thomas Moore, has woven a fascinating romance round the Moghul princess, *Lalla Rookh.* The restless spirit of Shelley's *Alastor* finds peace.

In the vale of Cashmere, far within
Its loneliest dell, where odorous plants entwine
Beneath the hollow rocks a natural bower.

Even the poets of distant America have occasionally sought inspiration in Indian themes. Emerson's *Brahma* has borrowed the message of the immortality of the Soul, from the *Song Celestial.* The episode of Trisanku in Hindu mythology has attracted the attention of Longfellow, and Whittier has two such different poems as *Pipes at Lucknov:* and a *Hymn of the Brahmo Samaj.* The most noteworthy literary masterpiece of the West, dealing with an Indian subject, is however the *Lusiad* of Camoens, which is also one of the world's greatest books.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning sees in her *Visiori oj Poets :*

Camoens, with that look he had
Compelling India's genius sad
From the wave through the Lusiad ;
The murmurs of the storm-cape ocean
Indraw in vibrative emotion
Along the verse

But the great Portuguese poet who has conferred upon India the high distinction of commemorating her in a magnificent epic has unfortunately not met with sufficient recognition in the East. The Lusiad of Camoens takes rank among the finest epics of modern times, **and** its **lite-**

rary merit alone is thus enough to claim for it the universal interest of students of literature. Its theme is the ' discovery ' of India by Vasco de Gama, the poet being among the first in <he West to celebrate, on an adequate scale, the fascination of this land in poetry. The double qualification is probably enough ground for drawing attention to some aspects of this masterpiece and its author, in a volume to be presented to an historian of India.

II

The career of Camoens has not many parallels in the literary history of the world in the romantic nature of its incidents. Soldier, sailor, poet and exile, he met with the strangest vicissitudes in his life. He had on various occasions to feel the displeasure of his sovereign. It was his lot again to drudge in poverty, trying to acquire the bare means of subsistence. Even the humiliation of exile and imprisonment was his, and all his genius was of no avail against the neglect of contemporaries, which was responsible in no small measure for the misery which fell to his share. The poet who was to be hailed by posterity as the ' Apollo Portugue ', spent his days in some of the keenest forms of mental and bodily anguish.

Without entering into the controversies of biographers, we may venture to say that Luis Vaz de Camoens was born at Lisbon in 1524. He came of an old, aristocratic family, and was actually a kinsman of the great Vasco de Gama himself. He could thus take deep personal interest in the exploits of the hero, his family pride added to his sense of patriotism. After a course of early education in the institutions which were then the centres of intellectual culture in Portugal, he found himself in Lisbon as a fine, polished young man, received into the best society, by virtue of his good birth and brilliant accomplishments. Fortune seemed to smile on him, and swimming gaily in the society of the fashionable capital, the future seemed to open to him nothing but a world of mirth and happiness.

Not the least of the romantic features of Camoens' career is the number of episodes of love which centre in his personality. And the earliest and most important of them hegan at a time when he was hardly out of his teens. On Good Friday in 1544, he saw Catherine de Ataides, the daughter of a high official at court, who had just become lady-in-waiting to the Queen, and this girl of thirteen summers evoked in him a devotion which can be compared in intensity only to the loves of Dante and Petrarch. He poured forth his passionate longing for her in a series of songs and sonnets, and her fascination haunted his imagination long after her death, when he was toiling as an exile in the ' branding summers' of India. If they do not rise to the spotless purity and

Platonic worship of Dante's *Vita Nuova,* they certainly display an equal constancy of aim and sincerity of passion. The imagery is sometimes too frank to meet with the unqualified approval of modern taste, but it is only hypocritical purism that will condemn the general level as vulgar. The same aspect of his genius was to meet with further development in the various stages of his life, every one of which was associated with some amorous episode or other—a Hindu girl being the heroine of one of them.

Camoens was not to bask in sunshine for long. Having been discovered in a stolen interview with Catherine he was banished to the upper Tagus,—such was the power of the noblemen who were her relations. The youth fresh from college had to face the loneliness of banishment from home for some months, but he found himself back in Lisbon in 1546. Prudence and caution have never been associated with the genius of poetry and Camoens repeated his offence, to be exiled as a soldier to Ceita or Ceuta in Africa. The son of Apollo now put on the grim equipment of Mars, took part in several campaigns, and even won the distinction of receiving wounds on the battlefield. Tradition affirms that during this period he lost one of his eyes, and received the appellation of the man with the ' eyeless face '. Service in Africa claimed him for three years and when he came back to Lisbon as a poor poet, he was again to involve himself in trouble. It was on a day when the hilarity of festival was supreme in the streets, that he drew his sword in a brawl, like noble Romeo in defence of his friend. Imprisonment was the consequence. He was relieved from it only when he volunteered himself for service in the East, and that was to open for him a new chapter of thrilling adventures.

On the 24th March, 1553, the poet, now in his thirtieth year set rail for India, in what may be regarded as the third exile of his life. He landed in Goa, the then capital of Portuguese Empire in the East, and found himself in a land remarkable for its natural beauties. Tropical scenery with its wealth of light and colour impressed itself profoundly upon his warm temperament; and the *Lusiad* bears ample evidence of his rapturous appreciation of the land of the pearl and the palm. His enjoyment of the delights of the world was sufficiently keen to infuse happiness into his life, but he was harping continually on the sense of exile pouring forth lament after lament in resonant and feeling verse, for the land of his birth which seemed to vanish from him for ever. The vice and licentiousness of the capital had reached infamous notoriety in his time, and the tainted atmosphere filled him with an intense disgust which expressed itself in the fierce satire *Disparates na India* or the vagaries of India. Goa was ' the mother of villains and the step-mother of honest men \

It would be futile to attempt the task of tracing his miscellaneous wanderings in the East. From Arabia and the confines of the Persian Gulf, to China in the East and Ceylon in the South, he was tossed about for years on various commercial, diplomatic and martial missions, acquiring all the experience of the world and knowledge of mankind, which was to stand him in such good stead when he came to compose the *magnum opus* of his life. His poetical inspiration was however not barren during this long interval. Students of English poetry will remember, in Wordsworth's well-known sonnet, a reference to Camoens 'soothing an exile's grief[1] with this instrument. And his sonnets and lyrics come to two volumes in Richard Burton's classical edition of his works. The emotional experience embodied in these passionate outpourings is capable of the finest appeal, and one is disposed to rank the sonnets unhesitatingly with such brilliant productions of the same type in English poetry, as the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare, the Sounets *from the Portuguese* of Elizabeth Browning, or the *House of Life* of Dante Rossetti.

It was not before undergoing sixteen years of exile that he was able to achieve the cherished desire of getting back to the land of his birth. The treachery of an ignoble friend threw him into prison in Mozambique, and he was relieved by mere accident, a Portuguese ship with some of his friends having chanced to enter the harbour. A shipwreck in which he ran a very close risk of losing his life was another disaster. And it was to a plague-stricken city which insisted on a painfully long period of quarantine that he had come. The political situation was not more favourable to him than it was when he had left. The expected preferment was long in coming, and when it came it was tardy as has been the case with many a son of genius. The publication of the *Lusiad,* the immortal poem which was to make him one *of* the world's greatest bards, was the only silver lining to this cloud of densest gloom. But it only brought him the paltry reward of an irregularly paid pension corresponding to £3-8-0 a year, and even that he was destined to enjoy only for eight years.

There is nothing more pathetic in the entire range of the world's literary history than the melancholy circumstances that gathered round Camoens in **the** last years of his life. Aged and reduced to crutches, he **had** to depend on public charity for his daily bread. There was a faithful Goanese slave who administered some consolation by helping him in **the work of** begging, **and** his **death** caused the poet a pang which **he could compare in intensity only to** his **grief** at the death of his **beloved Catherine. It was one long tale of** misery **and** wretchedness, **a** tragedy **of suffering equalled only in fiction, or at least found among only a handful of examples recorded in history. He died in a charity hospital in**

1579 ' without a sheet wherewith to cover himself', and attended by a poor monk who had been attracted to him by his intellectual greatness. Even the winding sheet was the gift of an alms-house. He was buried in the Franciscan Church of St. Anna and the following inscription was placed over his tomb :

Here lies Luis de Camoens.
He excelled all the poets of his time.
He lived poor and miserable and he died so.

MDLXXIX

The country had ignored its greatest poet, ' the poet encyclopaedist,' as a critic has observed, ' who gave birth to a national compendium of *belles-lettres* ranging from epigram to epic'. Those who realise the underlying causes of the nation's ingratitude will not probably find it difficult to understand why the glory and independence of the country perished with its great patriot and master of song. The nation has made some amends for it in recent years, by attempts to perpetuate his memory, but a recollection of the last scenes of his life is enough to brand its conduct with eternal infamy.

Enough has probably been said to show that the career of Camoens is of greater biographical interest than even that of such personages as Byron, Goethe and Rousseau, who have furnished endless material for the biographer. The romance of his life has been described in these words by one of his distinguished biographers referred to already, Richard Burton : " Opening with the fairest and brightest promise, exposed in manhood to the extremes of vicissitude, to intense enjoyment and terrible abysses,' lapsing about middle age into the weariness of baffled hope ; and ending comparatively early, in the deepest glooms of disappointment, distress and destitution, the student, the soldier, the traveller, the patriot, the poet, the mighty man of genius, thus crowded into a single career, the efforts, the purposes, the events of half-a-dozen. . . . . Considered in such light the Portuguese may be looked upon as unique : never was such a spirit ' so maltreated by fortune'. But will not his spirit find some consolation in the reverence with which the world of to-day looks to the poetic treasure he has bequeathed to posterity ? "

We can now proceed to the episode of the discovery and conquest of India to hear Camoens sing of:

Arms and Heroes, who from Lisbon's shore,
Through seas where sail was never spread before,
Beyond where Ceylon lifts her spicy breast,

And waves her woods above the watery waste ;
With prowess more than human forced their way
To the fair kingdom of the rising day.'

In the discovery of India by Vasco de Gama, Camoens has a theme worthy of a great epic poem. In addition to its being one of the greatest achievements in the history of the world, it has the advantage of appealing profoundly *to* the patriotism of his people. Following in the footsteps of Homer and Virgil, he sings the great deeds of his countrymen, and records the glorious story of the founding of a vast Empire in the romantic East. It is nothing short of the realisation of the dreams of all Europe, the conquest of a land which has been its fascination since the earlier times. The Portuguese poet says of the momentous voyage :

The sage Ulysses, nor the Trojan pride,
Such raging gulfs, such whirling storms defied.

It is however proposed to confine our attention here to the Indian interest in the poem. Long before the commencement of the main action, the future conqueror has a vision which inspires him to undertake the remarkable venture. The Indus and the Ganges, rivers famous in Indian mythology, roll down before him from a mountain steep, in two copious, glassy streams. Two hoary fathers arise from them and invite him to their shores, to restore peace and prosperity to a realm which is torn by civil strife. And like ancient Father Tiber, who appeared before the wandering Trojan hero in a vision and promised success to his race, the two brothers draw such a roseate picture of the future achievements of Portugual in the East, that it must have instilled heroism into much weaker hearts. The plan is resolved upon, and after numerous adventures in the course of the voyage towards the East, we find the fleet approaching the shores of India. Great is the excitement when the palmy shore of Malabar breaks upon their view :

Now morn, serene in dappled grey, arose
O'er the fair lawns where murmuring Ganges flows ;
Pale shone the wave beneath the golden beam ;
Blue o'er the silver flood Malabria's mountains gleam ;
The sailors on the Maintop's airy round
Land, land, aloud, with waving hands resound,
Aloud the pilot of the *Melinda* cries,

' All the extracts from the Lusiad in this volume are from William Mickle's translation, which is the best if not the most accurate.

Behold, O Chief, the shores of India rise !
Elate the joyful crew on tip-toe trod,
And every breast with swelling raptures glow'd ;
Gama's great soul confest the rushing swell :
Prone on his manly knees the hero fell,
Oh bounteous Heaven, he cries and spreads his hands
To bounteous Heaven, while boundless joy commands
No farther word to flow. In wonder lost,
As one in horrid dreams through whirlpools tost,
Now snatch'd by demons rides the flaming air,
And howls, and hears the howlings of despair ;
Awaked, amazed, confused with transport glows,
And trembling still, with troubled joy o'erflows.
So, yet affected with the sickly weight,
Left by the horrors of the dreadful night,
The hero wakes in raptures to behold
The Indian shores before his prows unfold '
Bounding he rises and with eyes on fire
Surveys the limits of his proud desire.

It may not be worth while entering into an account of all the details connected with the early history of the Portuguese in India, which constitute the foundation of the epic of Camoens. The historical narration is not the essence of the poem. The light which the epic throws on the social and political conditions of India in the sixteenth century is probably of greater interest to the student of to-day, and there is also a special value attaching to the descriptive parts of the poem.

India's (golden strand' has at last been reached, and Vasco de Gama is to be enligtencd on the nature of the new country by an inhabitant who has been attracted to the foreigners by the splendour of their equipage. There is now discourse on the geography of the land, which must have been of particular value in the days of Camoens, by spreading information about a part of the world which was enveloped in mystery. The passage may now be recalled, though on other grounds:

Vast are the shores of India's wealthful soil;
Southward sea gir't, she forms a demi-isle ;
His cavern'd cliffs with dark-brow'd forests crown'd
Hemodian Taurus frowns her northern bound :
From Caspia's lake the enormous mountain spreads,
And leading eastward rears a thousand heads ;
Far to extremest sea her ridges thrown,
By various names, through various tribes are known.
Here down the waste of Taurus' rocky side

Two infant rivers pour the crystal tide,
Indus the one, and one the Ganges named
Darkly of old, through distant nations famed :
One eastward curving holds his crooked way,
One to the West gives his swol'n tide to stray
Declining southward many a land they have,
And widely swelling roll the sea-like wave,
Till the twin offspring of the mountain fire
Both in the Indian deep ingulph'd expire.
Between these streams, fair-smiling to the day,
And many a league far to the south they bend,
From the broad region where the rivers and,
Till where the shores to Ceylon's isle oppose,
In conic form the India regions close.

' ' ' '

The attention of the informant is not confined to the physical configuration of the country. There is a poetieal dissertation on the laws and the religions of the land ; the kingdoms that spread themselves on its fertile plains and the people who swarm on the banks of its rivers. There are the sons of stern Deccan tilling the soil. Bengal extends its beauteous Eden where hallowed Ganges meets the sea. The kingdom of Vijayanagar, at the zenith of its power is there too, her sons shining in native gold and ruby. There are the Western Ghauts, Nature's rude wall, guarding the fertile lawns of Malabar.

Here, from the mountain to the surgy main,
Fair as a garden, spreads the smiling plain,
And lo, the empress of the Indian powers,
There lofty Calicut resplendent towers ;
Here's every fragrance of the spicy shore,
Here's every gem of India's countless store.

It is not possible to claim for Camoens, a foreigner who made a brief sojourn in the country, any success in dealing with the deeper aspects of India. An enthusiastic and almost bigoted Christian himself, he could not enter into the religion and philosophy of the East with any sympathy. Nor were his intellectual tastes congenial to the appreciation of the baffling religious mysteries of the people. The external forms of religious worship, as they obtained among the lower classes, as they might be witnessed in the streets, for instance, attracted the poet's attention, and he sang of them with power, if not with understanding. If his vision in politics was the conquest of the whole of India by his countrymen and the building of an empire destined to outshine the glories of Imperial Rome, the evangelisation of its teeming

millions was his dream in the sphere of religion. He attaches such great importance to the latter, that he reverts to it from time to time, and is disposed to regard it as even a more glorious consummation than the acquisition of all the wealth of the East.

This is hardly the occasion for referring to the variety of episodes woven into the texture of the poem, but there must be room left for one of them, the story of the martyrdom of St. Thomas at Mylapore, at a spot now marked by a raised cross in Luz Church Road. Historical research has disproved traditional accounts of the event, but it hardly affects the value of the artistic treatment of the story of Camoens. The piety of St. Thomas and the reputation for holiness he is acquiring by his miracle excite the *envy* of the Brahmins who are planning his murder. All their devices having failed, he is killed from behind, when he is at his prayers :

'T was on a day, when melting on his tongue,
Heaven's ofTer'd mercies glow'd, the impious throng,
Rising in maddening tempest round him shower'd
The splinter'd flint ; in vain the flint was pour'd
But Heaven had now his finish'd labours seal'd ;
His angel guards withdrew the etherial shield ;
A Brahmin's javelin tears his holy breast.

On every page there are accounts of incidents and descriptive passages of a nature calculated to arrest the attention of the Indian reader. Following Virgil's device of representing the important events of Roman History, on the shield made for Aeneas by Vulcan, the poet draws pictures of India's fate on the marble walls of the palace of the Zamorin. From the marshalled legions of Macedon advancing to the shores of Hydaspes under the leadership of a smooth-cheeked and rose-lipped conqueror, to the events of their own day, they behold the whole story on the sculptured walls.

The enthusiasm displayed in delineating the Indian splendours of the age is also striking. One has only to turn to his picture of the Zamorin holding court in his palace, in proof of this statement :

The Tapestried walls with gold were pictured o'er,
And flowery velvet spread the marble floor ;
In all the grandeur of the Indian state.
High on a blazing court, the monarch sate,
With starry gems the purple curtains shined,
And ruby flowers and golden foliage twined
Around the silver pillars. High o'er head

The golden canopy its radiance shed ;
Of cloth of gold the sovereign's mantle shone,
And his high turban flamed with precious stones.

It is in the midst of such gorgeous surroundings that the poet lays the scene of the heroic deeds of Vasco de Gama and his followers. And it is with great reluctance indeed that he thinks of closing the splendours on his Indian scene. There must have been the elation of a great national triumph when the hardy sons of Portugal bade farewell to India's shores after the work of discovery and conquest was over :

With rustling sound now swell'd the steady sail ;
The lofty masts reclining to the gale
On full-spread wings the navy springs away
And far behind them foams the ocean grey ;
After the lessening hills of the Ghauts fly
And mix their dim blue summits with the sky.

The land similarly fled from the vision of Camoens himself when after his long tropical exile was over, he returned to his fatherland. But was there the consciousness at that supreme moment, in his mind of a similar triumph, of having feasted his sight on a land of Romance, to sing of it in deathless verse ?

IV

The Lusiad of Camoens has a valuable lesson to the literary aspirant in India. There is not a single poem of any magnitude in India, that appeals to a sense of national honour in the sense in which Iliad and the Aeneid appealed to the Greeks and Romans of ancient Europe. There was a distinct desire on the part of Homer and Virgil to advance the glory of their Fatherlands when the former celebrated the victory of Greek arms in Asia, and the latter the foundation of what was going to develop into one of the world's greatest empire. *The Jerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso partakes of a similar characteristic. But the two great epics of India have been inspired more or less by a religious sense, and cannot very well be looked upon as commemorating national triumphs. *The Mahabharata* records a fierce internecine strife, and has bitter memories as marking the first step in India's downfall. The somewhat legitimate complaint of Dryden against *Paradise Lost,* as having a melancholy end, applies in a greater degree to this epic of the great war. The Gods and demi-gods play such an important part, and the idea of nationality exists to such a little extent in the *Ramayan* that it is difficult to look upon the poem as a celebration of India's conquest of Ceylon.

At least the example of these Western epics **must make India turn** for poetic inspiration to the great events of the nation's story. Numerous themes of epic grandeur, appealing to the national sentiment await treatment. There are the primitive pioneers of the Vedic period, opening up the land to light and civilisation ; the indomitable Porus bravely resisting the Hellenic hosts on the Jhelum ; Asoka wafting the message of Gautama Buddha to the ends of the earth ; Samudragupta bringing all India under the sway of his golden umbrella ; the valour and heroic sacrifice of Prithvi Raj striving vainly against the Moslem advance on the country, and Shivaji resuscitating an Empire from the ashes of centuries—there is inspiration enough in subjects like these for the poet of the highest genius.

The Derivation of the word ' Tamil '

A PHILOLOGIGAL CAUSERIE.

BY

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THE name Tamil, which denotes the most prominent of the Dravidian languages prevalent in South India, has for a long time past been giving rise to numerous attempts at philological unravelling. The result, however, is by no means satisfactory; nor is it even commeasurate with the varied efforts till now put forth. The word still remains a riddle except to those who have allowed the demands of their balanced judgment to be outrun by those of a greater and more insistent order, an intense love of their mother tongue. Scholars of this type seem prepared to stake their whole reputation on the correctness of their various pet derivations, provided these are sufficiently flattering and tend to add to the prestige of their dearly loved language and redound to the high name and fame of the race they belong to. A false sense of patriotism has blinded them to the fact that the very antiquity to which the name 'Tamil' mounts should necessarily preclude from its significance any advanced notions ethical, philosophical, religious etc., which we have later on come to associate with it. They also forget that Philology, unless handled by experts well-versed in the science of languages in general and of the history and development of certain languages in particular, is apt to become a danger and a snare to the general scholar. The very ease with which one could enter this special field and spin out any edifying story to one's liking, should serve as a warning that, after all, the matter is not so simple as it looks. The present paper is mainly intended to drive home this particular truth which many of us here seem sometimes to forget.

2. I shall, for the purpose of clearness and consecutive treatment, distribute and arrange most of the derivations thus far offered under certain broadly-marked groups. They fall under four great classes :—

I. Derivations due to the consideration of the Phonetic decay of the word ' Tamil.'

II. Derivations due to the application of Semantics to the word ' Tamil/

III. Derivations due to religious motives.

IV. Derivations due to mystical and symbolic motives,

3. It may be noted that while the opinions of the first two classes have at least a trace of reason and scientific procedure about them to recommend them for our serious consideration, those of the last two have clearly no such justification. These, after all, may be myth, poetry, reverie, anything but sober science. Yet I deal with these also here only to give the reader an idea of what a vast deal of ground some Tamil scholars have still to cover before they can be said to touch the fringe of the scientific problem implicated in the derivation of such an ancient word as " Tamil." Their complimentary, if sometimes, queer expositions, if they do not add to the world's scientific store of information, may at least serve to amuse the reader in *n* region where he has to plunge into and wade through mere dry-as-dust linguistic facts.

4. In the first class I have to give the place of honour to the derivation generally ofYered by the Sanskritists. Moved by a motive exactly the opposite of the one actuating certain Tamil scholars mentioned above, these would not rest satisfied till almost every language and literature in India was brought in some way or other under the protecting wings of Sanskrit. To single out a prominent figure of this group, I instance Subrahmanya Dlkshitar, the author of the *Prayogavivekam,* who holds that ' Tamil ' is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word " Dravida." What " Dravida " means in Sanskrit is nowhere stated, and we are as much in the dark as ever. According to this view, " Dravida " became later on ' Dramila \ and that again eventually gave us the form " Tamil." Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Beginnings of South Indian History,* writes in the same vein, and supports this all too well-known view. Why the word ' Tamil ' itself could not have given birth to ' Dramila ', and that again to ' Dravida ', and the order of this historical succession be completely reversed, none of these has seriously considered. They may argue that, then, they could not explain the later interpolation of the V sound in the word ' Tamil.' If so, following the same line of reasoning, they have to assert that the name ' Turk ' is not the original but a descendant of the form ' Turuska ', because it too stands without that peculiar sound *SK.* If, however, the fact is remembered that most of the languages including Sanskrit, in borrowing foreign words, play ducks and drakes with their phonetics according to their individual peculiarities and genius, I am sure that their philologizing would seem to require revision. Another important consideration which has escaped their notice is that the group of languages known as the Dravidian existed without a name till its speakers came into contact with the later Aryan invaders or colonists, and it was only after long ages had elapsed since its birth that it was christened for the first time by the Aryan incomers. The very fact that the term " Dravida " in Sanskrit does not carry an intelligible sense, is a conclusive evidence that it is a loan word from a foreign tongue.

5. A second derivation in this class is that proposed by Dr. Pope that 'Tamil' is a corrupt form of the significant phrase 'ten-moli' (Q^sDrQto.Ti^), the southern language, as distinguished from Sanskrit or ' vada-moli' the northern tongue. Considered as a mere accident in the field of Tamil Phonology, where even fantastic contractions of words in course of time have developed and still develop, one cannot urge that Ten-moli is incapable of giving us 'Tamil' as one of its vagaries. The difficulty of accepting this derivation, however, lies elsewhere. Dr. Pope proceeds on the impossible assumption that the Tamil language had no name of its own till it encountered the northern tongue. It seems to me that Dr. Pope succumbed to the easy temptation of holding that the relative terms Vada-moh and Ten-moli are coeval in their origin and are of equal historical age. As a matter of high probability Vada-moli is the first name that should have come into use in the language, and Ten-moli should have been coined much later merely as its antithetic companion. We have a right to inquire what should have been the name of this southern language before the coinage of this later name. Further, Tenmoli, being a pure Tamil name, it is but reasonable to suppose that it should have been coined by the Tamil people themselves. But is it at all likely that the Tamils would have waited long without a name for their language, and that, when it came to naming, they would have pitched upon a name with a direction-signifying epithet as *Ten-moli* simply out of the sheer necessity of distinguishing it from another direction-signifying name *Vada-moli* ? If, on the other hand, we suppose that Tenmoli came into currency long before and without any reference to Va$a-mo]i, perforce we have then to father its origin on the northern race, the Aryas. But the Tamil character of the name " Ten-moli " stands opposed to such a view. In this connection, I may refer to the parallel instance of [4] Vadapulam ' (northern country) appearing in the Sarigam poems, as the name of the border countries just to the north of Tamilagam. This certainly did not give rise to the name T^npulam for the Tamil country. When the three Tamil kingships developed in course of time into full-fledged monarchies, the Pandya ruler who bore sway in the south was called Tennavan (the southern ruler), but his country was never called Tenpulam, which, when coined, was applied to the land of Yama, the dread Lord of the dead in the southern region

6. Coming to the second class of derivations arising from the Semantic explanation of the term, I may instance four of them here. The first and the most popular is the one given by Sabhapati Navalar in his work " *Dravidaprakasika* " that Tamil means Sweetness (*{givPuzic)* i.e., that this particular language Is an incomparably sweet mellifluous tongue. Verses like

from the writings of later poets are quoted *ad nauseam* to support this philology. Apart from the flattering nature of this derivation, there is nothing else to recommend it. A poet has ample ground to belaud the chief instrument of his art, language, as a veritable fountain of nectar ; but sober linguists should pass it by as a mere instance of poetic license and fancy. The scholars who harp on the sweetness of Tamil seem to forget one plain fact, that to every man or woman, his or her language sounds as the sweetest tongue imaginable, and that all other languages are insipid. It is only those who have studied languages in a scientific way that are not victims to this natural bias. Moreover, ' Tamil' as meaning ' Sweet' by a figure of speech, labours under the disadvantage of having been twisted out of its natural meaning by the *literati,* and not by the common people ; nor even among the literati do we find any one of the earlier group, the &arigam poets for instance, extending the meaning of ' Tamil' to embrace ' Sweetness.' If the name ' Tamil' was coined and in circulation to denote a language at a period of time long anterior to the evolution of any literature in it, as every well-informed fair-minded scholar should hold, it would be simply absurd to assert that the first christeners had anything like the later idea of sweetness in their minds while they thought of naming their language. So far from that being the case, the name itself, one should assume, must have been the result of accidental historical associations now beyond our reach, and can hardly be ascribed to any conscious effort at naming. This much is sufficient to dispose of the sweetness-theory about the origin of Tamil.

7. The other three theories coming under the Semantic class are **all** more or less allied to the one noted above. Pupala Pillai, the author of *Tamil-varalaru (jgtAij auevrrjpi)* takes Tamil to mean beauty (^#(5) i.e., a language which has all the elements of natural beauty in it, whatever that may mean. The commentator of *Virasdliyam (sfij Q^.itf'ajih)* and the late Damodaram Pillai interpreted Tamil as derived from the root *piA* meaning the incomparable, the unique, and carrying with it the meaningless suffix £ as in such words as £§)u£i£, p-"0£e? ***<§i£}£*** etc. A slightly varied version of this is that of a modern school which interprets *u*the root of *puSiyt,* as 'solitary' (*p&sflenu)*) i.e., unconnected with any other family of languages in the world. All these derivations are surely highly flattering ; but one and all of them suffer from the defect which characterises the sweetness theory, and are, on that account, absolutely valueless from the standpoint of sober philology.

8. Turning from these hypotheses, which at least seem worthy of some critical examination, I have to take the reader through the vagaries of certain other scholars who prostitute philology for their own ends. In this third group come the religious savants, **who** convert everything round them **to take on a religious** colour **or be inspired by a religious**

motive. These scholars forget that religion, in the sense in which they take the word, is a system of beliefs and practices of immensely tardy growth, and that at the opening stages it was wholly innocent of all those fine-spun moral and metaphysical doctrines which later on came to gather round it. Some of these opine that being a divine letter, it begins the name Tamil (தமிழ்), and thus plainly denotes the divine origin of that language. Another school, not oblivious to human interests, declares that and *u*, the two vital sounds in the name, signify both the perfection of divinity and the imperfection of humanity, ^ being divine and *u*> human in their phonetic properties. A third school goer still further, and wields the analytic weapon with a vengeance. It says that the word ' Tamil' (தமிழ்) is made up of five elementary sounds த் + அ + ம் + இ + ழ் which do duty for the five letters of the mystic *Pancdksharam* of the Saivite religion. What should the Vaishnavites and other religionists do while thus being deprived of any claim to their mother-tongue seems to have in no way troubled these. It is unnecessary, I think, to offer any serious criticism of these strange, not to say, startling derivations.

9. Next in the fourth class come an interesting series of philological attempts[1] due to mystical or symbolic motives. By a perusal of these the reader can at once guage to what a sorry pass Philology has come in the hands of this mystic coterie. I shall simply enumerate them in an order without stopping to discuss in detail their relative merits which after all amount to nothing, (i) த in தமிழ் denotes தகர விஞ்ஞை , a mystic mantra, the significance of which is beyond the capacity of ordinary mortals to comprehend or even conceive, (ii) த is an ambrosial letter (அமுத வெழுத்து) and thus begins the name of a language sweet in every fibre of its make-up. (iii) The word தமிழ் begins with the first vowel, *jq*, the easiest sound to pronounce by the mere opening of one's mouth and blowing the breath through it. Thus the utter simplicity of the Tamil phonetics is justified by its very name, (iv) As human society is made up of the two sexes, male and female, the word தமிழ் is formed of both male and female letters, (v) The name தமிழ் is made up of two parts, the first part being composed wholly of natural letters இயற்கை எழுத்து and the last <j standing for a peculiar, artificial and highly intricate sound (செயற்கை எழுத்து). The rationale of the classification of letters into the natural (இயற்கை) and the artificial (செயற்கை) need not detain us just now. (vi) Instead of looking at the name from the point of view of letters, another group goes in for a syllabic presentation. It asserts with all solemnity that 4u£\j is a mono-

1. I am indebted to Mr. Pupala Pillai's *TamiUvaral&ru* for this group of derivations.

syllable, and refers to a language wherein monosyllabic words predominate. The first framers of the name, one has to suppose, sat in solemn conclave to take a census of the words appearing in the language for a comparison of their syllabic character, before they began seriously to give a name to their language. What a grand conclave it should have been to shame the speakers of other languages in not having hit upon such a strikingly original method of naming ! (vii) Not satisfied with the tinkering on the surfaces as exhibited by the two previous schools in confining their attention to letters and syllables, another school gets deeper into phonology and says that the word *,ai£ly,* is made up of three sounds த, மி, ழ், and hence represents in order the three types of sounds, hard, soft, and intermediate (வல்லோசை, மெல்லோசை, இடைப்பட்டவோசை) I concede some ingenuity to these philologers who press into service the three-fold classification of the consonantal sounds by the Tamil grammarians, வல்லினம், மெல்லினம், and இடையினம் for success in their philological venture, (viii) Not content with any of these derivations, another class, mystically inclined, takes *,&u8£* as a mere symbol wherein the mystic number ' three ' functions to their great satisfaction. If that singulai-ly fertile number [4] three ' can appear in connection with முப்பொருள், மூவுலகு, முத்தமிழ், முக்காலம், முக்குணம், etc. why can it not function, ask they, in the name of the Language. Hence, jmtft£, hi the view of these theorists, should be taken as a symbolic representation of the mystic number ' three '. (ix) The next and last class, not being satisfied with any of the mundane derivations, aspires to draw philological inspiration from the heavenly spheres. Kartikeya Mudaliyar, the protagonist of his school, holds that * Tamil ' is a corruption of the word *,anu>w* light, the name of Surya, the Sun-God ! After the Ptolemaic system of astronomy was overthrown by the helio-centric theory of Copernicus, who is there to doubt the solar origin of the name Tamil ? It would be interesting also to note in this connection the very gigantic effort of this last-named philologer to derive every word in the Tamil language from that solitary root or primitive word *&is> ($ul),* the Sun. If each and every word in the Tamil Language can thus boast of a solar ancestry, it would be preposterous on our part to refuse a like descent to the name of the language itself.

10. I do not think that this bunch of interesting, if somewhat quaint, derivations exhausts the list. There may still be more of a like brand. But most of them, as the reader may have already noticed, are beneath serious examination. To others objections have been urged which, in my view, are really serious. Still the most fatal objection of them all I have not adverted to till now, and shall now state in detail and wind up this article.

11. Each one of the numerous philologists mentioned above has gone on the assumption that Tamil is primarily the name of a language,

and has tried to shape his derivation to suit the requirements of **a** language. On the other hand, the facts disclosed by general history all the world over and by Early Tamil Literature in particular establish beyond the shadow of a doubt that such an assumption is purely gratuitous, nay even fundamentally erroneous. That the name 'Tamil' denoted primarily a *people* or race, and only secondarily and derivatively the *country* inhabited by such people and the language spoken by them, can easily be established by an appeal to the history of other peoples and to the ancient history of the Tamils themselves. A glance at the names of peoples outside India and in India is enough to convince the reader that the names of languages and of countries are mostly derived from the names of peoples or races speaking such languages and inhabiting such countries. For instance, the names of the languages and countries of such peoples as the Danes, the Swiss, the Irish, the Poles, the Finns, the Angles, the Franks, etc., are all derivatives from race-names. When at a later period territorial political divisions came to be established we find people called after the names of their countries, as for instance, the Australians, the Canadians, the Newzealanders, etc. In India, the names *Rdjaputs and Rdjaputdna, Andhra and Andhra-desa* illustrate the first principle, and the name *Maharastra* and *Mahralta, Kannada* and the *Kanarese people* show the second and later principle of nomenclature. Both these principles of nomenclature preclude, however, the possibility of a language-name taking precedence of a race-name or a country-name in point of antiquity. The reason for this is not far to seek. In national life, languages gain in importance and significance only after the birth of writing and development of literatures in them. Even the idea of speaking of languages in their pro-script pre-literary stage as separate entities would not have shot through the brains of their speakers. As in all languages writing and literatures develop comparatively at a much later period, it would not be reasonable to hold that the races had to wait the naming of the languages before they thought of naming themselves. On the other hand, one would be amply justified on grounds of general history that the languages derive their names from the races they belong to.

12. Turning to the name of Tamil Language, which has given room to so much fruitless philological speculation, we find that, in the usage of the early Sangam poets, the name occurs as denoting the people in the first place, and also the country occupied by them. Nowhere do we come across a single instance of an early poet using it as a language-name. I don't argue from this that the language had no name then as dinstinguished from the names of other languages prevalent in adjacent countries. But evidently at the spoken stage it did not acquire so much importance as it **did** when fairly arrived at the stage of writing. The word 'Tamil' in the following verses of the early Sarigam poets.

1. தமிழ்தலை மயங்கிய தலையாலங் கானத்து.
—குடபுலவியனார் **in Puram 19-2.**

2. — — — வாய்வாட்
டமிழகப் படுத்த விமிழிசை முரசின்
வருநர் வரையாப் பெருநா ளிருக்கைத்
தூங்கல் பாடிய வோங்குபெரு நல்லிசைப்
பிடிமிதி வழுதுணைப் பெரும்பெயர்த் தழும்பன்
கடிமதில் வரைப்பி னூணூ ரும்பர்
—நக்கீரர் **in Agam 227.**

refers to the Tamil army or the soldiers belonging to the Tamil race. And in the following the same word denotes the country inhabited by the Tamils.

i. வையக வரைப்பிற் றமிழகங் கேட்ப
—கருவூர் கந்தப்பிள்ளை சாத்தனார் **in Puram 168-18.**

ii. மண்டிணி கிடக்கைத் தண்டமிழ்க் கிழவர்
முரசு முழங்கு தானை மூவ ருள்ளும்
—வெள்ளைக்குடி நாகனார் **in Puram 35 : 3-4.**

iii. தமிழ்கெழு மூவர் காக்கு
மொழிபெயர் தேஎத்த பன்மலை யிறந்தே
—மாமூலனார் **in Agam 31.**

Evon on the assumption that the language too of the Tamil people must have had a name at that time, it is only reasonble to suppose that the language must have received its name from the people speaking it, and not the people from the language. Thus from the usage of the early Sarigam poets we have a right to conclude that 'Tamil' as a race-name is more ancient than Tamil as a language-name.[2] We find also that this conclusion is in consonance with the facts disclosed by the general history of peoples in the other parts of the world. If so, all the linguistic derivations that have been hazarded till now about the origin and significance of the word 'Tamil' should necessarily fall to the ground. All of them take for granted, as a matter of course, that the name Tamil denoted primarily a language and not a race, which is just the reverse of truth. If at all a correct derivation of their name, it should be ethnic and not linguistic.

13. Now we have to turn to the explication of this race-name * Tamil.' Like the names of many other races in the world this name too should stand unexplained for the present. The time of its origin natur-

2. The authority of the *Tolkappiyam*, a comparatively late work for the period we speak of, cannot help us in the settlement of this question of ancient history.

ally transcends all historical periods, and takes us to an antique world which saw the birth and expansion of the various races and peoples now inhabiting the earth. Leaving all history behind, it points to a prehistoric time far back into the depth of human antiquity, a time about which Ethnology merely dreams and has not yet come to a definite conclusion. And it is into the secrets of such a word as this—one of the oldest in the whole range of the language—that these philologers attempt to pierce with the vain hope of wresting its meaning. A perusal of this article may have prepared the reader to judge as to which of the two classes mentioned above, the question of deriving the term 'Tamil' belongs. That word, taking its very early origin into consideration, should for the present stand inexplicable, and it would be only the part of wisdom in this connection to abide by the warning conveyed by the following line of Einstein written when confronted with a like insoluble problem in the field of Physics. " It seems to me much better " wrote the great scientist " to give in to our present inability rather than be satisfied by a solution that is only apparent."

Some Land-marks in Tamil Linguistic History

BY

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IT is a well-known fact that every spoken language undergoes modification every day, even though it comes under the recognition of people in general only in the course of centuries. Tamil is not free from it. It is possible now from the literature available to us at the present day to fix at least five stages of growth in her :—

1. The period of the *Toikdppiyam.*
2. The period of *Ettu-t-tokai* and *Pattupattu.*
3. The period of the *Silappatikdram* and the *Manimekalai.*
4. The period from the time of the *Tevaram* and the *Ndldyirap-pirabandam* to that of the *VirasoUyam.*
5. The period from the time of the *Nannul* to the present day.

The keys which unlock the above statements are :—

1. The use of the verb in the optative mood (viyarikol-vinai).
2. The use of the plural suffix ' *kal* \
3. The use of the pronouns of the first person.
4. The form of the present tense of verbs.
5. The oblique forms of *ellirum* and *elldruvi.*

The author of the *Tolkdppiyam* says that verbs in the optative mood are not used in the first and second persons :—

Avarrul
Munnilai tanmai y-ayl r-i^atto^u
Manna t-ahum viyanko^ kilavi.

Murañciyūr Muḍinākarāyar, the author of the second stanza in *Puranānūṟu* uses a verb in the optative mood in the second person.[1] cf :—

வானவரம்பனை நீயோ பெரும
நடுக்கின்றி நிலியரோ[1]

Similar use of verbs in the optative mood in the second person is found in many places of the second period. This clearly shows that verbs in the optative mood were used only in the third person at the first period, and later on, it was extended to the second person. The author of the *Nannūl* says that they can be used in all the three persons. Cf :—

காவொடு நவ்வொற் றீற்ற வியங்கோள்
இயலு மிடம்பா லெங்கு மென்ப (நன். 338)

Hence it is clear that they began to be used in the first person also before him.

Secondly, the author of the *Tolkāppiyam* states that the pluralising particle '*kaḷ*' may be optionally used only with "*a.'.ṟiṇai nouns*". Cf :

கள்ளொடு சிவணு மவ்வியற் பெயரே
கொள்வழி யுடைய பலவறி சொற்கே (தொல். சொல். பெய. 15)

Kaḷḷoḍu Śivaṇu m-a-v-v-iyaṟ peyar-ē
Koḷ-vaḻi y-uḍaiya pala-v-aṟi śoṟkē.

As far as I am aware, the same particle '*kāḷ*' is not found with *uyartiṇai* nouns (high caste nouns) in '*Eṭṭuttokai*' or '*Pattuppāṭṭu*'. But it finds a place with them for the first time in the *Silappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*.

யாங்களு[2] நின்னெறிப் படர்குதும் (சிலப். 298, 161)
கவுந்தி யடிகளும் (சிலப். 298, 166)
பத்தினிப் பெண்டிர்கள் (,, 469, 4)
கோன்பிகள் விழுமம் கொள்ளலும் (மணி. 33, 75)

In the *Tēvāram* and the *Nālāyirappirabandam* the particle is also found with *participial nouns* like *Solluvārkaḷ*. Cf :—

சொன்னீர சொல்மாலை சொல்லுவார்கள் சூழ்விசும்பில்
நன்னீர்மை யால்மகிழ்ந்து நெடுங்காலம் வாழ்வாரே

1. This use of the verb in the optative mood in the second person makes us infer that its author is later than that of the *Tolkappiyam.* If so, the statement of *Nakkirar* that the former belongs to the first dangam period and the latter to the second dahgam period is open to question.

2. It must be borne in mind that, according *to Tolkappiyanar,* pronouns of **the** first person are *uyartinai* and not *viravuttinai.* Cf.—(Tol. Coh **Peyar.** 8).

Then it was extended to the finite verbs of *uyartiṇai* and *a.'.ṟiṇai,* since the participial nouns in ancient Tamil had mostly the same form as finite verbs : — Cf.

> திருநறையூர் மணிமாடம் சேர்மின்களே (பெரிய திருமொழி 6,6)
> பொய்யர் காலங்கள் போக்கிடுவார்களே (அப்பர் தேவாரம், திருப்பழனம், 2)
> தாங்கள் நின்று தலைவணங்குவார்களே (க, ... 7)

Hence at the later period we see that the particle '*kaḷ*' is used not only with *uyartiṇai* and *a.'.ṟiṇai nouns,* but also with *verbs* of both *tiṇais.*

Pronouns of the first person which were considered by the author of the *Tolkāppiyam* as *uyartiṇai* and which were used as such in the works of the Saṅgam period, began to be considered as *viravuttiṇai* (both *uyartiṇai* and *a.'.ṟiṇai*) from the time of the *Naṉṉūl.* Cf : —

> தன்மை நான்கு முன்னிலை யைந்தும்
> ... ... பொதுப்பெயர். (நன். 282)

The finite verb of the form '*Śeyyum*' is considered by *Tolkāppiyaṉār* to belong to the present tense alone. Cf : —

> பல்லோர் படர்க்கை முன்னிலை தன்மை
> அவ்வயின் மூன்றும் நிகழுங் காலத்துச்
> செய்யு மென்னுங் கிளவியொடு கொள்ளா.
> (தொல். சொல். வினை. 30)

But according to Naṉṉūlār it belongs to the future tense also. Cf : —

> செய்யுநிகழ் பெதிர்வும் (நன். 145)

The forms of the present tense according to the author of the Naṉṉūḷ are generally Śeykiṟēṉ, Śeykiṉṟēṉ, *Śeyyā-niṉṟēṉ.* But no one of the above forms finds a place in any work before the time of the *Tēvāram* and the *Nālāyirappirabandam.* Besides the form "*Śeyyā-niṉṟēṉ*" is considered by the commentator on the *Vīraśōḻiyam* to be two words *ceyyā* and *niṉṟēṉ.* But the author of the *Naṉṉūl* has taken them as one word and considers that āniṉṟu is the sign of the present tense. (*Naṉṉūl.* 143).

The oblique cases of "*ellīrum*" and "*ellārum*" according to *Tolkāppiyaṉār* are *ellīrnummaiyum, ellīrnummāṉum, ellīrnummakkum,* etc., and *ellārtammaiyum, ellārtammāṉum, ellārtamakkum,* etc. Cf : — *Ellāru m-eṉṉum paṭarkkai y-iṟutiyum* (Tol. Elut. 192). But no such form is, as far as I see, found in any extant literature. But, on the other hand, the forms like *ellārkkum* find a place even in the stanzas of *Puṟanāṉūṟu.* Cf : —

> நெல்லு நீரு மெல்லார்க்கு மெளிய (புறநா. 58, 10)

Hence from **the** forms *ellirnumakkum,* etc. sanctioned by *Tolkappiyandr* and the use of the *viyankol* only in the third person, we have to infer that the *Tolkdppiyam* is the earliest of the Tamil works that are available now. Hence it belongs to the first period. Since works like the *Purandnuru* do not use the suffix ' *kal'* along with *uyarthxai* nouns, and the *Silappadikaram* and the *Manimekalai* use it, the *Ettiittokai* and the *Pattuppdttu* belong to the second period. Since the same suffix is not found in verbs either in the *Silappadikaram* or the *Manimekalai,* but it is so used in the *Tevdram,* etc., the *Silappadikaram* and the *Manimekalai* belong to the third period and the *Tevaram,* etc., belong to the fourth period. Since the commentator on the *Virasoliyam* considers " Seyyaninran as two words, while the author of the *Nannul* regards it as one, the Nannul and the later works may be said *to* belong to the fifth period.

Tamil Versions of Brhatkatha

BY

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In a number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar brought to the notice of the public the existence of the Tamil version of the *Brhatkatha.* There he did not give details of it, as the book was not then published. It is now proposed to give a short summary of the Tamil versions, indicating the most important deviations from Samskrit.

There are two works in Tamil. One is called *Perunkadai,* the Tamil equivalent of Brhatkatha. The other is called *Udayana-kityna.ra-ka.vvyam* which contains 369 stanzas in Viruttam metre. This is only a condensed version of the other work—*Perunkadai,* and the author of Udayana-kumara-kaviyam is not known. The author of Perunkadai is one Kongu Ven Ma *alias* Konguvelir, about whom much is not known. The present edition of the work is based on a single Manuscript, and that too is very defective at the beginning and at the end. While the two Tamil works treat the story of Udayana in detail, the Brhat-katha-manjari, the Katha-sarit sagara and the Sloka-sahgraha treat the story of Udayana very briefly. On the other hand, these Samskrit works treat the story of Naravahana Datta in detail, while the Tamil versions give only a brief summary of his story.

A short summary of the story of Udayana up to the birth of Naravahana Datta as found in *Perunkadai* is given below. When Udayana was captured by Mahasena, Udayana not only managed to escape but eloped with Vasavadatta,—the daughter of Mahasena—with the help of Yuki (Yaugandharayana) and married her. Mahasena forgave Udayana for this act afterwards. Yuki, the crafty minister of Udayana, thought of expanding the kingdom, but the king did not care for it and was only enjoying the pleasures of life. Yuki, with the concurrence of other ministers, devised the supposed death of himself and Vasavadatta. Udayana did not reconcile himself first for the removal of Vasavadatta, but as time went on, he yielded to the fascinations of Padmavati, daughter of the king of Magadha. So far, the Tamil and Samskrit versions agree. While the Samskrit versions are definite in saying that Udayana married only two wives, the Tamil version gives details of his marriage with two other ladies. One is Vasavadatta *alias* Mananlkai,

daughter of the King of Kosala. When the King of the Kosalas was defeated by the king of Pafichalas, the latter took the females also as captives. The daughter of the Kosala king was one of them. She, with other members, was presented to the queen as a servant-maid. She lived there under the assumed name of Mananikai. When the Pafichalas were defeated in turn by Udayana, his harem was captured, and the inmates were presented to Vasavadatta as servant-maids. Mananikai was also one of them. She was employed as a personal attendant. One day the queens were playing at balls. Mananikai was also amongst them. She was an adept in playing balls. While she was at play, Udayana saw her, and was enraptured at her beauty. He contrived to talk to her in secret. When it was known to Vasavadatta, she was much enraged and ordered her hairs to be cut off. The king was much annoyed but was helpless. He sought the intervention of his ministers. Vayantaka interposed and tried to drag the matter for some time and Yiiki also, attired in disguise, diverted the queen's attention for some time. In the meanwhile Padmavati sought the chief queen, and solicited the release of Mananikai. At this juncture, the king of the Kosalas sent a messenger to queen Vasavadatta to the effect that his younger sister was living there under the name of Mananikai, narrated the circumstances under which she came there, and requested her to take care of the girl. When she learnt that Mananikai was none other than one of her dear relations, she sought her forgiveness for the cruelty done to her, and Vasavadatta herself gave Mananikai in marriage to King Udayana.

When Udayana was living in the forest near Lavanaka with Vasavadatta, a young girl named Viricikai—daughter of king of Mandara near Kailas, came to him and asked him to make a garland for her. He made the garland and gave it to her. Since then she was thinking of him alone. When Udayana was enjoying the pleasures of life, the retired king of Mandara came to him and requested him to marry his daughter. After obtaining the consent of his three queens he accepted the offer and married her also. Thus he had four wives.

Now coming to the story of Naravahana Datta it is given below as found in the *Udayana-kumara-kavyam :* —

When Udayana was ruling at Kausambi, some merchants came and preferred a complaint. The complaint was this. A merchant had only one wife. They had three children. When they grew up the eldest went on colonial trade. The second one was trading in the bazaar in his native town, and the third son was doing a lucrative business by trading at times. The first son who went away to the colonies died there. The remaining brothers wanted to share the deceased's property. The king directed the minister Rumanvat to enquire into the case. The minister wanted to know the statement of the widow. Her

relatives informed the minister that she was in a family way. He recommended to the king that the property in question should be kept sealed till the birth of the child. If she gave birth to a male child, the property would go to him without any question. In case she begot a female child, the whole property could be divided among the brothers. Satisfied with this order, the parties went away.

Udayana was all the time observing that the domestic happiness lay in having children, and was dissatisfied at his not having any progeny. With this thought uppermost in his mind, he went to the queen's apartments. At that time Vasavadatta also was observing intently how a mother-bird was carrying food to her young ones, and how she was fondling them. The queen too was thinking about her childlessness. Both of them had that night a dream which, when interpreted, showed that they would have a son ruling over the Vidyadharas. The Samskrit versions differ here and say that Queen Vasavadatta saw a lady passing along the road with many children, and on her advice she and the king fasted and got a son.

This son was Naravahana Datta—Tamil Naravanan—who married Madanamaficika, Vegavati and Angara-vilasini according to the Tamil version, whereas it is said that Naravana married 26 wives according to the Nepalcse *Slokasangraha*. Thus, there are interesting variations between the Tamil and Samskrit versions.

Pataliputra in a Tamil Classic

BY

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The question of the exact site of Pataliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha had been engaging the attention of antiquarians for a long time. Lt.-Col. Waddell began his excavations in 1890-1 and published his " Discovery of the Exact site of Asoka's classic capital of Pataliputra " in 1892. Since then archaeologists have been quite busy. The results of later investigations have been thus summarised by Vincent A. Smith :

" Pataliputra, the imperial capital, which had been founded in the fifth century B.C., stood in the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Son with the Ganges, on the northern bank of the former, and a few miles distant from the latter. The site is now occupied by the large native city of Patna and the English civil station of Bankipore, but the rivers changed their courses many centuries ago, and the confluence is at present near the cantonment of Dinapore, about 12 miles above Patna. The ancient city, which lies buried below its modern successor, was, like it, a long, narrow parallelogram, measuring about nine miles in length and 1½ miles in breadth. It was defended by a massive timber palisade, pierced by 64 gates, crowned by five hundred and seventy towers, and protected externally by a broad deep moat, filled by the waters of the Son."

Bearing on this question, there is a reference in one of the Tamil classics of the Sangam period, *viz., Kurundogai.*[1]

1. This work was first edited by the late Mr. Sauriperumal Aranganar, Tamil Pandit Voorhee's College, Vellore. Following his effort, three other editions are known to have been published. But, despite these repeated attempts, the text of this important classic still remains in many places incorrect and obscure. It is a misfortune that a work of such magnitude and literary excellence should not have been properly edited till now. Tamil scholars await, with eager interest, the publication of an accurate and critical edition of this classic and may we hope that their wish will soon be realised. It is a matter for congratulation that the Madras University has invited Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar to address himself to this task.

In stanza 75 of this work (Sauriperumal Aranganar's edition), we find the following two lines :—

> வெண்கோட் டியானை பூஞ்சலை படியும்
> பொன்மலி பாடிலி பெறீஇயர்

From the colophon[2] it is clear that these words are spoken by the heroine of the poem to the bard who brings her the happy news of the arrival of her lord. She wishes him a reward as the word 'பெறீஇயர்' indicates. Now, what is the reward ?

Mr. S. Aranganar considers 'பொன்மலி' as the reward and takes the phrase to mean * abundance of gold.' I may at once say that this interpretation is altogether unacceptable. The word 'மலி' can never be taken as a noun without doing violence to language and idiom. The phrase is merely an adjunct and means ' abounding in gold.' There is only one more noun 'பாடிலி' in the line, and that must be the word qualified by the adjunct. Now what does 'பாடிலி' mean ? It must necessarily be the name of a place, and this place should have been well known for its great wealth, as the adjunct clearly shows.

Is there any such ancient city of a name similar to *unu^&Sl* ? The answer is obvious. The only famous city of antiquity the name of which answers to this description is Patali. That this city was in ancient days noted for its wealth may be gathered from the following lines of the *Ahananuru,* another classic of the Sarigam period :

> 'பல்புகழ் நிறைந்த வெல்போர் நந்தர்
> சீர்மிகு பாடலிக் குழீஇக் கங்கை
> நீர்முதற் கரந்த நிதியங் கொல்லோ' (அகம். 265)

A more direct reference to its gold and goldsmiths is furnished by *Peruiikadai* :

> 'பாடலிப் பிறந்த பசும்பொன் வினைஞரும்' (உஞ்சைக். 58,42)

But what do we find in the *Kurundogai* text ? In the place where we should normally expect 'பாடலி' we find a slightly altered reading, 'பாடிலி.' Mr. S. Aranganar takes this reading to mean a 'base person' (lit., 'one wanting in greatness'), and applies this term to the bard, who, according to the author of the colophon, brought the news of the arrival of the lord. But Naccinarkiniyar has construed the stanza somewhat differently. (See his commentary on the 6th sutra of Karpiyal, *Tolkappiyam).* According to him, it is the heroine's maid

2. **The colophon reads :**
இது தலைமகன் வரவுணர்த்திய பாணற்குத் தலைமகள் கூறியது.

who brought the glad news and the speech of the heroine on that occasion was embodied in the poem. This means that the words of the poem must be suitable to this alternative interpretation of the situation also. Now the term 'பாடிலி' may have some propriety when addressed to 'பாணன்' as he is, according to poetic convention, low-born and frequently represented as resorting to low tricks in his services to his master, the hero. But the term can, by no means, be applied to the heroine's maid, for convention always represents her as high-born and as enjoying the full confidence of her mistress (vide sutra 35 of Kaja-viyal, *Tolkappiyam).* This shows clearly that 'பாடிலி' is not the word intended and that it is a misreading of some other word. We have seen that 'பாடலி' may be the word which the context requires. We may also note that, in similar circumstances, wealthy cities and countries (and even celestial worlds) are frequently mentioned in ancient and mediaeval Tamil literature.[3]

These considerations may fairly induce us to regard' *UIL-<*SI* பெறீஇயர்' as the correct reading. And obviously the line means 'may you be rewarded with gold-abounding Patali.' Recently, I had occasion to go through *Karundogai* and correct the text with the help of some manuscripts.[4] The readings in these manuscripts confirm in an unforeseen manner the correctness of the inference above made. The first line reads: 'வெண்கோட் டியானை சோனை படியும்' in some manuscripts, while one manuscript gives 'சோணை' instead of 'சோனை'. I may also add that the reading 'சோணை' is supported by Ilampuranar, the earliest of the commentators of *Tolkappiyam* (vide his commentary on the sixth sutra of Karpiyal). Naccinarkiniyar also in his commentary on the above Sutra gives the same reading *Qenlesr.* *m* is evidently the river Son on whose northern bank stood the ancient classic capital Pataliputra. The situation of this far-famed city of antiquity was a well-

3. 'புனல்பொரு புதவி னுறந்தை யெய்தினும்.' (அகம்-237)
'சோழர் வெண்ணெல் வைப்பி னன்னாடு பெறினும்' (அகம்-201)
'கருங்கட் கோசர் நியமம் பெய்தினும்
உறுமெனக் கொள்குவ ரல்லர்' (அகம்-90)
'பொன்னுலகு ஆளீரோ புவனி முழுது ஆளீரோ
நன்னலப் புள்ளினங்காள்...
என்னலங் கொண்ட பிரான் தனக்கு என்னிலைமை உரைத்தே'
(திருவாய்மொழி-6,8,1)

4. One of them was kindly lent *to* me by Mr. M. R. Raghava Aiyangar, Sethu Samasthana Mahavidwan, (now of Annamalai University). Another manuscript belongs to the late Mr. T. Kanakasundaram Pillai of Madras and was kindly placed at my disposal by his son Mr. T. K. Rajasekharan.

known fact in ancient India, and Patanjali in his *Mahdbhdsya* (vide II, 1, 16) cites ' anusonam Pataliputram ' as an illustration. This clinches the matter once for all. The reading ought to be

> ' வெண்கோட் டியானை சோணை படியும்
> பொன்மலி பாடலி பெறீஇயர் '

and the passage means : " May you be rewarded with gold-abounding Pa^aliputra, where white-tusked elephants bathe in the waters of the Sonai."

The printed text reads 'பூஞ்சுனை' instead of சோணை. This reading is not supported by manuscripts. Moreover, the reading 'சுனை' cannot be correct. The subject-matter of the stanza belongs to what is technically known as ' *marudam* ' and 'சுனை' belongs to ' kurinji.' The Tamil poetic convention requires that the *tinais* should not be mixed together in respect of one and the same situation.

So the reading பூஞ்சுனை is clearly wrong, and it is easy to indicate how the mislection arose. The letters ணை and னை resemble each other so closely in form that the scribes would often mistake one for the other, சொ and சோ would be written exactly alike on the palm-leaf, the length of the medial vowel being determined by the requirements of meaning or metre. சோணை is the name of a river in a distant country and the common scribe of later days could not have known this word. On the other hand, he would be quite familiar with the word சுனை which would, not infrequently, be written as சொனை, both being very similar in sound. It may be remarked that சுனை is even to-day often mispronounced as சொனை. This fact must have first led the scribe to correct சோனை into சுனை. When once சுனை was thus introduced into the poem, it would be seen that the line was wanting in a syllable. To supply this want, 'பூஞ்சுனை' must have been invented. Hence the corrupt text of the printed edition.

We have been able to arrive at the correct text of an ancient poem, and History has greatly aided us in our reconstruction. It is not a little interesting to note that there should lie buried in this poem of antiquity a reference to a fact which took many long years of toilsome excavation to establish beyond a shadow of doubt.

Historical Dramas in Indian Literature

BY

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IN his Presidential Address delivered at the opening session of the First Bombay Historical Congress 1931, *Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar,* to whom Indian historical research owes so much, and in whose honour these lines are written, has pointed out the importance of literary works, and especially the Sanskrit Kavya, as sources of history. 44 Used with discrimination and judgment ", he said, " literature, even general literature, may prove to be of as great value as any other source of history, and sometimes infinitely more reliable and illuminating ". In a paper on Vikramaditya (in the Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, I, 149 f.), the learned historian has already referred to the newly discovered drama *Devl-Candragupta,* as throwing new light on the history of Candragupta II.

This drama, the text of which has not yet been found, but which happily is at least known by extensive quotations in Bhoja's Srhgaraprakasa and in the Natyadarpana of Ramacandra and Gunacandra, is the work of *Visakhadatta,* the well-known author of the Mudraraksasa. It has been possible, by means of these fragments, and with the help of information derived from other literary sources,[1] partly to restore the main plot of the drama and its historical background. The fragments of the play which have been preserved, are not sufficient to restore all the details of the plot. But this much is certain, that it deals with the romantic story of the rescue of Dhruvadevi (or Dhruvasvamini) through Candragupta II. Ramagupta had for political reasons handed over his wife Dhruvadevi to a Saka chief.[2] His younger brother, Prince Candragupta, resenting this ignominy, entered the camp of the Saka in the guise of the queen, killed the enemy, and rescued the queen, whom he afterwards married, and who became the mother of Kumaragupta.

1. See **A.** Rangaswami Sarasvati in *lnd. Ant.* 52, 1923, p. 181 ff ; S. Levi in J. *A.*, t. 203, 1923, p. 201 ff; D. R. Bhandarkar in *Malaviya Comm. Vol.,* p. **189** ff ; K. P. Jayaswal in *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.* 18, 1932, p. 17 ff.

2. Rudrasiinha? See Radhagovinda Basak, *The History oj North-Eastern* ***India,*** London, **1934, p.** 38.

The date of Visakhadatta is far from certain. I have been inclined to agree with those who would assign the Mudraraksasa to the period of Candragupta II.[3] But it is not likely that Visakhadatta would have written the *Dewcandragupta,* a drama in which Candragupta marries the wife of his elder brother murdered by him,[4] at the lifetime of this king, or even of Kumaragupta, the son of Dhruvadevi. It would, then, also follow that the reading *pdrthivas-Candraguptah* in the Bharatavakya of the Mudraraksasa is to be rejected, and one of the other readings *(Dantivarma or Avantivarma)* to be adopted. Thus, the *Devlcandragupta,* as far as we know it at present, would support the sixth century as the date of Visakhadatta.[5]

Among the dramas which have been discovered only a few years ago, there is also the " Kaumudlmahotsava ", which its editors call a " historical drama ",[6] and which the ingenious Indian historian *K, P. Jayaswal*[7] has treated as a source for the history of Candragupta I.

The play, in five acts, has been edited from one MS. discovered in the Malabar country which has yielded already so many rare literary treasures, especially in the field of Sanskrit dramatic literature.

The title " Kaumudlmahotsava" has been chosen by the editors, because the scribe had written this word at the close of the copy. The great Kaumudi festival used to be held on the full-moon day of the month Karttika in autumn.[8] From the prologue we learn, that, at the time when the play was to be staged, the beginning of this Kaumudi festival coincided with the celebration of the restoration of Kalyanavarman, king of Pataliputra, to his throne. And the Sutradhara says that he is going to produce, on this occasion, a play that has the life-history of this very king for its subject. So it seems more likely that the name of Kalyanavarman appeared in the title. But we do not know. Nor do

3. See my *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* III, 210.

4. We do not know in which way the murder of Ramagupta was described in the play. But see Bhandarkar, I.e., p. 199 ff.

5. Cf. K. H. Dhruva, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Mudraraksasa* (Poona 1923), p. x.

6. *Kaumudlmahotsava—A* Historical *Drama,* Edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Madras 1929, (The Daksina-Bharati Sanskrit Series, No. 4), first published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Research Society* for 1928-29.

7. *Annals of Bhandarkar Inst.* 12, 1930-31, p. 50 ff ; and *History of India,* c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D. = *Journal Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc,* Vol. XIX, 1933, pp. 95 ff. 113 ff.

8. It is mentioned at the beginning of Act HI of the *Mudr&r&ksasa* also.

we know the name of the authoress of the play, for the leaf of the MS. is worm-eaten just in the place where the name of the authoress was mentioned. The remaining letters . . . *kayanibaddham* only show that it was composed by a female writer. Traces of the letter *ja* underneath the worm-eaten portion of the leaf support the conjecture, that the drama was composed by the poetess Vijjika, who is praised by *Rdjasekhara,* and whose verses are quoted in anthologies."

As a drama of Vijjika is nowhere mentioned, I should prefer to say that the question of authorship must remain an open one, as long as no other MS. of the drama is found.[10]

The plot of the drama is a combination of a political intrigue with a love story. " Like a poisoned tree," " the cursed Candasena " *(Cauda-senahatakah,* as he is generally called in the play) had been adopted as a son by Sundaravarman, king of Magadha, and made commander of his army. In order to usurp the throne of Magadha, he allied himself with the enemies of Magadha, the barbarian *(mleecha)* Licchavis, and laid siege to Pataliputra. King Sundaravarman was slain in battle, and Candasena became king of Magadha ; but Sundaravarman's son, Kalyanavarman, with several sons of ministers, was concealed by the minister Mantragupta at Pampa in the Vindhya mountains, while Mantragupta himself, in various disguises, was looking out for an opportunity of regaining the throne for his master's son. While living at Pampa, Kalyanavarman meets the princess Klrtimatl, daughter of king Kirtisena of Surasena, and as usual in Indian dramas, there is love at first sight. Meanwhile, Mantragupta has succeeded in organizing a revolt of the oppressed citizens against Candasena, who is finally conquered, killed by Mantragupta, and Kalyanavarman is proclaimed king of Magadha. Our play is supposed to be produced on the occasion of his coronation. Kirtisena, the king of Surastra, is only too glad to form

9. She seems to be a Southern poetess. There is also a Canarese poetess Vijayanka, but I can see no reason for identifying her with Vijjika, or with the Queen Vijayabhatt-arika, who lived about 660 AD. These are mere guesses of P. V. Kane *(Sdhityadarpana,* Introduction, p. XLf). Cf. M. Krishnamachariar in *A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Dept. for the Publ. of Oriental Manuscripts,* Trivandrum, p. 56.

10. Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion *(Annals Bhand. Inst.* 12, p. 50 note) that the name of the authoress was Kisorika, and that of her father was Krslvala, is entirely unfounded. Surely, the peasant-maiden *(krswala-kisorika)* in verse 3, who makes herself an ear-ornament of young rice-flowers *(kalanmmanjari)* which becomes black-spotted by a side-glance from her black eyes, has nothing to do with the name of the authoress of the play, and *kalama-man)ari* certainly never meant " a pen " !

an alliance with the ruler of Magadha by marrying his daughter Kirtimati to Kalyanavarman, and thus " all endeth well".

It is likely enough that there is some historical background to the plot of this drama, but I do not believe that Mr. Jayaswal, with all his ingenuity and admirable gift of combination, has succeeded in proving that the drama is a work of the Gupta period, composed about 340 A.D. The fact is that neither Candasena, nor Kalyanavarman or Sundaravarman, nor Kirtisena, are names known to history. But Mr. Jayaswal " feels confident that this Candasena was no other than the king who assumed the name of Candra-Gupta after his grandfather's name (Gupta)". The only foundation for this bold hypothesis is the fact, that, an the drama, Candasena is allied with the Licchavis, and that we know that the Guptas also were at some time allied by matrimony with the Licchavis. It is difficult to see how the worthy Candragupta I, whose father Ghatotkaca was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pataliputra, who was the third king of the Gupta line, and the first Maharajadhiraja of the dynasty, could be possibly identical with the " cursed Candasena ", the traitor and usurper.

There is no justification at all for assigning this " Kaumudlmahotsava " drama to 340 A.D., and it is utterly improbable that it belongs to such an early age. The authoress, whoever she was, was well acquainted with Kalidasa's poetry.[11] A verse which occurs twice (Acts II, 15 and V, 9) alludes to the love of Saunaka and Bandhumati, told in Dandin's Avantisundarikatha, and that of Avimaraka and Kurangi, the subject of the *Avimaraka*, ascribed to Bhasa in the Trivandrum Series. The old vita (in Act V) who revels in remembrances of the pleasures enjoyed in the company of hetaeras, and has studied the Dattaka-Sutra on prostitution, reminds us more of the modern Bhanas, than of pre-Kalidasan poetry. It has also some points of contact with the Mudraraksasa, and is probably later than Visakhadatta.

The " Kaumudimahotsava " is a historical drama only in the same sense as the Mrcchakatika. That is to say, as the political intrigue of the latter—the raising of Aryaka against Palaka—is likely to have some historical background, so also the story of Candasena and Kalyanavarman in the " Kaumudimahotsava ", but in both cases we are unable to trace the events alluded to in the history of India, as far as it is known to us at present.

11. See Dasaratha Sarma in *hid. Hist. Quart.* 10, 1934, 763 ff, and D. R. Mankad in *Ann. Bhand. Inst.* 16, 1934-35, p. 155 ff.

The Playhouse of the Hindu Period[1]

BY

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PROFESSOR KEITH has traced the origin of Hindu drama in his masterly treatise[2] where, however, the enacting of dramas in properly built theatres did not receive the due attention of the eminent scholar, probably because it was thought that dramas were composed in Sanskrit more for reading like epics, poems, novels or stories rather than for seeing them enacted.-"

Some scholars have, however, boldly endeavoured to draw out a picture of ' Theatre Architecture in Ancient India[1] from chapter II of Bharata Natyasastra. But the text of Bharata and the more confusing commentary of Abhinavagupta appear to have frustrated such attempts. For no correct picture of the theatre is possible without an exact and accurate knowledge of the numerous architectural terms in which are expressed the main idea both by Bharata and Abhinavagupta as also the other texts where the subject has been referred to. And all those scholars appear to have been tired of the apparently confusing dimensions, classifications, shapes, component members, and seating arrangement, which are important features of a practical theatre. The more essential matters in theatres, however, arc the stage proper and the auditorium which naturally vary in accordance with the situation and

1. To be published in a slightly different form but with illustrations in thu-*Modern Review* :

2. The Sanskrit Drama, in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice by A. B. Keith, D'G 4., D.Litt., 1924. Compare also Mr. G. Vcnkatachalam, 'Theatre Architecture \ Triveni, Vol. I, pp. 100, 112.

3. Keith : ibid. p. 358 " nor is there the slightest doubt that the early dramatists were any thing but composers of plays meant only to be read."

4. Mr. V. Raghavan, Triveni, Vol. IV, pp. 715-723 and Mr. D. R. Mankad. Hindu Theatre, The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 480-499.

size of the permanent theatre. Unlike in other architectural objects, light, ventilation, acoustics, safety and security of the theatre-goers, especially the royalty and stage performers, are to be specially considered in these structures. There is, therefore, need for more scientific knowledge and artistic skill. That the essential matters in connection with theatres were clearly understood and practised in Hindu India may be shown clearly and convincingly by a thorough study of the architectural texts like the *Mdnasdra,* supplemented by those of the *Ndtyasdstra* and dramas.

Like many other things, Indian tradition has ascribed a divine, that is, an indigenous origin to Sanskrit drama rather than a Grecian influence. The *Natyaveda* is stated to have been created by Brahma for the benefit of all castes including the Sudras who had no access to the Vedas. It is significant that dramas were intended at origin to provide facilities for the enjoyment of all classes of people, thus indicating popularity and interest to the subject of the general public, men, women and children, who could hardly be expected even if they were all literates, to read the texts in Sanskrit in order to enjoy the dramas. Thus the drama is stated to have been compiled out of the element of recitation from the Rgveda, the element of chanting or songs from the Sama Veda, the clement of mimic art from the Yajurveda and the clement of sentiment from the Atharvaveda. Siva and Parvati are stated to have contributed the Tandava and Lasya dances, and Vishnu " the four dramatic styles essential to the effect of any play ". Visvakarman, the divine architect, is stated to have built the first play-house in which the sage Bharata carried into practice the dramatic art thus created." This traditional account has been gathered from the Bharata's *Ndtyasdstra,* which treatise the Western scholars have placed in the third century of the Christian era. But the dialogues and other elements have been discovered in the early Vedas.[7] These dialogues are romantic in nature and dramatic in essence. Thus the conversations between Yama and Yami, or Pururavas and Urvasi, would charm a modern audience in a most up-to-date theatre. Prof. Keith has further recognised that " the Vedic ritual contained within itself the germs of drama ", and in the ceremonies " there was undoubtedly present the element of dramatic representation".[8]

6. Prof. Keith: ibid. p. 12.
7. For instance, Rigveda V, 10, 51-53, 86, 95, 108 ; viii. 100, i. 179, 28 ; iv. 18.
8. Keith: Sanskrit Drama, p. 23.

It will be, therefore, difficult for Indians to subscribe to the curious conclusion of Hopkins" that the Epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, did not " recognise in any explicit manner the existence of the drama." It is, however, not denied that mention is made in the Ramayana of dramatic artiste (Nafa), professional dancer *(Nartaka)*, even plays in mixed languages *(Vyamisraka).* Although similar matters are not explicitly mentioned in the Mahabharata, mention is made of "players who made a drama out of the Ramayana legend ", in the Harivamsa, which is recognised to be " a deliberate continuation of the Mahabharata ". In this connection it is unfortunate that scholars should forget that neither the Vedic nor the Epic and other general literature were intended to be a history of every thing, and whatever we find mentioned therein arc but casual references, and that absence of mention therein of any thing should not be interpreted to indicate their non-existence. Although dramatic elements existed in 1500 or 2000 B.C. in the Vedic period, the existence of drama in the Epic age in the 5th century B. C. has been ingeniously denied by prejudiced historians in order to obviously substantiate the Grecian origin of Indian play in the third century B.C. Thus it is commented that " It is undoubtedly far from easy for any people to create from materials such as existed in India (before the advent of the Greeks in the third century B.C.) a true drama, it was a perfectly legitimate suggestion of Weber's that the necessary impetus to creation may have been given by the contact of Greece with India, through the representation of Greek plays at the courts of the Kings in Baktria, the Punjab, and Gujrat, who brought with them Greek culture as well as Greek forces ". By way of an explanation of the curious fact that one or more theatrical parties should accompany a military force of an invader in a distant unknown country it was felt necessary to add that " Alexander was fond of theatrical spectacles with which he amused himself in the intervals allowed by his victories " (and probably occasional defeats rlso). One wonders, however, that, although similar fondness for amusement and need for diversion still exists, no such theatrical or dancing parties are heard of accompanying a land, sea, or air force of more efficient character of modern times. But what is more puzzling is that Indians of Alexander's time were so forgetful of their relation with a foreign invader and so callous of their defeat, disgrace and calamity, that

9. The Great Epic of India, pp. 55ff.

they ran to and were unhesitatingly admitted into the courts of the kings forcibly occupied by the invader, where Greek plays in an unfamiliar foreign language are stated to have been performed in the intervals of battles. This doubt is corroborated by the following incident recorded by Megasthenes : " When he (Alexander) arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian gymnosophists (yogins), a desire seized him to have one of these men brought into his presence, because he admired their endurance. The eldest of these sophists, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, Dandamis by name, not only refused to go himself, but prevented the others going. He is said to have returned this for answer, that he was also the son of Zeus (God) as much as Alexander himself was, and that he wanted nothing that was Alexander's (for he was well off in his present circumstances".)[10] This would clearly indicate the feelings of self-respecting Indians towards Grecian invaders. Nor have the exponent of the Grecian origin of Indian plays found out any convincing reason for such a belief. The untenable theory of borrowing curtain for the plays based upon the word Yavanika used in Sanskrit dramas has been discarded by the more careful and generous western scholars because the Grecian dramatists of that time did not know the use of curtain in plays.[11]

The evidence of a drama being actually played in a theatre as found in the Mahabhashya, which is placed in the third century B.C., has been recognised both by Keith and Weber, the views of the latter having been modified to the extent that " a certain influence might have been exerted by the Greek on the Sanskrit drama," and the former having concluded by saying that " in all these matters indeed the Indian drama rather is akin to the Greek than otherwise.[1']- Full-fledged dramas of various kinds began to appear from this period. But the general literature also bears convincing evidences of the existence of regular theatres both for enacting plays and having music-performances and dancing. The Preksha-

10. Megasthenes' Indica, Fragment LI, as translated by Prof. J. W. McCrindle in his Ancient India, 1877, pp. 115-116.

11. Keith: " Behind the (Indian) stage is the painted curtain (Pati, apati, tiraskarani, pratisira), to which the name Yavanika (Prakrit Javanika) is given, denoting merely that the material is foreign, and forbidding any conclusion as to the Greek origin of the curtain itself or the theatre " (Sanskrit drama, p. 359).

12. Sanskrit Drama, pp. 57, 68.

gara or auditorium is mentioned in the *Malavikagnimitra* a drama by Kalidasa. " It is a perfect Natyasala (theatre), there being mention of green-room and the curtain." In the *Sakuntala,* another famous drama of Kalidasa, the queen Hanisapadika is stated to have been practising music in the Sanglta-sala (Music hall).[11] The Bhavaprakasan,[15] a work on Rasa and dramaturgy assigned to A.D. 1175-1250, refers to three types of theatres and thirty different kinds of dramas which were actually played by a dramatic company under the direction of one Divakara."' The *Sangita-chudamani,* a text in MSS. on Music, is stated to refer to the

13 तेन हि द्वावपि वर्गौ प्रेक्षागृहे संगीतरचनां कृत्वा दूतं प्रेषयतम् ।
अथवा मृदङ्गशब्द एव न उत्थापयिष्यति ।

आज्ञप्तास्मि देव्या धारिण्या अचिरप्रवृत्तोपदेशं छलिकं नाम नाट्यमन्तरेण कीदृशी मालविकेति नाट्याचार्यमार्यगणदासं प्रष्टुम् । तत्तावत् सङ्गीतशालां गच्छामि । (Act I)

चित्रशालां गता देवी प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां चित्रलेखामाचार्यस्यावलोकयन्ती तिष्ठति । (Act I)

एष नाट्याचार्यः सङ्गीत शालातो निर्गच्छति । (Act I)

14 भो वयस्य सङ्गीतशालाभ्यन्तरेऽवधानं देहि । कलविशुद्धाया गीतेः स्वरसंयोगः श्रूयते । जाने तत्रभवती हंसपदिका वर्णपरिचयं करोति । (Act V)

15. Theatre Architecture In Ancient India, Triveni, ibid. p. 716.

16. राजा सपरिवारश्च भरतश्च कुशीलवैः ।
नाट्यकृत्याभिनिष्पन्नं विशन्तो रङ्गमण्टपम् ।
यत्र रज्यन्ति भावेन गानवादननर्तनैः ।
सभ्याः सभापतिसखाः स देशो रङ्गमण्टपः ।
चतुरश्र त्र्यश्र - वृत्तभेदात्सोऽपि त्रिधा भवेत् ।
परमण्डपिकैः सद्भिः पौरजानपदैः सह
राज्ञः सङ्गीतकं यत्र वृत्ताख्यो रङ्गमण्टपः ।
वरकन्याऽमात्य वणिक्सेनापतिसुहृत्सुतैः
यत्र सङ्गीतकं राज्ञां चतुरश्रः स उच्यते ।
ऋत्विक्पुरोहिताचार्यैःसहान्तः पुरिका जनैः
महिष्या सह यत्र स्यात् त्र्यश्रोऽसौ रङ्गमण्टपः ।
मार्गप्रक्रियया कार्यं सङ्गीतं त्र्यश्रमण्टपे ।
चतुरश्रे मार्गदेश मिश्रं सङ्गीतकं भवेत्
मिश्रे तु चित्रं संयोज्यं वृत्ताख्ये रङ्गमण्टपे ॥

(Bhâva Prakaśana, chap. X, 5-18).

drop scene and the other curtain.[17] " The first curtain is the front drop which is removed as soon as the show begins. Behind the mist-like curtain, the *danseuse* performs the dance called Lasya." Further, sceneries appear to have been referred to by Bharata in his *Natyasastra.* These include representation of houses, cities, gardens, groves, streamlets, hermitage, forests, seas, islands, earth and heaven, netherlands (patala), as also the abodes of the demons. In accordance with need, the external, internal or side views of these objects in near or distant perspective are, further, stated to be indicated in these sceneries.[18] By the time of the Bharata Natyasastra, the subject reached its full perfection like the art of painting reaching the perfection in the Ajanta caves which in its technical and artistic features surpassed the 14th century Italian paintings. In (some) thirty-eight chapters[10] the subject of dramatic

17. Triveni, ibid. p. 722.

18. कक्षा विभागे ज्ञेयानि गृहाणि नगराणि च ।
उद्यानारामसरित आश्रमा अटवी तथा ॥
पृथिवी सागराश्चैव त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
वर्षाणि सप्तद्वीपाश्च पर्वता विविधास्तथा ॥
अलोकश्चैव लोकश्च रसातलमथापि च ।
दैत्यानामालयश्चैव गृहाणि भुवनानि च ॥
नगरे च वने चापि वर्षे वै पर्वते तथा ।
यत्र वार्ता प्रवर्तेत तत्र कक्षां प्रयोजयेत् ॥
बाह्यं वा मध्यमं वापि तथैवाभ्यन्तरं पुनः ।
दूरं वा सन्निकृष्टं वा देशं तु परिकल्पयेत् ॥

Bharata Nátyaśāstra, ed. Joan Grosset, Paris 1898, chap. XIV, 4—8.

19. १. नाट्योत्पत्ति, २. मण्डप (प्रेक्षागृह लक्षण) विधान, ३. रङ्गदैवतपूजाविधान, ४. ताण्डवलक्षण, ५. पूर्वरङ्गविधि, ६. रसविकल्पन, ७. भावव्यञ्जन, ८. उपाङ्गलक्षण, ९. हस्ताभिनय, १०. शारीराभिनय, ११. चारिविधान, १२, मण्डलविधान, १३. गतिप्रचार, १४. कक्षायुक्तिधर्माभिव्यञ्जक, १५. वाचकाभिनये छन्दविधान, १६. छन्दवृत्तविधि, १७. अलङ्कारलक्षण, १८. भाषाविधान, वागङ्गाभिनय १९. काकुस्वरव्यञ्जन, २०. दशारूपविधान, २ . सन्धिनिरूपण २२. वागभिनयवृत्तिविकल्प. २३. आहार्याभिनय, २४. सामान्याभिनय, २५. बाह्य (वेश्य) अपचार, २६. स्त्रीपुंसोऽपचार, २७, चित्राभिनय, २८. सिद्धिव्यञ्जक, २९ जातिलक्षण, ३०. ततातोद्यविधान, ३१. सुषिरातोद्यविधान, ३२. तालविधान, ३३ ध्रुवाविधान, ३४. वाद्याध्याय, ३५. प्रकृत्याविचार, ३६. भूमिकापात्रविकल्प, ३७. नाट्यावतार (नाटशाप), ३८. गुह्यविकल्प.
(Vide Joan Grosset. ibid p. xxii-xxiii).

plays has been described thoroughly and exhaustively in the *Natya-sastra.* Thus are found therein reference to the origin of the dramatic literature, the construction of the playhouse, the invocation of the stage deities, varieties of dancing, pre-staging rules connected with arts like pacing to be learnt before entering the stage, sentiments to be staged, training in expressions, exercise of limbs and body, corresponding harmony of the feet, legs, thighs, hips and buttocks, similar movements of the upper body, pacing rules, sceneries, dialogues, recitation, conversation, mimicry, languages, ornamentation, various kinds of acting with reference to different types of dramas, chorus, harmonious instrumental and vocal music, and semi-nude posture, etc.

The contribution of the Silpasastra to the subject is naturally limited to one feature only, namely, the construction of the playhouse which has been incidently referred to in the *Ndtyasdstra* and several other texts on dancing, singing and instrumental music. Thus the *Vishnii-dharmottara* is stated to have referred to two types of theatres, of which, however, no structural details are available.-" The *SangTta-makaranda* of Narada supplies a literary account of an unspecified type of the stage and the auditorium.'-'[1] In this description the constructional details are wanting. The playhouse (natyasala) is stated to be sixty-four cubits with four corners and twenty-

20. Raghavan, ibid, Triveni, p. 717.

21. षडशीतिहस्तमात्र चतुरस्रसमन्विता ।
चतुर्विंशतिकस्तम्भनानाचित्रसमन्विता ॥
नानाविकाररसम्पन्नप्राकारा चित्रशोभिताः ।
चतुरशीतिनिबन्धाश्च लेखनीया मनोहराः ॥
रत्नैरनेकैर्विविधैः पटवस्त्रैश्च चामरैः ।
पताकातोरणैर्युक्ता चतुर्द्वारादिसंयुता ॥
मध्ये तु वेदिका रम्या चतुर्विंशति हस्तका ।
कार्या सर्वगुणोपेता नानापरिमलान्विता ॥
अनेन विधिना कार्या नाट्यशाला मनोहरा ।
तल्लक्षणं न हि कृतं राज्ञां दोषमवाप्नुयात् ॥
तस्यां मनोहरं रम्यं सिंहासनमनर्घ्यकम् ।
तन्मध्ये फलपुष्पाणि स्थापयित्वा विराजितम् ॥
विद्वत्कविभटनायकसहास्यहासकज्योतिषवैद्यपौराणिकाः ।
एभिर्नवभिर्युक्ता या सभा राजसभेति तैरुक्ता ॥
विद्वांसः कवयो महागायकाः परिहासकाः ।
इतिहास पुराणज्ञाः सभा सभाङ्गलक्षणम् ॥
(Sangita-Makaranda V. 2-9).

four pillars and furnished with various paintings. Walls of various shapes and decorations, eighty-four positions charmingly drawn, four doors with decorations of various jewels, silk cloths, chowries, flags and arches, with a platform of twenty-four cubits in the middle (of the play-house); therein should be lion-throne for the king who is to be accompanied by nine or seven groups of courtiers. It will be noted that in this description it is not clear whether the dimension refers to both the stage and the auditorium. The height of neither portion of the whole play-house is mentioned at all. Nor are supplied the situation and measures etc., of the walls, pillars, doors and other parts. Apparently, this text, like many others, has carelessly borrowed from a standard treatise on architecture and, in order to complete the description, the architectural features are casually and imperfectly mentioned.

The seating arrangement is clear to some extent in the *Sahgxta-ratnvakara* of Nihsariga-deva.[22]

22. विचित्रा नृत्यशाला स्यात् पुष्पप्राकारशोभिता ।
नानावितानसंपन्ना रत्नस्तम्भ विभूषिता ॥
तस्यां सिंहासनं रम्यमध्यासीनः सभापतिः ।
वामतोऽन्तःपुराणि स्युः प्रधाना दक्षिणेन तम् ॥
पश्चभागे प्रधानानां कोषः श्रीकरणाधिपः ।
तत्संनिधौ तु विद्वांसो लोकवेदविशारदाः ॥
रसिकाः कवयोऽप्यत्र चतुराः सर्वरीतिषु ।
मान्याञ्ज्योतिर्विदो वैद्यान् विद्वन्मध्ये निवेशयेत् ॥
स्याद् वामेतर(तत्र) भागे तु मन्त्रिणां परिमण्डलम् ।
तत्रैव सैन्यमान्यानामन्येषामुपवेशनम् ॥
विलासितो विलासिन्यः परितोऽन्तः पुराणि च ।
पुरतोऽपि नृपस्य स्युः पृष्ठभागे तु भूपतेः ॥
चारुचामरधारिण्यो रूपयौवनसंभृताः ।
सकङ्कणझणत्कारनिर्वाणजनमानसाः ॥
अग्रिमा वामभागे स्युरग्रे वाग्गेयकारकाः ।
कथका बन्दिनश्चात्र विद्यावन्तः प्रियंवदाः ॥
प्रशंसाकुशलाश्चान्ये चतुराः सर्वभाषासु ।
ततः परं तु परितः परिवारोपवेशनम् ।
अधिष्ठितं सदः कार्यं दक्षैर्वेत्रधरैर्नरैः ।
अङ्गरक्षास्तु तिष्ठेयुः सर्वतः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥
संनिवेश्य सभामेवं नेता संगीतमीक्षते ॥

(Sangita-Ratnākara VII, 1351-1361).

' In the variegated music hall decorated with flowered walls, various flags and jewelled pillars, the president (king) is seated in a beautiful lion-throne (in the middle of the auditorium). To his left should be seated the court ladies of the harem, but the chief ones (queens) should be to his right. Behind, there should be the seats for the chief treasury officers ; close thereto should be the learned experts in human study as also the humourous poets and the clever people conversant with all customs. The honourable astronomers and astrologers and physicians should be seated among the learned. To the right (? left side behind the court ladies) should be seated the Council of Ministers, and therein should also be the seats for the honourable military officers and others. Fashionable males and females should be seated surrounding the court ladies. In front of the king, and behind him, should be the female guards full of youth and beauty and holding beautiful chowries and tinkling bracelets. The forward (guards) should be to the left side having in front the vocal singers, conversationalists, bards learned and talking pleasantly, experts in panegyric, and clever in all tunes. Thereafter should be the family members in the surrounding places. The dexterous (guard) holding canes should be kept seated. All over the bodyguards should stand with weapons in hand. The audience being thus placed, the president (king) should see the music performance.'

In this account the reference to the architectural features is very casual and scanty. It has been apparently based upon a fuller description in some other architectural or non-architectural text. No specific reference is made to the shape, size, or dimensions of the stage or the auditorium. The seating arrangement itself is confused. If the unamended text is to be followed, the side of the auditorium to the left of the royal box would remain mostly empty, while the other side will be overcrowded. The frontmost row to the left appears to have been reserved for the orchestra, because otherwise these musicians should not have the place of honour even before the king.

In this theatre there appears to be no place for the general public. This is apparently a royal theatre built in the palace itself. There is no reference to the fact whether it is an open or closed theatre, but possibly it was a closed one.

The seating arrangement in a temple-theatre as also in a palace theatre is succinctly referred to in the *Manasarar'* Herein the ' theatres

23. देवानां च नृपाणां च स्थानकासनयोग्यकम् ।
मुकमपाक्रमानं च लक्षणं वक्ष्यतेऽधुना ।

are stated to be built in continuation of the open courtyard connected with the tank (or shed) in a temple and a palace (of which further details are referred to later). Therein (in the theatre) and in the auditorium the divine and royal throne of odinary and ceremonial use for the gods, goddesses, kings and queens, as well as seats made of wood, stone and brick foi the ordinary public, should be arranged in compartments partitioned by dwarf walls ',

The erection of partition walls in the auditorium to provide accommodation for different groups of audience would lead to the conclusion that the auditorium was divided into front stall, back-side pit, and possibly into galleries and balconies as made more explicit in the Bharata-*Ndtyasdstra.* The architectural details of the auditorium are clearer in some respects in the Bharata *Ndtyasdstra.* It is stated that the divine architect ' Visvakarma designed, in accordance with the science (of architecture which is not, however, specified), the audience-house in three types, namely, the circular or semicircular -[4] (literally, elongated, rather divided into extended parts, Vikrshta), quadrangular, and triangular pavilion.-[5]

यद्युक्त रङ्गमध्ये तु चतुर्विंशति भाजिते ।
तत्र मध्ये सभामध्ये न्यसेत्सिंहासनादिभिः ॥
नित्यनैमित्तिकाख्यादिकाम्यैरपि च सर्वभिः ।
चक्रवर्त्यादिभूपतेश्च देवसिंहासनोपरि ॥
स्वशक्तिभिरधिष्ठाप्य संस्थिता जनसेविता ॥
सिंहासनं मकरतोरण कल्पवृक्षम्
मुक्तप्रपाङ्गमपि दारुशिलेष्टकाद्यैः ।
रत्नैरनेक लोह·········विशेषकैश्च
कुर्यान्मनोहरतरं स्वाथ तालभक्त्या ॥

(Mānasāra XLVII, 1-3, 26-33).

24. This is definitely suggested by Saradatanaya in his *Bhavaprakasana* (quoted above) where in place of *Vikrishta* the reading is *Vritta* or circular, the other two types, quadrangular (Chaturasara) and triangular (tryasra) being common in both the texts.

25. इयं प्रेक्षागृहं दृष्ट्वा धीमता विश्वकर्मणा ।
त्रिविधः सन्निवेशश्च शास्त्रतः परिकल्पितः ॥ ७ ॥
विप्रकृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्र्यस्रश्चैव तु मण्डपः ॥ ८ ॥
प्रेक्षागृहाणां सर्वेषां त्रिप्रकारो विधिः स्मृतः ।
विकृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्र्यस्रश्चैव प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥ २५ ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XXXVI, Chap. II, 7, 8, 25).

These three types of the auditorium admit of three sizes each, namely, large, medium and small.[20] Thus according to the commentator, Abhinanagupta, there are nine types of auditorium. The small size is recommended for the triangular type, medium size for the quadrangular type, and the large size for the circular type. Again the medium size is more suitable for ordinary use in palaces and towns, while the large size is reserved for big temples, and the small ones for countryside and dwelling houses. Then follow some specific dimensions and other features of the auditorium.[27] The maximum diametrical length of the auditorium should be 64 cubits or 96 feet, and the breadth in front of the stage 32 cubits or 48 feet. For acoustic reasons it should not exceed these dimensions in theatres for the general public.[28] But in divine theatres built both in temples and forests or gardens it may be larger.-" " This 64 cubit-dimension should be divided into two parts, the back part thereof should be again subdivided into two parts, and an equal half part of that should be the measure of the head of the stage front (Rarigaslrsa). In the hind (western) part thereof should be the green room.[30]

Thereafter the walls should be raised and then the pillars should be set up.'"[1] The pillars are divided into four groups, called Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra.[2] But Bharata leaves abruptly the subject of pillars, doors, roofs, walls and green room, saying that the practical details of architecture should be gathered from the science of architecture.[33] Then he gives a similar description of the stage proper

26. तेषां त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रमाणानि ज्येष्ठं मध्यं तथाऽवरम् ॥
एतान्येव त्रीणि ज्येष्ठादीनीति केचित् । अन्ये तु प्रत्येकं त्रित्वमिति नवैतेऽत्र भेदा इत्याहुः । एतदेव युक्तम् ।

(Nátyaśástra, II 8, 26).

27 प्रमाणं यच्च निर्दिष्टं लक्षणं विश्वकर्मणा ।
प्रेक्षागृहाणां सर्वेषां तच्चैव हि निबोधत ॥ ५ ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra, II 5.)

28. Ibid. II, 20 ff.
29. Ibid. II, 27, 28.
30. Ibid II, 36, 38.
31. Ibid. II, 46-47.
32. Ibid. II, 49-50.

These are not architectural divisions of the pillars. Professor Keith appears to be right in surmising that these pillars demarcate the quarters in the auditorium reserved for the four castes. For architectural and other divisions of pillars, see the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, under Stamba, and p. 850.

33. स्तम्भं द्वारं च भित्तिं च नेपथ्यगृहमेव च ।
एवमुत्थापयेत्तज्ज्ञो विधिदृष्टेन कर्मणा ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra, II 65, 66).

(Rangapitha). ' On the two sides of the stage should be erected an entablature *(mattavdrani)* over the four pillars, and it should be 1½ cubits or 2 feet 3 inches high. This should be the total height of the stage-pavilion ' (Rarigamandapa, i.e., Rariga-pltha as stated by the commentator[81]). The account of the stage is also left abruptly saying that it should be built according to the science (of architecture[35]). The fore-part of the stage *(Rangasirsa)* which would correspond to the platform, is stated to be built of six pieces of wood, and furnished with two doors as in the green room as well as in the auditorium.[30] It should be smooth and even like a mirror, and decorated with jewels.[37] The wooden wall of this part of the stage which is decorated with various carvings, paintings, closed windows to prevent air in, turrets, towers and pillars, should make it (stage) look like a turret-like cavity *(Nirvyuha-kuhara)* or a mountain-cave *(saila-guhdkdra)* with a variously formed platform and the stage pavilion *(ndtya-mandapa)* should thus be of two-storeys.[38]

Thus is stated to be built the large type of playhouse (comprising the auditorium and the stage[30]). The other types, namely, the quadrangular medium ones and the triangular small ones, do not materially differ from the circular or semi-circular large type.

The quadrangular type of auditorium should be a square of 16 cubits or 24 feet sides. Externally, the walls all over the theatre should be made strong of well-fitted bricks. Internally, the stage (Rahga-

34. But neither the height of the platform nor of the pillars above is mentioned: thus, the actual height of the stage is left unsepcified here. See later.

85. रङ्गपीठं ततः कार्यं विधिदृष्टेन कर्मणा ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra, II. 71.)

36. रङ्गशीर्षं तु कर्तव्यं षड्दारु समन्वितम् ।
कार्यं द्वारद्वयं चात्र नेपथ्यस्य गृहस्य च ॥

(Nāṭyaśâstra, II 71, 72 see 78).

37. Ibid. II, 75-77.

38. एवं काष्ठविधिं कृत्वा भित्तिकर्म प्रयोजयेत् ॥
निर्व्यूहकुहरोपेतं नानाग्रथितवेदिकम् ॥ ७० ॥
कार्यः शैल गुहा कारो द्विभूमि र्नाट्यमण्डपः ॥ ८४ ।

(Ibid II, 70, 84).

See दरीगृह (Kumāra Sambhava, 1.10,114)
and शिलावेश्मन् (Meghadūta, 1. 25.)

39. एवं विकृष्टं कर्तव्यं नाट्यवेश्म प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥ ९० ॥

(ibid II, 90.)

pitha) should be supported by ten pillars. Towards the outside **the pillars should** be connected with flights of stairs to the pedestal (or stage platform). The auditorium should be furnished with rows of seats made of brick and wood and raised to one cubit or 1M> feet above the ground so that the stage can be easily seen. A set of six pillars strongly erected (from the floor of the auditorium) should support the (stage) pavilion (i.e., platform), and above should be erected a set of eight pillars extending to the entablature of same height (i.e., *VA>* cubits or 2 ft. 3 inches) as in the case of the large type. (Thereafter) should be the green room. Therein should be one door for entrance to the stage. In a line to this there should be a corresponding door to the auditorium opposite for the entrance of the audience : this second door should be made facing the stage. The stage should be of 8 cubits or 12 feet dimension. It should be square and furnished with the platform (i.e., the Rangasirsa). This platform should have four pillars on the sides The height of the platform should be the same as in case of the large type.[40]

In the triangular type of the small size the auditorium is stated definitely to be triangular in shape. The stage in the middle should also be of triangular shape (of which, however, the dimensions are not specified). At each corner there should be one door. At the back of the stage *(rangapitha)* there should be a second door. The walls, pillars

40. Nāṭyaśāstra, II. 90-105.

समन्ततश्च कर्तव्या हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदेव तु ॥
बाह्यतः सर्वतः कार्या भित्तिः श्लिष्टेष्टका दृढा ॥
तत्राभ्यन्तरतः कार्या रङ्गपीठोपरि स्थिताः ।
दशप्रयोक्तृभिः स्तम्भाः शक्ता मण्डपधारणे ॥
स्तम्भानां बाह्यतश्चापि सोपानाकृति पीठकम् ॥
षड्भ्यामन्तरे चैव पुनः स्तम्भान् यथादिशम् ।
विधिना स्थापयेत्तज्ज्ञो दृढान् मण्डपधारणे ॥
अष्टस्तम्भान् पुनश्चैव तेषामुपरि कल्पयेत् ॥
अष्टहस्तं तु कर्तव्यं रङ्गपीठं प्रमाणतः ।
चतुरश्रं समतलं वेदिका समलङ्कृतम् ॥
पूर्वप्रमाणनिर्दिष्टा कर्तव्या मत्तवारणी ।
चतुःस्तम्भसमायुक्ता वेदिकायास्तु पार्श्वतः ॥

and other members are stated to be as in the case of the quadrangular type.[41]

Thus it should be noted that the dimensions suggested here are neither complete nor unchangeable. In fact in the architectural texts proper dimensions of all kinds of buildings are comparative and suggestive, and they can be altered to suit the requirements of various kinds. Thus it is laid down in the *Silpasastra* of Srikumara quoted above that the playhouse (natyamandapa, i.e., the auditorium) of two or three types being divided into four (equal) parts either by drawing lines lengthwise or breadthwise, externally or from top to bottom, each part or each two parts should be separated by pillars for the audience, and the fourth part should be left for the stage proper. The dwarf pillars supporting the raised platform of the stage should be two or three parts of the total height (of six or eight parts as stated in the *Mdnasdru* wherefrom Srikumara appears to have borrowed) and the rest should be given to the upper pillars, base (i.e., the platform), entablature and the roof. Pentroofs sloping towards eight directions, two on each side, prolonged and continued, should be of two parts ; and at the interval of one part these sloping roofs should be beautifully decorated with buntings and paintings.[42] According to Srikumara, the stage proper, (of all theatres) ' forming half part of the whole platform should be furnished with four pillars extending to the sloping roof, and look like the oval drum *(mrdanga).* Thereafter should be the green room of the required size. The bottom of the stage should be in level with the floor of the auditorium, and the wall underneath of the raised platform about one cubit or *W2* feet high should look by association of members like a lock of hair. Alternately, the whole theatre from end to end may be divided by pillars into forty, twenty-eight or twenty parts (which should be distributed as detailed above). The music hall in front of the temple towards the right may be divided into two portions of twenty-four parts each, of which ten parts should be given to the width ; or alternately, in temple theatre, the proportion of length and breadth should be sixteen and six parts respectively. But in the

41. Nāṭyaśāstra II. 105-109 ;

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि त्र्यस्रगेहस्य लक्षणम् ॥
त्र्यस्रं त्रिकोणं कर्तव्यं नाट्यवेश्म प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
मध्ये त्रिकोणमेवास्य रङ्गपीठं तु कारयेत् ॥
द्वारमेकेन कोणेन कर्तव्यं तस्य वेश्मनः ।
द्वितीयं चैव कर्तव्यं रङ्गपीठस्य पृष्ठतः ॥

42. This would supply a festive look to the whole theatre.

public theatre and the royal theatre built in the palace or capital cities, the dimensions and other features should be discreetly given. The rest of the theatre, comprising the auditorium and the stage, is left to be built according to the discretion of the architect.[43]

This architectural text also appears to have borrowed its contents from a more comprehensive text, which has been too briefly abreviated. The *Manasara,* the standard treatise on architecture, has also treated this subject rather briefly, obviously because the auxiliary members like the platforms, pillars, doors, walls, roofs, etc., have been separately described in detail, and also because the pavilions for music, etc., in temples, palaces and various other localities have been described exhaustively elsewhere. Thus it is stated in connection with dwelling houses that " in the north-west, the Bhallata or Naga quarter, of all houses should be built pavilions for music (dancing, etc.,) of the females "[44] The details of such a family playhouse are given elsewhere. Again, in the chapter on Pavilions it is stated that " thus should be the Sala pavilion and the Krita pavilion ; the wise (architect) should build the theatre underneath the pinnacle of a ten parts square." The elevation (lit., the relative or divisional measurement), the thickness of the walls, the verandahs, and the sheds with yards and the shapes of pavilions : these five features are described in order.[45]

Thus in the chapter on Theatre the comparative measures of certain members of the stage only are referred to. An open courtyard is stated to be made " within the central theatre, the breadth whereof

43. Silparatna, Trivandrum Oriental Series, LXXV, Part I, Chapter XXXIX, 60-68 :

अथवाष्टाविंशति मिश्रत्वारिंशतिभिः पुनः ।
विंशन्निवाथ विभज्येत्पर्यन्तार्धे पञ्चासयं ॥ ६६ ॥
देवस्याग्रे दक्षिणतः रुचिरे नाट्यमण्डपे ।
नाट्यार्धे चतुर्विंशांशे विस्तारं दशभागतः ॥ ६६ ॥
षोडशांशे पञ्चांशा वा कुर्यात्ता सुरमन्दिरे ।
मानुष्यराजधान्यादौ युक्त्या लक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ ६७ ॥
सर्वं समाचरेन्तारथ मण्डपेषु यथोचितम् ॥ ६८ ॥

44. Mānasāra, XXXVI, 73. Theatres for females are also referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa (1.5.12). See the writers' *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 534.

45. Mānasāra, XXXIV, 246-247, 3-4 for further details including classification in accordance with shape and number of pillars, see the writers Architecture of *Mānasāra*, pp. 338-372, and *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, under Maṇḍapa, pp. 468-490.

should be divided into thirty-two parts, and the breadth of the shed proper is desired to be one part less on each side. Of the four parts of the height of that (shed proper) the height of the plinth (or platform) should be one part ; twice that should be the height of the entablature. As an alternative, the whole height should be divided into eight parts in particular ; of these the height of the platform should be one part and a half, or the height being divided into six parts, the height of the platform should be one part, and the height of the pillar four parts, and the height of the entablature one part. It should be adorned with all ornaments. Four half-pillars may be, otherwise, erected with one-third of the total height as their length. The pillars should be circular, square, octagonal or sixteen-sided. There should be made four porticos on the four sides, but according to some there may be only one portico. There should be eight or sixteen small vestibules on all sides. Its (shed's) top-portion (i.e., the ceiling of the auditorium) should be decorated with the images of the leographs and crocodiles, etc. There within (i.e., inside the auditorium) the thrones, etc., should be arranged in tiers in the middle (of the yard, that is, comprising all kinds of seats) assigned for ordinary, special and occasional uses to the Chakravartin and the other (eight) classes of kings, as well as to the gods, to be seated together with their consorts, as also the accommodation of ordinary people."[1]"

The epigraphical evidences are also not wanting. Thus from its arrangement and inscriptions the cave in Ramgarh Hill in Sarguja " appears to have been evidently intended for dramatic performances."[17] The queen's cave and that of Ganesa in Udayagiri " are further examples : they represent the doings of these ladies and gentlemen (actresses and actors) in a highly realistic way.[48] " By Naga, the Vira-Ballala-pattam-Swami, were built the dancing hall and terrace of Parsvadeva, and in front of the Basadi of Kamatha Parsva Deva stone pillars and a dancing hall were made."[19]

46. Manasara, Chapter XLVII, 2-12, 16, 20, 24, 25, 26-29.

47. Dr. Block : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen, Bd. LVIII. S. 455.

48. Luders : Indian Caves as pleasure Resorts, Indian Antiquary, XXXIV, pp. 199-200. But Jacobi is still under the old prejudice when referring to the cave theatre of Ramgarh Hill, he says that " it is arranged after the Greek pattern." The cave theatres are, however, referred to in the Kumara-Sambhava (1, 10, 14) and Meghaduta (i. 25) of Kalidasa.

49. Rice: Ep. Carnatica, Vol. II, No. 130, Translation, p. 178. See also the Hampe Inscription of Krishnaraya, lines 24, 32, North Face.

All these documents referred to above comprising general literature, technical works on music, architectural texts, and epigraphical records, may supply a fairly complete picture of the playhouse of the Hindu period. That the Hindu mind is essentially musical needs no elucidation. Music was required for the Hindus to celebrate one's birth, wedding and similar other happy occasions. It was also required to mourn one's death and similar sad incidents, including even calamities like earthquakes and epidemics. Religious ceremonies had to be accompanied by music. These musics include both vocal and instrumental songs, dancing, and enacting of plays varying from a single act or scene to a performance which continued for days and nights. Thus, the elements of the drama are available in the earliest Vedas. The excavations at Mahenjo-Daro, Harappa and other sites may supply evidence of regular theatre even for the Pre-Vedic period.

In order to carry out into practice the musical habit of the Hindus, the existence of which for milleniums is so convincingly evident, suitable accommodation had no doubt to be evolved by indigenous efforts. It would be the limit of prejudice to imagine that, although the Hindus knew all about a dramatic performance, and although the art of building was understood and successfully practised as early as at least between B.C. 3000 and 4000, when Mahenjo-daro edifices might have been erected, they did not think of constructing a playhouse even after the model of the then existing natural caves until the Grecian invaders supplied the pattern between B.C. 300 and 350. Those who are not thus prejudiced will find it easy to infer, from the evidences quoted above, the conclusion that there were in Hindu India rustic theatres for folk dance or popular performance, as well as regularly constructed playhouses of various shapes and sizes. They were built with scientific knowledge of acoustics, light, ventilation, safety and security. They were erected in villages, small country towns, centres of pilgrimages, and in big capital cities. They were attached to commodious dwelling houses, king's palaces, and god's temples. In all these constructions, provisions were distinctly made for the stage proper and the auditorium. The former comprised the platform with a thick drop scene in front and the theatre proper, with various realistic sceneries and curtains behind which even semi-nude dance could be performed, indecency being prevented by the mistiness caused by the device of thin curtain and light. The 'green' and other rooms were made for the dressing and resting of the actors and actresses, and even for interview with them by some fascinated audience. The auditorium, with the orchestra in front, provided seats for all classes and ranks, and these were artistically arranged in tiers and galleries. It was adorned with beautiful doors, windows, balconies, walls, and ceilings with carvings and paintings on them.

There were also open air auditoriums with surrounding walls and terraces, the latter of which served as galleries. But the stage appears never to have been uncovered either on the sides or at the top.

The reconstruction of such playhouses by competent architects is not impossible. The restoration has been undertaken, and the plates and measured drawings indicating plans and elevations published elsewhere[50] will supply further materials for the judgment of practical architects and engineers.

50. Vide the writers 'Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture' and 'Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad' and see the 'Modern Review,' 1936.

The Temple of Siva Nataraja at Chidambaram

BY

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DESPITE the wealth of epigraphs, inscriptions, traditions, and references in classical literature bearing on the temple of Sri Nataraja at Chidambaram, it is exceedingly difficult to determine the date of the origin of the famous shrine. Tradition has it that the fane was built by God himself. The lives of the two great devotees *Vydghrapdda* and *Patanjali* figure so prominently in the traditions of the temple that we may give here a brief account of them. The *Koilpurdnam* of *Umdpati Sivdchdrya* describes in beautiful language the stories woven round the revered names of *Vydghrapdda* and *Patanjali.*

Vydghrapdda, the son of a Brahman hermit of Benares, acquired, even while very young, remarkable proficiency in the *Vedas.* Learning from his father that, of all the manifestations of *Siva* on the earth, that at Chidambaram is the most sacred, he conceived a desire to visit *Tillai (Chidambaram).* After a long and arduous journey, he reached the forest of Tillai and settled on the banks of the *Sivagaiiga* tank. In his zeal for the worship of *Siva* he would penetrate into inaccessible places to gather flowers in the early hours of the morning. Very soon he realised that, unless he climed up tall and slippery trees, he could not secure those flowers that were the favourites of the great deity. Moreover his sight was failing. So he prayed to God to endow him with the feet and the keen eyes of a tiger so that he could climb up the trees and gather the flowers for worship. His prayer was granted, and from that day the great ascetic came to be known as *Vydghrapdda* (Tiger-footed), and the place of his worship as *Puliyur* (Tiger-town).

The *Patanjali* myth appears to be much more ancient than that of *Vydghrapdda,* since it deals with the very origin of the *Siva Linga* in the innermost shrine of the temple. The story begins with the visit of Visnu to Kailas to worship Siva. The great Deity told *Visnu* that a group of heretics were living in the forest of *Taraka* and that he intended to go there to convert them. *Visnu* consented to accompany *Siva* on his proselytising mission. Together they entered the forest—*Siva* disguised as a mendicant and *Visnu* as his wife. The sages suspecting some danger to themselves immediately raised an *Abhichdra-homa* (sacrificial fire) to destroy the intruders. A fierce tiger emerged from the fire

and rushed upon *Siva,* who seized it and tearing off its skin wore it as a mantle. The sages continued their sacrifice, and there came out a huge serpent which *Siva* seized and coiled round his neck as an ornament. Thereafter the mighty God began His mystic dance. Undismayed by the futility of their attempts, the sages continued their incantations, which brought into existence the black dwarf *Muyalagan. Siva* crushed this vile creature under his sacred foot, and keeping him writhing on the ground, continued his dance, which was witnessed by all the gods. The heretics acknowledged Siva as their Lord, and thenceforward became his fervent devotees.

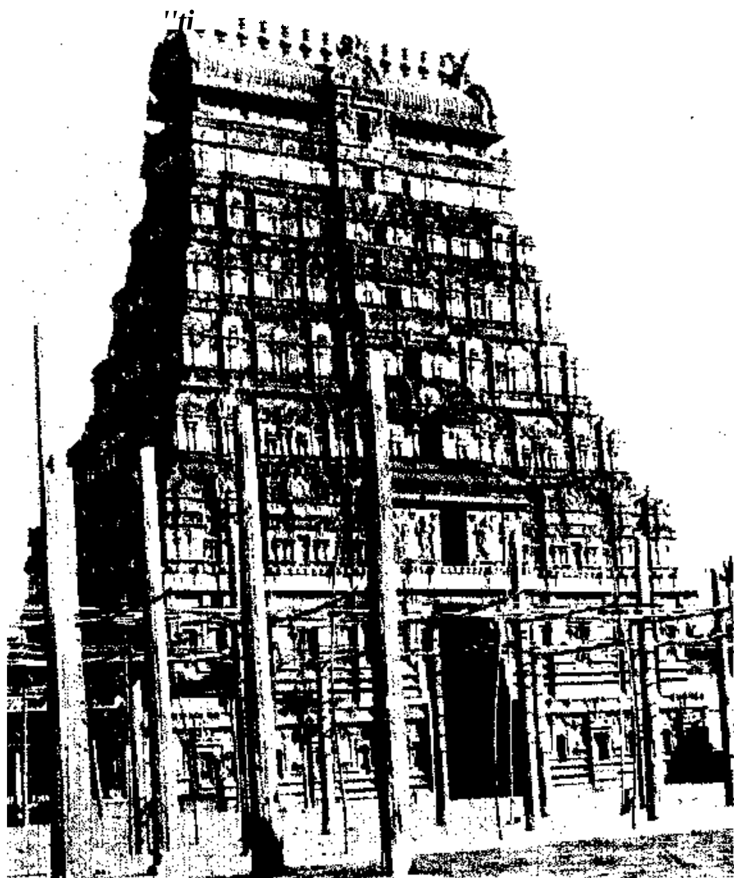
After the successful completion of their mission, *Siva* and *Visnu* returned to *Kailas. Adisesa,* the thousand-headed serpent who serves as the couch of *Visnu,* was so enchanted by *Visnu's* recital of the great dance of *Siva* at *Tillai,* that he prayed to *Siva* to grant him the beatific vision of the dance. *Mahesvara (Siva)* directed *Adisesa* to go to *Chidambaram* and to await his second visit to the sacred shrine. Accordingly *Adisesa* transformed himself into a half-man and half-snake, went to Tillai forest, and in the company of *Vyaghrapada* awaited the descent of *Siva.*

The second visit of *Siva* is associated with an interesting local legend. According to the story current in *Chidambaram,* there were at first two shrines, one dedicated to *Siva* and the other to the goddess Kali inside the precincts of the temple. When *Siva* came down to grant his boon to his devotee, *Kali* would not permit him to enter the *Nrtta-sablui.* Thereupon *Siva* entered into a dancing contest with *Kali,* and it was agreed that, who soever was vanquished, should relinquish all claims over the shrine and go out of the town. Then began the great dance in the presence of the devotees at the spot where the *Nrtta-sabhd* now stands. After a fairly equal contest for a long time, *Natardja* resorted to the pose in which he shot up his right leg straight above his head. *Kali* would not imitate this pose though she could have done it equally well (being after all a modest deity of the gentle sex). Consequently she had to acknowledge her defeat. Thenceforward she left the shrine, and took up her abode on the outskirts of the town.

When we leave behind myth and tradition and enter the realm of fact, we realise that there is insufficient material for building up a reliable history of the temple. Our difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the temple does not belong to one age, but grew up through a period spread over 1,300 years (from 6th to 19th century A.D.) The first historical incident of any importance connected with the temple is the visit of *Simhavarman* who made a long pilgrimage to *Chidambaram* in order to get himself cured of leprosy. We are told that he bathed in the *Siva-*



The Great Temple of Siva Nataraja at Chidambaram
A General view of the Central Shrine



The Eastern Gopuram

ganga tank, and that his body now free of the fell disease acquired a golden hue. He was thereafter known as *Hiranyavarman.* Out of gratitude to the God for the benefit he received he built several *Mantapams* and *Prakaras* round the central shrine of *Sri Ndtardja.*

Fergusson, speaking of the temple in his ' History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, says : " The oldest thing now existing here is a little shrine in the innermost enclosure with a porch of fifty-six pillars about eight feet high and most delicately carved, ornamented with dancing figures, more graceful—and more elegantly executed than any others of their class, so far as I know in South India. It is the *Nrtya* or *Nrtyasabha.* the hall of the dance. ' In front of the central shrine is one of very unusual architecture, with a tall copper roof, which I have no doubt, represents or is the Golden or Kanaka-sabha, and in front of this is a gopuram and pillared porch making up what seems to have been the original temple." The shrine of *Nataraja* is built of wood, which is a clear proof of its antiquity. The *Chit-sabha* and *Kanaka-sabha.* are enclosed by a wall separating them from the *Sanctum-sanctorum* and bearing inscriptions relating to Vikrama Chola. It is round this central shrine, which, according to Fergusson, may be dated as early as the 10th century, that the temple gradually grew up. The shrine of Parvati, the hall of the thousand pillars, and the temple of Subrahmanya, belong to a later age.

The great *gopuras* of the temple appear to have been built by different kings at different periods. That the northern gopura was built by *Krsna Deva Raya* of Vijayanagar is evident from his own inscriptions in the temple. Another epigraph of the *Vijayanagar* king says that, while the other gopuras were built by crowned kings, the northern *gopura* was built by God himself. The eastern *gopura* seems to have been built by the *Pallava* Chief *Kopperuiijinga Deva,* and renovated by *Subbamnval,* the sister of the great South Indian educational benefactor *Pachaiappa Mudaliar* (1754-1794).

That the southern *gopura* must have been the work of a *Pdndya* king may be inferred from the *Pdndyan* crest, the fish on the cross stone, connecting the right and the left niches of the tower.

Although the temple has been aggregated at different ages, and grown by accident rather than design, yet the whole structure is well-balanced and symmetrically arranged round the *Sivagahga* Tank.

The Rock-cut Caves of Malabar

BY

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IN recent years rock-cut caves have been reported in increasing numbers from various sites in the district of Malabar. It was for long believed that, while on the Western side of India there are infinite number of rock-cut temples, there are no tombs of any sort. Babington[1] was the first to report on the sepulchral monuments of Malabar known by the names of *Toppikallu* or hat-stone, and *Kuda-kallu* or umbrella stone. Logan[2] and Rea[3] followed with accounts of further discoveries of caves in the district, and more recently Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has examined the Malabar caves in greater detail, publishing his results in a pamphlet entitled " Vedic Antiquities."

In October 1934 the local papers announced the accidental discovery of two caves (Figs. 1 & 2) at Panuntfa, about 8 miles north-east of Tellichery in North Malabar, at a site in the vicinity of a Saivite shrine, where two caves had been previously discovered. These form an interesting series of four caves, which I visited in December of last year. An examination of the bigger of the two caves (Fig. 1.) yielded a spear 3 feet 4 inches long with a knob at one end, and a small grind-stone and roller of excellent finish, while from the other I obtained a miscellaneous lot of iron objects. The pottery in both the caves had already been smashed to pieces.

Of equal interest for its rock-cut caves is the region round about Punnol, a place about 4 miles to the south-east of Tellicherry. Here I was fortunate to spot a cave, which on excavation disclosed a valuable series of antiquities consisting of pottery bearing painted designs in black, and iron objects. The cave is in the neighbourhood of a local shrine, the Chelleth Kavu, one of the numerous shrines devoted to the worship of the minor deities scattered throughout North Malabar.

The pottery found in the Chelleth cave (Fig. 4) falls into three groups—the four-legged, the round-bottomed, and the narrow-bottomed.

1. Babington. Bom. Lit. Soc. Trans. 1819.
2. 'Malabar.' Vol. *h* p. 180, *et Seq;* Indian Antiquary. Vol. VIII.
3. Ann. Report, Mad. Archl. Dept. 1910-11.

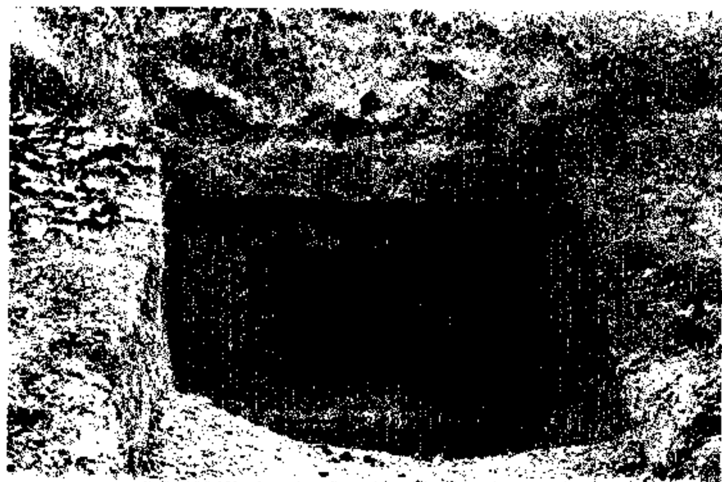


Fig. 1.
Pānuṇḍa Cave A.

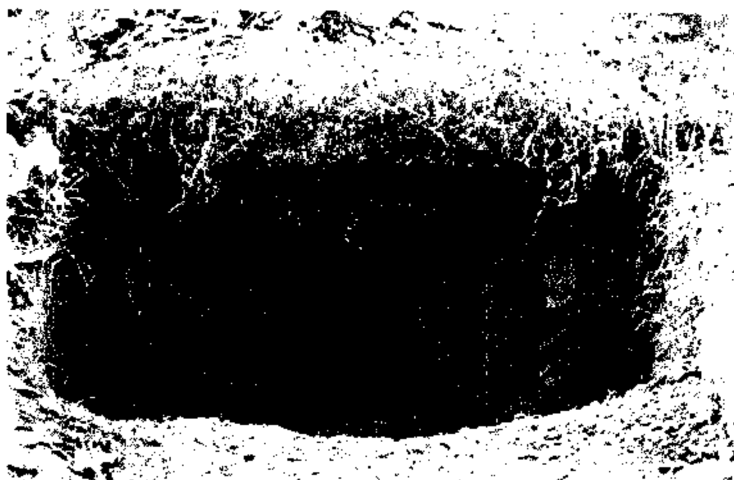
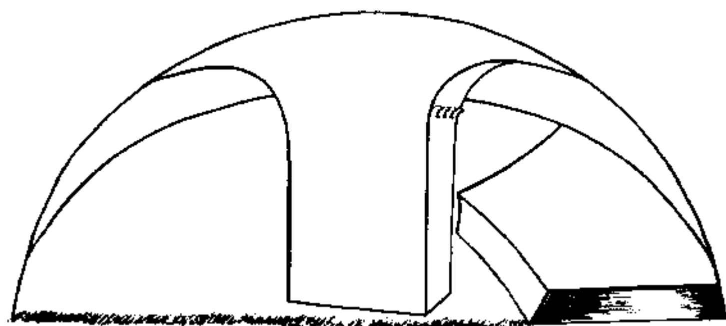
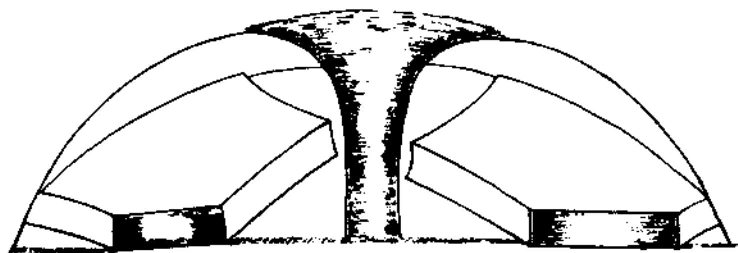


Fig. 2.
Pānuṇḍa Cave B.



(1)
Section of Cave A.



(2)
Section of Cave B.

Fig. 3.

The last is represented by a big-sized vessel found standing on an iron tripod. Three of the four-footed vessels are decorated by geometrical designs and bands in monochrome. Two of the small globular jars and one of the four-footed type are adorned with single bands of black in neck and shoulder. The colour in all designs is a dull black, which must have been applied directly on the pottery after the firing. The designs are faint owing to scaling caused by the damp and by the overlaying laterite dust. The black appears to be a cold black of some form of carbon unmixed with other colours. The designs are more or less regular and uniform, indicating that the painting was done with a brush. The lines of the designs are flush with the surface, and the paint being applied in the watery state has permeated below the surface.

The decorative motifs on the three vessels bearing geometrical designs include groups of triangles in black outline, being an elaboration of the triangular form, the enclosed space being left plain. (Fig. 5) The space between the wider triangles is filled with a narrow elongated triangular design with open base. The designs in other two jars are rather unusual, consisting of wide vertical panels with either the base or one side open, and filled in with small dots which alternate with plain panels. A plain band borders the designs on either side.

Of outstanding interest is the pottery bowl which treasured the bone relics, covered over with a lid. The lid is furnished with a holed knob with a pair of lugs symmetrically placed on either side. The perforation of the knob is perfectly round. The material of the bowl is different from that of the rest of the pottery, the clay being of dull black colour. The great rarity of handled vases in ancient Indian pottery being well known, the interest attaching to this piece of a handled lid is obvious.

The antiquities in metal comprise five objects in iron, including a bar of iron 17% inches long, with a waist formed about *3Vz* inches from the top. Round the waist is twisted a piece of strong iron rod, the two ends of which hang down on either side. Judging from the figures of conventionalized human form which are features of the cave art of pre-historic Europe,[4] the probability is strong that it is an effigy symbolic of the deceased. From the manner of its disposition in the cave (Fig. 6) stuck up with the hands hanging down it very much simulated the

4. "Hunters and Artists"—Peake and Fleure—p. 101, Fig. 55. "Spanish petroglyphs, representing human figures more or less conventionalized."

human figure. The other objects are sharp iron sticks, thick in the middle and pointed at either end, which are suggestive of the writing stylus of iron in use in Malabar from very early times, and surviving to the present day for use in writing on palm leaf. All the antiquities found were removed to the Madras Museum.

A sufficiently wide area of spreading laterite rock is the first requisite for a cave of this nature. The side sloping towards the east is evenly and perpendicularly cut down and rectangular recesses are cut in the rock in a graded series each narrower than the other, culminating in a narrow opening about 2½ feet by *Wz* feet, which ultimately forms the doorway, through which the boring proceeds. The solid mass within is hollowed out, all but a pillar which is left standing opposite the entrance. The column is rectangular at its base, but rounded higher up, until it sends radiating shafts on either side forming with the side walls of the cave symmetrical radiating arches which support the vault of the cave, which is fully domed and hemispherical. The central pillar is thus not an ornamental appendage which could have been dispensed with, but is indispensable to the structure and essential to its stability, bearing all the pressure and thrust of the mass above, and giving the whole cave the character of an enduring monument. A raised platform is left on one side, or on both the sides, so as to serve for keeping offerings of food and drink.

The flat facade presenting a graded series of jambs, the vaulted and hemispherical dome, the interior furnishing with its shapely column and the symmetrical platforms, all testify to the high skill attained to by these early cave builders. These caves are however devoid of any attempt at sculpture, excepting for a decorative pattern of leaves sculptured on one side of the central pillar in one of the Panuncla caves (Fig. 3) . It is not clear whether the idea was to continue the leaf motif all round the pillar so as to form a capital. That it had not been continued all round indicates that it was abandoned, possibly because such a step might have been prejudicial to the stability of the structure.

The arch form of the vault of the cave is fully circular in section— (Fig. 3) not taking the form of the pointed or the horizontal arch,—a structure example of the true radiating arch. These caves thus furnish an interesting link in the chain of the growth of the domed architecture. The vast majority of these rock-cut tombs still remain entombed without any indication outside of their existence.

Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil in his " Vedic Antiquities," puts forward a strong plea for considering these caves to be Vedic stupas of pre-Buddhist age, being " hemispherical tombs for the relics of the Aryan

chiefs, imitating the primitive Aryan hut, which was a hemispherical dome made of timber covered with clay, and the Buddhist stupa is a development from the Vedic Stupa of the Aryans." While the Aryan hut was of timber, the evidence is against the Aryans having employed stone for any purpose ; nor are they known as a tomb-building people.[5] As to the stupa, it is more probable that it is " the lineal or direct descent " of the sepulchral tumulus or circular mound of the early megalithic peoples,[6] having developed out of these early structures rather than from any form of the Aryan hut.

It is not easy to deal with the problem of the age of these caves, and the class or race of peoples who were responsible for excavating them. The bones collected from the Panunda caves show great decay and are almost chalky-white in appearance, indicative of high antiquity. Those inside the Chelleth cave were better preserved in the bowl, and are of a reddish tinge apparently from the adhering laterite dust. While these bones testify to the sepulchral nature of the caves, the remains bear no signs of charring or cremating. The burials do not therefore seem to be post-cremation burials, but appear to be of the nature of secondary burials, or consecration graves, as the fragmentary character of the bones leads us to conclude. In these secondary burials[7] the body was disinterred after the flesh had decayed, and a selection of bones given a ceremonial or consecration burial in urns, sarcophagi or sepulchral caves or tombs.

Logan[8] quotes a Chinese pilgrim who visited Malabar—" one of the numerous Chinese pilgrims who flocked to India "—who is credited with having written in 605 A.D. that " the bones of the dead are buried and their ashes placed in a *So-tu* (Stupa)," and Logan considers this " a practice which Malayalis certainly observed, if the evidence of the rude stone monuments of the district signifies anything." The interior of the rock-cut caves is in the shape of a hollow stupa as archaeologists have observed, and the Chinese pilgrim was apparently referring to these caves and other sepulchral structures of the district. Cave burials obvi-

5. Cf. Fergusson. "Rude stone Monuments." p. 39.

6. Fergusson. "Rude stone Monuments." p. 490. Fergusson "History of India and Eastern Architecture"—Introduction, p. 39.

"The worship foreshadowed in the Vedas is of a class too purely intellectual to require the assistance of the stone mason and the carver to give it expression. **The** Vedic Aryans were no builders—least of all of carvings in rocks."

7. Gordon Childe—New Light on the Most Ancient East.

8. Logan. Malabar. Vol. I. 263.

ously go back to a distant date in the history and culture of Kerala, as in the history of most other Asiatic countries, and Logan is presumably correct in assuming these monuments to the dead to have been erected by the early peoples of Malabar prior to the intrusive culture of the Vedic Brahmins, whose death ceremonies were much simpler, and who had " no necessity for costly death houses, or for furnishing such with all the deceased's weapons and implements in use by him during life."

While the sepulchral nature of the caves is thus obvious, there is yet another aspect to be considered,—whether at any time in the history of the country, they may have served as abodes of the living. Interesting light on this aspect is thrown by the folk songs of the country. One such song,[9] the only one I have been able to discover, refers to the construction of a rock-cut cell in order to shelter a child,—the sole male issue of a family subjected to *Kudi Paka,* or hereditary blood feud,—a form of vendetta which obtained in mediaeval Malabar, by which the aggrieved family took the law into its own hands, and vowed revenge, the vow taking the form of an oath to kill every male issue of the rival family for generations. The child, Koman by name of one such family, is brought up in secret, lodged in a cave concealed from public view until he grows into manhood. How far the incidents narrated in the song supports the idea of such rock-cut caves having been used as abodes of the living, is a matter for further enquiry.

The nearest parallel which these caves bear to the dwelling houses of the living, is to the hut of the Todas of the Nilgiris, with its domical roof and direct access from the ground outside as in these caves. The similarity extends to the interior furnishings of a Toda hut, with its raised platforms for keeping the belongings. It will be interesting to pursue the matter further with a view to discovering whether there is any evidence to indicate that the earliest type of Malabar houses may have been circular or vaulted in design, and how far the rock-cut cave of the dead is a replica of the house of the living, the house of the dead being among all races designed and constructed on the same plan as the house of the living. While the fact that these caves open towards the east, and that for the greater part of the day, the cave is fairly lit by the rays of the sun, argues in favour of their possible use as habitation, the low roof of most of the caves—(the biggest of the Panuncla caves has an altitude of only 2Vfe feet from the floor to the vault)—which does not permit of the erect posture, argues against it.

9. " Vadakkan Pattukal "—folk-songs of North Malabar,



Fig. 4.
Chelleth Cave Pottery.

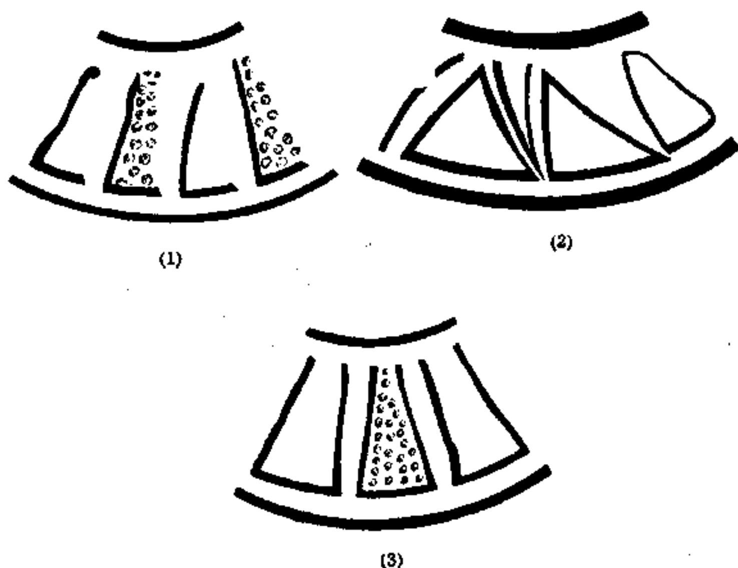


Fig. 5.
Designs on Pottery.



Fig. 6.
Metal objects from Chelleth Cave.

We have finally to consider the problem already suggested above, whether these stone monuments of Malabar do not more properly belong to the class of megalithic structures. Fergusson in his account of megalithic monuments of Western India, refers to the stone chambers of Malabar " always buried in the earth, only showing the cap-stone flush with the surface of the soil." [10] By these he no doubt means the caves commonly reported from South Malabar,[11] which may be referred approximately to the same period of time and culture as the caves of North Malabar, judging from the character of the associated finds such as the iron objects and pottery.

Whether these caves are the work of a race of Mediterranean stock who settled in Kerala before the coming of the Aryans or whether they are to be ascribed to the Vedic Aryans as Prof. Dubreuil considers, or to the later Vedic Brahmins, or whether they were the work of the Buddhists of Kerala, are questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered until a more complete investigation is carried out than has hitherto been attempted.

10. Fergusson—"Rude stone monuments of all countries." p. 472.
11. Rock-cut cave-tombs of Feroke, S. Malabar. A. Aiyappan, Q.J.M.S. Vol. XXII, No. 3.

The Evolution of the Theory of Music in the Vijayanagara Empire

BY

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ITHE Empire of Vijayanagar, it is well known, rendered incalculable service to every aspect of Hindu cultural development. I propose in this article to deal with the development of the science of music in it, to honour one who is associated so largely with the elucidation of the history of that Empire. The greatest work of pre-Vijayanagara times on music is the *Sahgita-b-atnakara* of Sarhgadeva, who belonged to the court of the Yadava king Singhana II of Devagiri (1209-47). The geographical situation of this kingdom naturally made this work well known both in North and South India. Sarhgadeva shows a remarkable grasp of detail and, by his masterly presentation of the subject, has made his classic indispensable for tracing the history of Hindu music' Even before him there seems to have been free exchange of ideas between Aryavarta and Southern India, as is attested by the fact that such distinctly classical and non-Dravidian ragas like Natta, Nattabhasa, Gandhara-pahcamam, Gandharam, etc., were used in the singing of the Tevaram by the Nayanars. ' The Natyasastra of Bharata and the Sahgita-ratnakara had exercised decisive influence on the evolution of South Indian music;

The first of the Vijayanagar musicians was Vidyaranya whose contribution is dealt with in connection with his commentator Govinda Diksita in pp. 397-8 below. In the middle of the 15th century, a brilliant commentary on Sarhgadeva's work was written by Kallinatha under the patronage of ImmaoUdeva, the successor of Deva Raya II, some time between 1447 and 1465. Kallinatha is a delightful commentator, gifted with a happy style; and the range of his reading is very wide. His *Kaldnidhi* is full of quotations from ancient works on music, philosophy, politics, and even medicine.[1] His proficiency in dancing is indicated by the title *Abhinava Bharatacdrya.* He calls himself the visible deity of music *(Saksat Sangita-devata)*; and being skilled alike in singing and composing, he

1. Kallinatha belonged to the SanoUlya-gotra. His full title, as given in the collophon to his work is : Srimad-abhinava-bharata carya-raya-vayakara-=T64a-iamalla Sri Laksmanacarya-nandana-catura-kallinatha.

was known as Rayavayakara. Toclara Malla seems to have been a title bestowed upon him, as on Laksminarayana, another musical writer of the 16th century, and of the still later Ramamatya. Kallinatha indicates some important changes in the nature of the Ragas in his commentary.[2] The Grama music was at this time slowly disappearing, and a new epoch was at its beginning. The distinction between the Satfja and Madhyama gramas were slowly beginning to fade, and new musical intervals emerging in practice, with far-reaching consequences on the music of India. Kallinatha explains the Marga and Dcsi Ragas of the *Sangxtaratndkara,* thus throwing a flood of light on the nature of the Ragas current in his time. He also defines Bhasa-ragas, etc., unlike Sararigadeva. Amongst these Ragas it is interesting to note the remark of Kallinatha that Bhavani is very frequently met with in the singing of the Samaveda. Gandhari is described by him to be specially dear to women. Gandharavalli, he says, was sung during the ceremonial offerings to the Pitrs. Pulindi was a Raga popular among mountain tribes. A Raga with the interesting name Tumbura is given the epithet *Brahmacdrini.* Sha$jabhasa is said to have been sung during worship. The theory of Sararigadeva relating to the Prabandhas, Nrtya and Nartana probably determined practice at this time.l

The *Sangitasuryodaya* was written during the reign of Krsnadeva Raya. The author, like Kallinatha, was a Rayavayakara, and had the title Todara Malla. He closely follows the Sangltaratnakara, and deals with the Svaras, Jatis, Talas, Prabandhas and Nrtya. It is disappointing, however, that he makes no mention of Desi-ragas. It may be that this portion is missing, and may be recovered.

Perhaps the most important work of the period is the *Svaramelakaldnidhi* of Ramamatya, who had the titles of Abhinava Bharatacarya, Raya Vaggeyakara, and Todara Malla. It has been suggested that he was the grandson of Kallinatha.[3] This is quite probable as his grandfather Kallapadesika is described in the Svaramelakalanidhi as comparable to sage Dattila for his mastery of music, and also because of the similarity of title. Ramamatya wrote his work at the behest of Rama Raya about 1550. His object was to reconcile the differences which had crept in between the theory and practice of music. It is important as it deals with the art at the time when the Empire was very powerful. It deals with the Ragas only, and leaves the other aspects of music as laid

2. Vide the author's *The Ragas of Karnatic Music,* about to be published by the Madras University.
3. Vide Introdn. Svaramela-kalanidhi, ed. by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.

down in the Sangitaratnakara undisturbed. He in fact refers the reader to the Ratnakara for the treatment of Tala and Prabandha. The most outstanding fact in his time is that the Madhyama-grama disappeared from practice, and only the Shadja-grama was in vogue. This means that the Grama system was definitely a thing of the past, and, what at present affects Karnatic as well as Hindustani music fundamentally, the Paficama and Saolja had lost their nature as Vikrtas and gained a definite and inviolable relationship technically called the consonance of the fifth. Since five of the Vikrta notes of the Sangitaratnakara had lost their distinction in practice, Ramamatya either rejected or renamed them. He retains only seven Vikrta and seven Suddha notes, and except for two intervals in the former group, the notes afterwards permuted into the seventy-two Janaka-melas by Venkatamakhin were anticipated by him. Had he only thought about it, he might himself have laid down the seventy-two Meja-karta ragas.

A study of the notes described by Ramamatya throws light on the nature of the intervals that prevailed during the period of Grama music, how they were transformed in practice in Vijayanagara times, and how they function in modern days. The fixing of the relationship of the Sadja and Pancama as the fifths at this time has been alluded to. The most significant fact affecting this relationship, which has ever since been the fundamental factor in our music to the present day, is the treatment of the Vikrta or the Cyutapaficama, the pivot of the Grama system, as a madhyama under the name cyutapaficama-madhyama. This new interval gave rise to what are now known as Pratimadhyama-ragas, and without this the present scheme of melakarta-ragas could not have been formulated. Ramamatya's analysis of the other Vikrta-svaras mentioned in the Ratnakara is equally significant. He says that no difference is perceived between the suddha and cyuta-sa$jas and madhyamas, Suddha and Vikrta Rsabhas and Daivatas, and Vikrta-paficama and what may be termed Vikrta-pancama-madhyama. Ramamatya states that the Cyuta-Sa^ja is recognised as having the quality of Nisada, and that hence it is named Cyuta Sao^ja-Nisada ; since Cyuta-madhyama is treated as a Gandhara he gives it the name Cyuta-madhyama Gandhara. Similarly he calls Cyuta-paficama by the name Cyuta-paficama-madhyama. There are some new intervals which are not mentioned in the Sarigita-ratnakara but which are named by Ramamatya and adopted by subsequent writers. The intervals are Rsabhas occurring in the place of Suddha and Sadharana Gandharas, called by Ramamatya pafichasruti and satsruti rsabhas respectively, and the daivatas occurring in the place of Suddha and Kaisiki-nisada now named paficasruti and satsruti-daivatas respectively. Ramamatya states that, according to one view Cyuta-madhyama-gandhara and Cyuta-sa<jlja-nisada are substitutes for

Antara-gandhara and Kakali-nisada, and this identification results in the inclusion of five of the twenty melas described by him in the other fifteen (vide Appendix B.). This identity must have been real in Ramamatya's own day and general practice decisively ; because on the Vinas described in the Svaramelakalanidhi each identical pair was not provided with two frets but was included in one single fret. The above facts show that, at the time when the Vijayanagar Empire had reached its zenith, musical practice in respect of the notes employed had progressed far beyond the system described by &ararigadeva. But the main scheme of this system was still adhered to. Ramamatya found new intervals in the practice prevalent in the Empire, and he gave them names which have survived to the present day, and included them in his theoretical treatment. Some of the notes of the Saiigita-ratnakara are found to have assumed new applications which remain intact even now. (Cf. the notes of Kallinatha and Ramamatya, vide Appendix A). Thus from the point of view of the Sangita-ratnakara the Vijayanagara Empire registers a complete revolution in the theory and practice of music.

The scales given by Ramamatya are now part of the Melakarta scheme though they are known by different names. They are enumerated in Appendix B, and it is interesting to compare them with Sri Vidyaranya's *melas* (vide post). Among these scales of Ramamatya are to be found some which are nowadays considered to be difficult to render and hence are not popular, viz. :—the equivalents of Kanakarigi, Vagadhisvari, &ulinl, etc. There is nothing to distinguish sharply between Ramamatya's Malavagaula and Hejujji, Sarariganata and Kambhoji, and his Suddhanata and Samanta ; they are likely to sound identical for modern ears. Among melas identified by Ramamatya, the identification of Vasanta-bhairavi with Hejujji, and of Kanna^agaula with Samanta, seems to be inadmissible. Though Ramamatya's list of melas is antiquated, it serves to explain some laksanas of some modern ragas. His definitions of Malavagaula, Suddha nata, and Suddha varali are even now accepted. His Sriraga-mela is adopted by Verikatamakhin. His assignment of Sadharana-gandhara to Nadaramakriya supports some phrases used in the raga at present. Lalita, Saurastra, Madhyamadi and Bhupala are even now defined in accordance with their treatment in the Svaramelakalanidhi. Bauli, Garjari, Gundakriya, and Desaksi are defined in this book almost as we know them.

As regards instrumental music, the Vina acquired its present shape, making allowance for differences in the modes of tuning and the number of frets, in the Vijayanagar Empire. At the time when Sarngadeva wrote, the Svara-vlna was often marked on the finger-board to indicate srutis. Sarrigadeva describes Vinas having one string, two strings, three strings as well as seven and nine strings. The Matta-kokila Vina

with twenty-one strings was the most important of all. According to him the Kinnaris were provided with frets which yielded a range of two Saptakas. The Kinnara Vina must have been very popular, for it is with reference to it that Sarngadeva explains the instrumental rendering of a number of ragas. This instrument developed into the Rudra-vina of the Vijayanagar Empire described by Ramamatya. This Rudra-vina has come down to us without its essential characteristics being impaired. Ramamatya mentions three principal varieties of the instrument viz., Suddha-mela, Madhya-mela, and Acyuta-Rajendra-mela. The last should have been constructed in honour of King Acyuta Raya (1530-1542). Each of these three Vinas was of two kinds according as it was intended for playing one or all ragas. These Vinas were fitted with four main strings and three sruti-strings,[4] and usually six frets. In the following diagram is given the Madhya-mela Vina of Ramamatya, since its form as amended by Venkatamakhin corresponds to that of the modern Vina.

4. Vide Appendix 'The Sruti or Drone' in the 'Ragas of Karnatic Music' by the author.

RAMAMATYA'S RUDRA-VINA (MADHYA MELA)

	Side strings.			Main strings.			
Note on the open string.	Mandra pa	Mandra	Anumandra pa	Mandra sa	Mandra pa	Mandra	**Anumandra pa**
1st fret.				Suddha ri	Suddha dha	Suddha	**Suddha dha**
2nd fret.				Suddha ga	Suddha ni	Suddha	**Suddha**
3rd fret.				Sadharana ga	Kaisiki ni	Sadharana ga	**Kaisiki ni**
4th fret.				Cyuta-madhyama ga	Cyutasadj ni	Cyuta-madhyama ga	**Cyutasadj ni**
5th fret.				Suddha ma	Suddha sa	Suddha ma	**Suddha sa**
6th fret.				Cyuta-pancama ma	Suddha ri	Cyuta-pancama ma	**Suddha ri**

Venkatamakhin[5] severely criticises Ramamatya for tuning the main strings in* the above manner, since, according to him, even a cow-boy knows it is inappropriate for two strings (the second and fourth in the diagram) to be tuned to the same note viz., the Mandra-sadja. Verikatamakhin prescribes Madhya-saclja instead for the fourth string which makes the Vina correspond to its present form. Making allowance for the difference in tuning, the number of the main and of the side strings, the sequence of the notes, and its general shape make the instrument as described by Ramamatya the direct predecessor of the modern Vina.

Ramamatya must have been an able Vainika, for his mastery of the instrument led him to discover and define 'svayambhus' so far as he was enabled by the means at his command. His contribution on the subject raises his treatment to a really high and scientific level. The presence of upper partials in a note was recognised by Sarrigadeva who was aware of the musical sounds which accompanied the sounding of the note. This he explains in the following definition of the Svara :

श्रुत्यनन्तरभावीयः स्निग्धोऽनुरणनात्मकः ।
स्वतो रञ्जयति श्रोतृचित्तं स स्वर उच्यते ॥

But the identification of the upper partials, in the light of existing data, was made for the first time by Ramamatya. He was able to make out only the first harmonic or the second partial tone in the several instances cited by him. After Ramamatya nothing worth mentioning was discovered in India in this branch of acoustics till the beginning of the 20th century. As compared with this, in Europe, as early as 1636, Marsenne, according to an important authority, clearly distinguished between 5 or 6 sounds emanating on a string along with the prime note. Marsenne also identified the ninth partial tone. In the 19th century Helmholtz was responsible for a very considerable advance in the knowledge of harmonics. Even before his time the knowledge of upper partials was used for practical purposes in Europe. To Ramamatya goes the credit of having observed the harmonics arising on the Vina and, what is more significant, of making use of them in an original manner. Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, in his introduction to the Svaramelakalanidhi, asks what the value of this discovery of svayambhus is, so far as practical

5. In view of Verikatamakhin's criticism it is not possible to accept Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar's amendment of mandra sadja as madhya sadja for the fourth string (vide p. 20, his edition of the Svaramela-kalanidhi). To treat 'mandra sadja as a copyist's mistake is unwarranted. The question of it being a printer's error does not arise.

singing is concerned. He answers by quoting Blaserna's statement that a note, not accompanied by its harmonics, is always thin and poor and hence little musical, and supports this by a quotation from Somanatha to a similar effect. But this answer seems rather to be beside the point. For the appeal of the svara or note is spontaneous according to all definitions, and to appreciate the beauty of a note it is not necessary to analyse its harmonics. The problem is to find out how to make use of a partial tone once it was discovered emanating on a fundamental note. Ramamatya made use of it with great wisdom, and his originality in this direction has not been realised and appreciated as it should be. He makes use of the svayambhus to determine the measure of notes, and thus his svaras make the nearest approach to perfect intervals. Not only are we enabled to infer the values of his notes, but also those of his predecessors, by following his equations of harmonics and svaras. He points out that svaras were measured by the method of Sarigita-ratnakara, viz., by combining notes according to their *samvadi* relationship measured by the number of intervening srutis. This method every one knows to be vague, and in the light of the results of modern research, tends to be even slightly inaccurate. Compared with this, Ramamatya's method appears to be well-nigh infallible. Theoretically and practically his system of fixing the frets on the Vina with the aid of svayambhus marks a great advance. It is not without importance even now. This alone is enough to give Ramamatya a high rank among our theorists. (The Prabandhas mentioned by him are in accordance with the terminology of the Sangitaratnakara. This shows how the work must have continued to influence practice.).

(It may be noted that Somanatha, who belonged to the Telugu country and wrote his ' Raga-vibodha ' in 1609, accepts the vikrta intervals of Ramamatya except for differences in the names of the prefixes to three svaras. Besides these seven, he creates eight new vikrtas. In this extension of the use of vikrtas, he was perhaps actuated by the spirit in which the vikrtas of Ramamatya were used. Though Somanatha creates hundreds of melas with the aid of the 15 vikrtas, he describes only twenty-three as being current in his time.)

h After the battle of Talikota (1565 A.D.), the most important figure from the point of view of Karnatic music was Govinda Diksita. His ' Sahgita-sudha ' is a monument to his vast knowledge of the subject and his striking ability as a critic and researcher. He was the connecting link between the art of Vijayanagar and of Tanjore. In this work he subjects the system of Sarngadeva to a searching scrutiny, and after an elaborate analysis of this system he describes fifty Ragas which, he says, are well known, everywhere since the period of Sri Vidyaranya. This makes the Sahgita-sudha invaluable in the history of Karnatic music,

and reveals an unknown aspect of the glorious personality of Vidyaranya. Diksita says that he has perused the treatise of Vidyaranya called the ' Sariglta-sara,' which is not available at present except fortunately through the quotations in the Sangita-sudha. Govinda Diksita thoroughly analyses the svaras of &arngadeva, but practically discards that system and in explaining the ragas according to Vidyaranya he enumerates svaras which are virtually the same as those of Ramamatya. He provides for twelve frets in consecutive order on the Vina, and the svaras assigned to them by him are the same as our own, except for the names of three notes. The ideas of ragas classified under 15 generic scales, with the now familiar name of melas, is thus found embodied in the Sariglta-sara of Vidyaranya. The intervals characteristic of post-grama music and found by Ramamatya to be current in laksya, viz., Paficasruti *ri* and *da,* Satsruti *ri* and *da,* and Cyuta-paficama *ma* can be thus said *to* be current even as early as Vidyaranya's life-time. Diksita speaks of Vidyaranya with veneration in the following terms before explaining his melas : —

संगीतसारं समवेक्ष्य विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ॥

... ...

कर्णाटसिंहासन भाग्यविद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणाग्रणीभ्यः ॥

आरभ्य रागान्प्रचुरप्रयोगान्पञ्चाशतं चाकलये षडङ्गान् ॥

रागास्तु पञ्चाशदिहोपदिष्टा नट्टादयः सर्वजगत्प्रसिद्धाः ॥

तेषां मताः पञ्चदशैव मेलाः क्रमात्तदुद्देशमिहामनामः ॥

In the accompanying list of melas Antara-gandhara and Kakali-nisada are mentioned in the place of Cyuta-madhyama-gandhara and Cyuta-sa$ja-nisada which are the names given by Govinda Diksita to the corresponding notes on the frets of the Vina. Again the note called Cyuta-paficama-madhyama on his Vina is termed ' Sat-sruti-madhyama ' in his definition of Vidyaranya's melas. Among these melas Natta and Samanta appear to be identical. It is remarkable that the notes occurring in these scales and many of the scales themselves have come down to the present day intact.

Names of melas.	Ṣaḍja.	Śuddha riṣabha.	Śuddha gāndhāra. Pañcaśruti ri.	Sādhāraṇa ga Ṣaṭśruti ri	Antara ga	Śuddha ma.	Ṣaṭśruti ma.	Pancama.	Śuddha dha	Śuddha ni. Pañcaśruti dha.	Kaiśikī ni (Ṣaṭśruti dha)	Kākali ni	Ṣaḍja.
1. Natta	sa			ri	ga	ma		pa			dha	ni	sa
2. Gūrjarī	sa	ri			ga	ma		pa	dha			ni	sa
3. Varāli	sa	ri	ga				ma	pa	dha			ni	sa
4. Śrī	sa		ri	ga		ma		pa		dha	ni		sa
5. Bhairavī	sa		ri	ga		ma		pa	dha		ni		sa
6. Śaṅkarābharaṇa	sa		ri		ga	ma		pa		dha		ni	sa
7. Āhari	sa		ri	ga		ma		pa	dha			ni	sa
8. Vasanta-bhairavī	sa	ri			ga	ma		pa	dha		ni		sa
9. Sāmanta	sa			ri	ga	ma		pa			dha	ni	sa
10. Kāmbōdi	sa		ri		ga	ma		pa		dha	ni		sa
11. Mukhāri	sa	ri	ga			ma		pa	dha	ni			sa
12. Śuddharāmakriyā	sa	ri			ga		ma	pa	dha			ni	sa
13. Kedāra-gouḍa	sa		ri		ga	ma		pa		dha	ni		sa
14. Hījujji	sa	ri			ga	ma		pa	dha	ni			sa
15. Dēśākṣi	sa			ri	ga	ma		pa		dha		ni	sa

Besides possessing other merits the work of Govinda Diksita is of special value owing to the fact that it transmits to posterity the system of Melas as arranged by Vidyaranya, the soul of the Vijayanagara Empire, and these melas are intimately connected with the present system of Karnatic Music.

The contribution of Vijayanagar to the laksya of Karnatic Music was so great and precious that it is as significant as the empire's influence on the laksana of the art. The composers of Vijayanagar were worthy of its august fame, and their works are cherished in South India even today. The compositions of Sri Arunagirinatha, 6ri Purandara Dasa, Talapakkam Cinnayya and others form an integral part of Karnatic Music. A critical estimate of these songs as well as of the art of dance as developed in the Vijayanagar Empire is given elsewhere.)

APPENDIX A.

The Srutis used in the Mvsic of Vijayanagar.

Svaras.

No. of Srutis.	Kallinatha and Laksmlnarayana.	Ramamatya.	Govinda Dik§ita.
1.	Kaisiki ni	Kaisiki ni : Satsruti dha	Kaisiki ni : Satsruti c
2.	Kakall ni	Kakall ni	
3.	Cyuta sa	Cyuta $adja	Cyuta $adja ni
4.	Acyuta sa (Suddha)	Suddha sa	Suddha sa
5.			
6.			
7.	Vikrta ri : Suddha ri	6uddha ri	Suddha ri
8.			
9.	Suddha ga	6uddha ga: Paficasruti ri	Suddha ga: Paficasruti ri
10.	Sadharana ga	Sadharana ga Spatsruti ri	Sadharana ga :
11.	Antara ga	Antara ga	
12.	Cyuta ma	Cyuta madhyama ga	Cyuta madhyama ga
13.	Acyuta ma (Suddha ma)	Suddha ma	Suddha ma
14.			
15.			
16.	Vikrta **pa**: Trisruti **pa**	Cyuta pancama ma	Cyuta pancama ma
17.	**Suddha** pa	Suddha pa	Suddha pa
18.			
19.			
20.	Vikrta **dha**: **Suddha** dha	Suddha dha	Suddha dha
21.			
22.	**Suddha ni**	Suddha ni: Paficasruti **dha**	**Suddha ni: Paficasruti dha**

(Govinda Diksita adopts the above-mentioned svaras in his description of the Vina. In his definitions of Vidyaranya's melas he uses Antara-gandhara, Kakali-nisada, and ' Satsruti '-madhyama. This last name for the prati-madhyama is to be noted.)

APPENDIX B.

Ramamatya's Melas.

No.	Names of Melas.	Laksana of Melas.
1.	Mukharl	Suddha svaras
2.	Malavagaula	CM ga, C.S. ni
3.	Sri	P.S ri, Sadharana ga, P.S dha, Kaisiki ni
4.	Sarnganata	P.S ri, CM ga, P.S dha, C.S ni
5.	Hindola	P.S ri, Sadharana ga, Kaisiki ni
6.	Sudharamakriya	CM ga, C.P ma, C.S ni
7.	Desaksl	S.S ri, CM ga, P.S dha, C.S ni
8.	Kannadagaula	S.S ri. CM ga. P.S. dha, Kaisiki ni
9.	Suddhanata	S.S ri, CM ga, S.S dha, C.S ni
10.	Ahiri	P.S ri, Sadharana ga, C.S ni
11.	Nadanamakriya	Sadharana ga, C.S ni
12.	Suddhavarali	C.P ma, C.S ni
13.	Putigaula	PS dha, Kaisiki ni
14.	Vasantabhairavl	CM ga, Kaisiki ni
15.	Kedaragaula	P.S. ri, CM ga, P.S dha, C.S ni
16.	Hejujji	Antara ga, Kakali ni
17.	Samavarali	Kakali ni
18.	Revagupti	Antara ga
19.	Samanta	S.S ri, Antara ga, S.S dha, Kakali ni
20.	Kambhoji	P.S ri, Antara ga, P.S dha, Kakali ni

[Note.—Among the above melas Ramamatya considers Hejujji to be merged in Vasantabhairavi ; Samavarali in Suddhavarali ; Revagupti in Bauli ; Samanta in Kannadagaula : and Kambhoji in Saranganata. Only the vikrta svaras of the melas are given in defining their laksana ; the svaras not mentioned are to be taken as suddha. The following abbreviations of the names of svaras are used : p.s for paficasruti, s.s for satsruti, cm for cyuta-madhyama, c.p for cyuta-pancama, and c.s for cyuta-sadja.]

A Gurjara king on Sangita

BY

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THE development of music and dance and the science of dramaturgy (Natya) always went hand in hand in Hindu India. Their combined treatment in works dealing with those arts reveals its inseparability. They underwent phenomenal development in almost every important state, but Gujerat, Rajaputana, Chedi, Surashtra and Karnata formed the chief centres of their evolution. Between 800 and 1200 A.D. they flourished in great glory particularly in the kingdoms of Central India and Rajputana. The Chandella kingdom in the former, for example, had such great writers on music as Rahula, Paramardi, Sdmesa, etc. There were two Rahulas. One was Sakyacarya,[1] the head of a Buddhist monastery at Tamralipti and a contemporary of the Chinese traveller Hieuntsiang, and whose work is restricted in dramaturgy to the description of the hero and heroine in a drama. But the king Rahula of the Chandella dynasty of the early 9th century appears to be a Vartikakara on Bharata's Natyasastra. Paramardi of the same dynasty of about 1160 A.D. is mentioned by Sarfigadeva of 1230 A.D.[2] ; and Parsvadeva in his compilation of Sangita-samayasara has borrowed a number of verses from Paramardi's work.[3] Bhoja, the celebrated king of Dhara, was also a very great writer who contributed much to these two sciences. He lived between 1000 and 1050. About 1120 Somesvara or Bhulokamalla of the Western Chalukyan line advanced his bold theories in both the arts in about 1600 slokas.[4] His son Jagadekamalla II, made a valuable contribution to the two arts in his *Sangita-chudamani,* a work in five

1. "शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलंकाराना चक्षते"
(Hema: Kavyā. Page 316).

राजा तथा राहुल: (Sangīta Muktavali of Devaṇa I.)

2. परमर्दी च सोमेशो जगदेकमहीपति: । Sañ. Ratna, I.

3. आभोग: कथितस्तेन परमर्दिमहीभुजा । Sañ. Sam. V. 6.

4. Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi, Sect. IV.

sections. He was called also Pratapachakravarti/' Parsvadeva, the great compiler, has borrowed 50 verses of Jagadekamalla forming the definitions of Ragas in his *Rdgadhyaya."* Sarfigadeva mentions him with regard. Sarngadeva was a protigee of Sirigana's court in Deogiri. After him, in Rajaputana and Malwa, a number of writers on music flourished. The most prominent among them was Kumbhakarna who completed his work in 1449 A.D.[7] The whole of the 14th century presents a blank in Northwest India for the reason that the eruption and settlement of the Mahommedan invaders had rooted out the older Kingdoms.

With this preliminary note we shall devote our attention to Sangitasudhakara of Haripala. Haripala of Guzarat seems to have lived about 1170 which was a very critical period in the history of India especially of the North-Western tracts. Bhoja is said to have warded off the eruption of Gazini hordes on more then two occasions. And Mahamad Ghori was repulsed several times by the powerful attacks or heroic defences of the great kings of North-western India. Besides the trouble from alien races, countries in Central India, Gujarat and Rajaputana had always contended against the unhappy dangers of internecine warfare. Haripala, his ancestors and his successors lived between the fires of internecine and alien attacks.

Sangitasudhakara reads in its colophon* as the work of Haripala who bore the title Vicharachaturmukha (equal to Brahma in inquiry). This

5. The end of the 5th chapter runs thus :—

दृष्टिर्दुर्गतिहारिणी प्रणयिनां नम्रं शिरः श्रीपतौ
पाणिर्यस्य रणे विनम्रशिरसां रक्षाकृते क्ष्माभुजाम् ।
दर्पाध्मातनरेन्द्रमस्तकतले पादश्च येनार्पितः
प्राज्ञोऽसौ जगति प्रतापनृपतिः सन्नृत्यलक्ष्म व्यधात् ॥
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमत्प्रतापचक्रवर्तिजगदेकमल्लविरचिते
सङ्गीतचूडामणौ नृत्याधिकरणं नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

6. Verses 5-73, chap. V (MS.) and ch. IV (printed work).

7. श्रीमद्विक्रमकालतः परिगते नात्राभ्रभूतक्षितौ
वर्षे क्ष्माग्यनलेन्दु शाकसमये संवत्सरे च ध्रुवे ।
ऊर्जे मासि तिथौ हरे रविदिने हस्तर्क्षयोगे तथा
योगे चाभिजिति स्फुटोऽयमभवत् सङ्गीतराजाभिधः

8. इति विचारचतुर्मुखहरिपालविरचिते संगीतसुधाकरे ।

same title was borne by a Guhilet king before him. The chief verses in Sangltasudhakara which reveal anything of its author are as follows.[9] These verses show that Haripala was a Chaulukyan king the son of Samantasimha and grandson of Bhlmadeva. He was the king of the Gurjaras ; and his capital was Abhinavapura which may be a scribal error for Anihilapura. He wrote his work to instruct the singers and dancers at Sriranga on the banks of the Cauvery in South India. What made the author to enlighten the South Indian pupils in the two arts passes our comprehension. It is a bold conjecture to say that he was ousted from his throne by a powerful member of his family. Now coming to his dynasty we have to assign him to Chaulukyan family of Anhilwad. For the Gujarats and the Chandals do not trace their descent to a Chaulukyan ancestor. There are two Bhimadevas both of them powerful sovereigns in the Anhilwad dynasty of kings. But neither of them was succeeded by a king called Samantasimha. After Bhimadeva I, Kumarapala was an important member. He was succeeded by Ajayapala who had a short reign and was followed by Haripala. There was one Samantasimha in the Guhilet dynasty who lived about 1220, but he was not a Chaulukyan. His father was not Bhimadeva ; nor history grants him a son in the name of Haripala. From the disturbed condition of Gujarat politics it may be conjectured that soon after the death of Kumarapala a relative of his called Ajayapala came to the throne. Probably he had to fight against Samantasimha. After the death of the both Ajayapala and Samantasimha Haripala the son of the latter appears to have ascended the throne. Dr. Fleet refers to an inscription wherein Ajayapala is said to have been succeeded by Haripala (Epigraphia Indica Volume 1) .[10] Bhimadeva II was a very powerful ruler and had a long reign too. History does not show any evidence that he was succeeded by any Samantasimha or Haripala. Hence Haripala being a Chaulukyan king and a Gurjara, and a grandson of Bhima the possibilities are that he succeeded Ajayapala. There is one Harapala in the declining days of the Yadava empire of Deogiri. But he was a Yadava and not a Chaulukya. Bhallala king Someswara defeated one Haripala. We are not sure who the person was. He might have been an offshoot of the Yadava dynasty that ruled over Deogiri. Haripala of our identity succeeded Ajayapala :'n 1179, and probably ruled for a short time. A question may arise why Sarngadeva has not mentioned him among various authors on music, especially when he names Paramardi and Jegadekamalla who lived about between 1150 to 1170. From the quotations given by various authors it may be stated that they follow the school of Bharata, while

9. See appendix.
10. Also Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 275.

Haripala slavishly follows the school of Nandikesvara. Jagadekamalla's work is now available. He shows his good grasp of what Abhinavagupta and Kirtidhara had said about Bharata and rules out where Nandin differs from Bharata, following only the latter, that is in the development of *Desi* in music, dance, in flute and lute and in the instruments of percussion. Bharata's commentators have recognised certain phases of Desi along with the Marga. The Marga means the system followed in the Vedic rituals or sacrifices by the great Rishis. Desi is an aesthetic development according to the progress of civilisation in various parts of India.[11] After Kasyapa and Narada, Bharata is the earliest writer on music and dance. Nandin and Matanga have introduced aesthetic combination in every phase of the two arts. Matanga enlarged Bharata, while Nandin alters, rejects and supplements the Bharata's details. Abhinavagupta rejects the views of the previous commentators on Bharata, and upholds the conservative but sufficiently elastic system of Bharata. Kirtidhara in several places made a wide departure mostly allied *to* Nandikesvara. Haripala gives greater prominence to Nandin, while Sarngadeva strictly follows Abhinavagupta in as much as he freely translates the comments of Abhinava into slokas and passes them as his own. Nowhere has Sarngadeva swerved from the opinions of Abhinava. Kallinatha had probably no access to the complete copy of Abhinava's commentary and therefore he has failed to interpret Sarngadcva correctly in several places. Hence it is no wonder that Sarngadeva has not mentioned Haripala. However from the available evidence he may be placed in 1179 A.D. as a king of the Gurjaras who ruled over Anhilwad.

We shall see if there are any objections to this supposition. Haripala mentions Bhoja[1]- and he lived between 1000 and 1050 A.D. It docs not affect our theory, Bhoja's literary career seems to have extended before 1030. A close study of Abhinavagupta's criticism on various writers creates a doubt whether he reviews some of the views of Bhoja and dis-

11. **Mārga and Dēśi are thus defined by Mātaṅga and Jagadeka :—**

स्वरा ग्रामास्तथा जातिर्वर्धमानादिगीतकम् ।
आवापादिक्रियाबद्धं स तु मार्ग इति स्मृतः ॥
अबलाबालगोपालक्षितिपालैर्निजेच्छया ।
गीयते सानुरागेण स्वदेशे देशिरुच्यते ।
देशेषु देशेषु श्रुतिस्वराणां रुच्या जनानामपि वर्तते यत्
गीतं च वाद्यं च तथैव नृत्तं देशीति नाम्ना परिवर्तते तत्

12. भोजराजेन दशमो वत्सलाख्य उदीरितः

poses of them somewhat adversely. **It** is true that **Bhoja follows Dhan**anjaya and Kirtidhara in many of his theories. Whenever he differs from them he makes honourable mention of their views. Haripala who is later by a century is expected to quote such a prolific writer as Bhoja. Haripala mentions one Latakamelapaka as a species of dramatic composition. Bharata accepts only ten kinds of the drama while Kohala enumerates twenty and a few writers like Mahendravikrama and the author of Vishnu-dharmottara have given twelve as of the principal kinds. Haripala also names twelve,[13] but departs from their theory ; for authors of Vishnudharmottara and Bhagavaddajjuka have said that the ten kinds of dramatic compositions took their origin from two broad divisions of Nataka and Prakarana ; and the difference being based on the choice of Vritti and the organisation of the plot. But Haripala does not follow the same classification. He names altogether 12 kinds, one of them being Latakamelapaka. He defines the species as follows.[14] According to him the plot should run into three acts. He has not named as examples any works in any of the twelve kinds of dramatic composition. There is a work called Latakamelaka written by the poet Sankhadhara who flourished in the court of Govindaraja of Kanauj. From Epigraphical evidence that sovereign seems to have lived in the first half of the 12th century. Haripala's time of 1179 may not be affected by this species of composition recognised by him and exemplified by Sankadhara.

Haripala seems to have written a number of works. He calls himself a poet.[1]" Many of his contemporaries as Prahladana and Yasah-

13. ज्ञानावतरणं पूर्वं द्वितीयं नाटकं भवेत्
तृतीयं तु प्रकरणमङ्को व्यायोग एव च
भाणः समवकारश्च वीथी प्रहसनं डिमः
ईहामृगः स्याल्लटकमेलापकमितीरितः
इति द्वादश नाट्यस्य भेदानाह हरीश्वरः

14. मुखं गर्भो निर्वहणमिति सन्धित्रयं भवेत्
अङ्कास्त्रयो भारती स्याद्वृत्तिरारभटी तथा
कथा हास्यानृतप्राया धूर्तादिचरिताश्रया

15. सङ्गीते कुशलः कवित्वचतुरः कन्दर्पकेलीकला-
दक्षो वाजिविनोदविद्गजवरव्यापारनिष्णातधीः ।
शस्त्राभ्यासविशारदोऽर्थिजनतापर्यायचिन्तामणिः
तुर्यं श्रीहरिभूपतिः प्रकरणं नाट्याश्रयं व्याकरोत् ।

pala have contributed much to the dramatic literature. Besides the *Sangltasudhakara* there is another work in the name of Haripala called the *Sangita-chudamani.* It is different from that of Jagadekamalla though it is a contemporaneous work, and a copy is available in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Mysore. His other works have probably perished. There are some books in music written by Haribhatta which are productions of a later period ; but Haripala is also known as Harisvara,™ Harindra, and so on. Quotations given under Harinayaka in the *Sangitanarayana* are all found in Haripala's work. Hence Harinayaka means Haripala. Devendra quotes his verses under Harivallabha.

The Sangltasudhakara consists of five sections, first dealing with Angabhinaya and the second Tala. The third section deals with the construction of musical instruments ; the fourth treats of the requisites of Natya. The fifth chapter gives details on Gita and the Gitaprabandhas.

Its importance lies in its support of the Nandikesvara school and system. As it is earlier than the Sarigitaratnakara, it enables us to trace the evolution of music and dance. Bharata deals with music and dance only in relation to the stage. He did not aim at all the details in gita or Nritta. Nandikesvara, on the other hand, attached great importance to these arts. He included Desi sections without distinguishing them from Marga. He thus carries the reader much further than Bharata ; for one cared for the drama alone, and the other regarded music and dance in their aesthetic form.

As regards instruments Haripala names the following Vinas and gives their construction.[17] His favourite instrument seems to have been the Kinnarl or Pinakinl. Like every writer on music and dance Haripala invented some tunes and poses of his own. The later Sarngadeva altered the old Kinnari-vina and called it by his family name Nissankavina. Pinaki, which had the shape of a bow and was the favourite instrument in Amaravati sculpture, lost its charms by the 13th century. Vema (1420) denounces it in fact as an instrument of beggars.[18] The

16. अस्पष्टार्थमगोचरं कृतधियां गम्भीरमम्भोधिव-
द्विस्तीर्णं भरतो मुनिर्विधिगिरा यन्नाट्यवेदं व्यधात् ।
तत्संक्षिप्तमतिस्फुटं कलियुगे सत्त्वादिकं प्राणिना-
मल्पं वीक्ष्य हरीश्वरो व्यरचयद्विश्वोपकारोद्यतः ॥

17. (1) Brahmavīṇā or Ekatantrī, (2) Ālāpini (Ālāvaṇi), (3) Sāraṅgavīṇā or Kinnarī, (4) Kailāsavīṇā, (5) Pināki and (6) Ākāśa-vīṇā.

18. पिनाकीप्रमुखा अन्या देशीवीणा भवन्ति च ।
ताः पामरप्रसिद्धत्वादस्माभिर्नात्र लक्षिताः ॥

modern Vina was brought into use by Achyutaraya of Vijayanagar the author of the Talasamudra, a good critical work of first-rate importance as the basis of all subsequent developments. His Vina still holds the day, as the new instrument of Venkatamakhi was never received well by the musical world. Haripala's Kinnari consisted of 18 frets the measurement of which is given by Kumbhakarna in his *Vadyaratnakosa* in these lines :

सारीमस्तकमध्यानां यदिहान्तरमिष्यते ।
मेरुमूर्धन्युपक्रम्य यथावत् प्रतिपाद्यते ॥
तत्राद्यमवरं पञ्चाङ्गुलं सयवमीरितम् ।
तद्द्वितीयं च चतुरङ्गुलकं तत्तृतीयकम् ॥
तुर्यं चैव यवन्यूनं पञ्चमं त्र्यङ्गुलं तथा ।
यवाधिकं ततः षष्ठं यवोनं द्व्यङ्गुलं पुनः ॥
सयवं द्व्यङ्गुलं ज्ञेयमन्तरालं तु सप्तमम् ।
वसुसंख्यं पुनर्ज्ञेयं सार्धद्व्यङ्गुलमन्तरम् ॥
नवमं तु यवार्धोनं दशमं पुनरन्तरम् ।
सार्धाङ्गुलमितं ज्ञेयं यवोनं द्व्यङ्गुलं ततः ॥
एकादशं द्वादशं तु तत्तृतीयांशवर्जितम् ।
त्रयोदशं ततो ज्ञेयं यत्तृतीयांशमंगुलम् ।
अङ्गुलं मानमाख्यातमन्तरे च चतुर्दश ॥
द्वितीयमन्तराले तु न्यस्यं तुम्बमधोमुखम्

... ...

मुक्ततन्त्रीभवस्तत्र जायते प्रथमस्वरः ॥

... ...

सप्तकद्वयमेवं स्यात् सतारस्वरमत्रतु ।
श्रुतोरपि विचित्वन्ति तद्ज्ञास्तद्देशभागतः ॥
सप्तकत्रयपूर्त्यर्थं सार्याः स्युरधिका यथा ।

... ...

स्वराविर्भावमाज्ञाय स्थप्याः स्युः सारिका बुधैः ॥

Haripala's instrument had four main wires and three subordinate strings for Sruti. He identifies the Brahma-vina with the fikatantri which had been popular for centuries before him. Bharata's Mattakokila had 21 strings and no frets. It is said that such an instrument could not have

been handled with ease when the difficulty of mastering an instrument with four strings is great. But this is not an insuperable objection. The absence of frets might have been a source of ease rather than difficulty. In the case of Kinnarl there were three kinds, Brhat, Madhyama and Laghu sorts, which had movable frets from 14 to 18, unlike the fixed frets of the present Vina and which could easily be adjusted to different Ragas.

Haripala's description of the flute does not exhaust its varieties as that of Sarrigadeva. He describes only a few choice flutes capable of producing notes in Tri-sthayi. He mentions four kinds of flutes, but gives no instructions regarding the method of playing the Ragas in them. His measurements for the four kinds fit the Vasu (8 inches), Nathendra (9 inches), Mahananda (10 inches), and Manu (14 inches), given by others as the interval between the Tara and Phutkara holes.

In the case of Mrdanga Haripala gives only one kind unlike Bharata who has three yielding notes of greater variety and longer intervals of varying length. Modern Mrdanga has all the three sorts of Bharata combined in one. It is handy, but its variety and the interval between notes are limited. Haripala treats of the marga-talas and the 101 Desi talas given by Nandikesvara. He added four to the latter calling them by his name, Haripriya, etc. Later writers never used these talas, with the exception of one anonymous writer who raised them to 120.

In regard to the Karanas,[19] Haripala took 101 out of Bharata's 108 as understood by Nandikesvara, but added 19 more, making it 120. A still later writer Devanabhatta has given 130 Karanas and the extra 22 are not common with those of Haripala. Any number of Karanas can be created by the artist, but Bharata's choice (ch. iv) of 108 exhausts the most aesthetic forms. The additions of Haripala are Saivam, Mahesvaram, Narayanam, Manmatham, Varunam, Aindram, Saudarsanam, Gandharam, Sarikham, Saundaram, Simham, Lila, Herambam, Skandam, Vicharachaturananam, Adbhutam, Jayantam, Pinakam and Samlranam. Seven out of Bharata's 108 were rejected. Lakshminarayana, in his *Sangitasuryodaya,* has given a Karana called Krishnavatarana in place of an old one of a different name to perpetuate the name of his patron Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar. Bhoja has immortalised in naming his new *talas* as Rajamartanda, Sarasvatikanthabharana, Rajamrganka, etc. Haripala simply follows the footsteps of the greater people who erred to eternise the ephemeral fame.

19. Poses of the hand and foot in dance (Ref.: *Natyakastra*: Ch.: IV).

In the third chapter which treats of Dramaturgy or Natya, we have said, he has named 12 rupakas (kinds of dramas). One of them he has called Latakamelapaka. Another species peculiar to Haripala alone is Jnanavataranam which he defines in the following words.[20] Bharata gives only four vrittis on which ten kinds of dramatic composition are based. Haripala gives five vrittis, the fifth being Brahmi.

अधिष्ठाय रसानेतान् पञ्चाजायन्त वृत्तयः ।
कौशिक्यारभटी ब्राह्मी सात्त्वती भारती तथा ॥
ब्राह्मी नाम भवेद्वृत्तिर्ब्रह्मशान्ताद्भुताश्रया ।
ब्राह्मी ब्रह्मोद्भवा तत्र शेषा नारायणोद्भवाः ।

Haripala defines Brahmi thus, and distributes it among brahma santa and adbhuta rasas. Brahmi was born of Brahma. Udbhata has a fifth vritti called *Artha-vritti* which is a sort of combination of the well-known four vrittis, namely, Kaisiki, Arabhati, Sattvati and Bharati. Arthavritti was developed into Misravritti by the author of the *Kalpa-taru,* which was followed by Bhoja. There are differences of opinion as to whether these rose from Brahma, or[1] from the five faces of Siva. Haripala's fifth vritti had never any supporters except Devanabhatta, the author of the *Sanglta-muktavali.*[21] For the remaining ten kinds of *rupakas* he follows older definitions with slight differences. Among the rasas he adds besides *santa* two *rasas* calling them *brahmarasa* and *vat-salyarasa,*[22] and supports his conception by mentioning Bhoja as the authority for the last one. Bhoja had nowhere acknowledged Vatsalya as a *rasa.* He says that certain writers have acknowledged ten rasas including Vatsalya. For practical purposes he enumerates nine. In

20. चतुर्वर्गफला तत्र कथा दिव्याश्रया भवेत् ।
वृत्तयः पञ्च कर्तव्याः तावन्तः सन्धयस्तथा
अङ्का दश प्रयोक्तव्या ।

21. केचिद् ब्राह्मीं च वृत्तिं तु शान्ताद्भुतरसोदयाम् ॥

22. शृङ्गारो हास्यनामा च बीभत्सः करुणस्तथा ।
वीरो भयानकाह्वानो रौद्राख्योऽद्भुतसंज्ञकः ॥
शान्तो ब्रह्माभिधः पश्चाद्वात्सल्याख्यमतः परम् ।
संभोगो विप्रलम्भः स्याद्रसास्त्वेते त्रयोदश ॥

This classification may be rediculous after the great thinkers like Lollata, Bhatta Nayaka and Abhinavagupta of Kashmir and, Kirtidhara and Bhoja of Malwa have psychologically determined the nature of *rasas.*

the *Sringdraprakasa* he says that Sringara alone is *rasa.*[23] Other *rasas* are really *bhdvas.*

In the fifth or the Gita chapter Haripala treats of *Svaras, gramas, jatis* and *rdgas.* He mentions Gandharagrama and names a few ragas based upon it. Even Nanyadeva of 1080 A.D. recognises Gandhara-grama as then in vogue in Kashmir, and names a dozen ragas peculiar to that *gramar** Lakshmlnarayana and Vehkatamakhi (A.D. 1650) give

23. शृङ्गारवीरकरुणाद्भुतरौद्रहास्य बीभत्सवत्सलभयानकशान्तनाम्नः ।
आम्नासिषुर्दश रसान् सुधियो वयं तु शृङ्गारमेव रसनाद्रसमामनामः ॥

Rudraṭa reads *preyān* in place of *vatsalarasa.*

24. गान्धारग्रामिका रागा शुद्धभिन्नाश्रितास्त्रयः ।
कौशला रुद्रहासश्च गन्धर्वामोदनस्तथा ॥
भिन्नायां वीरहासश्च जीमूतो वाक्यषाडवः ।
पञ्चरी रतिचन्द्रश्च गौडरीत्यां प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
वेसरायां तु गान्धारषाडवस्तुम्बुरुप्रियः ।
साधारणभिदायां तु सारदो वेगमध्यमः ॥
... ...
क्रियाङ्गान्येवमादीनि गान्धारग्रामजानि च ।

A Western writer believes that Śārṅgadeva originated the Gāndhāra Grāma and discards the theory that Nārada did so. Nāradīyaśikshā speaks of this grāma and that work is older than Bharata, for the latter quotes a verse from it in chapter 34. Even commentaries on that Śikshā were quoted by Abhinava (1050 A.D.) and Nānyadeva (1080). A reference to its practical use may be found in Budhaśvamin's *Brihatkathā-ślōka-saṅgraha* (about 600 A.D.) in the following words :—

गान्धारग्रामसंबद्धं क्व गान्धारः क्व मानुषाः ।
स्वर्गान् नान्यत्र गान्धार इत्याहुर्नारदादयः ॥
... ...
मनाक्संस्पृष्टमात्राश्च करशाखामुखैः स्वयम् ।
तन्त्रीबन्धा यथास्थानमसरन्नैवतान्त्रिकम् ॥
ततस्तन्त्रीषु गान्धरे जृम्भमाणासु मन्थरम् ।
गन्धर्वदत्तामवदं भीरु संगीयतामिति
सा प्रगल्भापि गान्धारमाकर्ण्यामरगोचरम् ।
तथा च धृष्टमादिष्टा बाला शालीनतां गता ॥

This grama fell into disuse because it involves *atimandra* and *atitara* notes in its murchhanas. Bharata rejected it because it did not serve him in expressing *rasa* in a drama where feelings by pathya and anga are exhibited.

the practical use of Gandharagrama in various tunes adopted in South India. The division of *'ragas* into gramas, ragas, the bhasha, and vibhasha was based on Yastika's analysis of *Desi ragas.* Haripala, like most writers on music, defines them in this ordinary way. The intensity of each *svara* alone in each raga is given, but smti-sthana is not given. Paramardi describes the ragas giving the *sruti* value of each *svara* in every *raga.* This is clearly an advance on the older methods of defining *ragas* which require supplementing by the teacher. The following afford examples of it:

(a) सर्वंसहा मालिनी च विस्तारी च विकल्पिनी ।
हादिनी सुप्रभा चैव मध्यमादेरिहांशकाः ॥

The meaning is for the Madhyamadi raga, the *sruti* adjustment of the frets in seven svaras of 22 srutis is—

ma—sarvamsaha (11th sruti), pa—malinl 14th, ni-vistarini 21st, *dha*—hridayonmulisu 20th, *ga*—hradini 8th, *sa*—suprabha 4th.

(b) शान्ताचोग्रा च निर्ह्रादी विभूतिः सर्वपूर्विका ।
रक्ता प्रभावती चैव हृदयोन्मूलिनी तथा ।
प्रसन्ना चैव संप्रोक्ता श्रुत्यंशास्तु वराटके ॥

In *varāṭikā* rāga, *dha* 18, *ri* 7, *ga* 8, *ma* 18, *pa* 17, *sa* 2, *dha* 20, *ni* 22.

(c) विस्तारिणी हृदुन्मूली सुप्रभा सर्वपूर्विका ।
सहा च ह्लादिनो च स्याद्गौडरागे तथांशकाः ॥

In *gauḍa* rāga—*ni* 21, *dha* 20, *sa* 4, *ma* 11, *ga* 8.

(d) प्रभावती ह्लादिनी च सर्वपूर्वसहा पुनः ।
लोला विस्तरिणी पश्चाद् धन्नास्यंशास्तथौडुवः ॥

In *Dhannāsi*—*sa* 2, *ga* 8, *ma* 11, *pa* 16, *ni* 21.

The Ku^imiyamala inscription professes to give the details of *svaras* in all stages of singing any raga. But its author gives examples only for seven *grama-rag as.* It is in reality a chart for practitioners according to the conception and definition of Matanga as exhibited in his Brihaddesi. The signs adopted by the author of the inscription as *sa, si, sit,* se, saw are for sthayi, sanchari, Avaroha, Aroha and Mandra tunes. The first four forming what is called Chatur-dandl in Vina. Thus the chart is a practical guide where to begin, how to conduct and where to end

each *rdga* are given in details. It is not possible for the writers of large works to deal with every *rdga* in such a practical manner. When the form of Vina was changed and *svaras* were reduced to the *suddha* and *vikriti* divisions, both the kinds had to be distributed among 12 frets plus *ddhara* shadja. To group all the facilities in one handy instrument to denote both the *suddha* and *vikriti svaras* entailed a lot of complication and it was perfected by Achyutaraya in the production of modern Vina. The *rdgas* have undergone change in their *sruti* notes and as *Desi* forms developed more when Vikritisvaras were used. So the whole structure of the ancient *Rdga* system was given up along with the old Vinas and a new mnemonic scale of 72 Melakartas was introduced by some writer, to assist the feeble brains of indolent pupils.

The rest of the fifth chapter of the *Sangtta-Sudhakara* deals with Gltaprabandhas. A Prabandha is strictly a combination of two or more items, *viz.,* gita, nritta and vadya. Besides the gitaprabandhas, there are also Vadyaprabandhas, and talaprabandhas. Haripala enumerates only gltaprabandhas of 76 kinds. He differs from his predecessors. Matanga names 50 which were copied by Parsvadeva. Jagadekamalla names 100 prabandhas in his *Sangita-chuddmani.* Somesvara (1120 A.D.) enumerates only 50 ; but he has given examples along with their definitions. Those examples are very valuable to a modern researcher. Nanyadeva (1080 A.D.) gives all the 50 Desiprabandhas with examples in Prakrit in most cases. Early writers have simply defined many of them. But the definitions of the later writers vary a good deal. Bharata gives four kinds of Gitas and seven kinds of compositions (chap. 31) which may be regarded as Gitaprabandhas. Nandikesvara combined these with Nritfa-prabandhas and Vadyaprabandhas, and called them Prabandhamelana. Recent writers like Devendra (author of the *Sangitamuktdvali)* and Veda (the author of the *Sangitamakaranda* who flourished in the court of Shaji) have combined prabandhas to produce variety as ordained by Nandin. But in the conceptions and models of Devendra and Veda many of the dance compositions that were in vogue in Tamil country and Ceylon were borrowed in tact and were introduced into the daily practice. A detailed examination of their works with the scanty remnants available in Tamil and Singhalese literature may furnish us sufficient data for the formulation of a theory. South Indian forms of dances were incorporated into the Sanskritic system by the Mahrattas and the Gurjaras. The Dravidian influence on Sanskrit music or dance requires a separate attempt in research.

His work forms a main link in the chain of music works and gives us an easy grasp of its progress within the last 30 centuries. It will not be out of place to say a word about Natyaprabandhas as given by Haripala. It is said that Visva-

vasu first enumerated seven kinds of feminine dance. Mythology gives their origin in the well-known verses. Nandin names only seven. These dances were used according to Nandin in Natya also (drama) in the Purvaranga, that is, a course of dancing and singing introduced for the pleasure of the audience before the commencement of a drama. Bharata elaborates various items of Purvaranga as in vogue in the Vedic performance of a drama. But the later writers supplemented it by introducing more aesthetic forms of dance and pleasant tunes. Long after Nandin Kundali Dance was considered to yield greatest pleasure to the audience. It was played behind three screens, transparent and translucent, in eight successive modes each contributing to the mathematical progression of time (tala) along with Mridanga and Skandavaja as chief instruments of percussion. About 1120 A.D. Chaulukyan king Someswara has slightly altered Kundali into Chitrakundali. Haripala describes Kundali. Greater details are given in a modern work called Kundali Manidarpana, a special treatise upon the subject probably of the 17th century.

Haripala was a great poet. He claims to have written a hundred works. His style shows his mastery. It is clear and vigorous, though not so florid as that of some others like Paramardi and Somesa. He is not fond of trophes, but quite grammatical. He resembles his contemporaries like Yasahpala, Hemachandra, etc., in the literary capacity. But in matter he is not always full. His meagreness fails to satisfy the curious mind even though he is an important link in the historical evolution of music. Many of his definitions are found in the work called *Bharatartiava.* It is a dialogue between Sumati and Nandin, and claims to be an epitome of a bigger work in 4,000 verses. Under the chapter on the *Saptaldsya* (or the seven forms of dance) in the *Bharatarnava* there are expressions like Vicharaparameshthi, Haribhubhuja which seem to indicate Haripala's authorship of the work.[2r'] The negative evidence of the lack of Nandin's quotations and thoughts in Bharatarnava seems to indicate the same. Regarding Haripala's *Sangitachudarndni,* nothing is known as the manuscript is yet to be examined. His *Sahgitasudhdkara* was once a text-book for beginners.

25. वक्षसः पार्श्वभागे च हस्तस्तु खटकामुखः
रेचितत्वादद्रुतस्त्वन्यः पादाग्रतलसञ्चरः
इयंतु जामिता प्रोक्ता विचारपरमेष्ठिना XIV 674.
वामदक्षिणयोः शीघ्रं देहं तदनुगं भवेत्
एतद्वैरम्भकरणं प्रोक्तं हरिमहीभुजा ।685.

APPENDIX

भूपालश्चुलुकोदके समुदभूद्देवस्य धातुः पुरा
तस्मादेव चुलुक्य इत्यभिहितः प्राची पृथुस्तेजसा ।
स्थित्वास्मिन् प्रशशास विस्तृतयशास्तस्यान्ववाये नृपाः
चौलुक्या इति सर्वलोकविदितोद्दामा वदान्याः परे ॥

आसीन्नासीर ....
भूजानिर्भीमदेवः सुरभिभुजयशोगर्भसौराष्ट्रनारी-
सङ्गीताकृष्टपाणिप्रणयिमृगचमत्कारवत्सोमनाथः ॥

तस्माज्जज्ञे गिरीशाद्गुह इव कुशली प्राज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मी-
निस्सामान्यानुरागव्यतिकरितभुजो वीरगोष्ठीगरिष्ठः ।
देवः सामन्तसिंहः प्रचुरनिजयशश्चन्द्रलाभाय नूनं
तन्वन्दानाम्बुपूरैः प्रतिदिनमपरं मुक्तमुद्रं समुद्रम् ॥

भूपः श्रीहरिपाल इत्यभिहितस्तस्याभवन्नन्दन-
स्त्यागी सत्यगिराः पराक्रमकथाविस्रब्धविश्वम्भरः ।
यस्य स्फूर्जितगर्जितस्मरयुधाव्याजं च मित्रायशः?
शम्भोः सोमपतेर्विनेतुमिव तां कण्ठस्थितां कालिकाम् ॥

अभिनवपुरनाथं हारिसङ्गीतविधं
प्रशमितकविखेदं स्पर्शनैः काञ्चनानाम् ।
यमनिशमभिनन्दन्यादवीनेत्रचन्द्रो
मुदमयति सवेणुर्द्वारवत्यां मुकुन्दः ॥

षड्भाषारचितास्पदा रसगुणालङ्कारिणी निस्तुषा
वक्त्रे यस्य परं विहाररसिका जाता गिरां देवता ॥
वीणातन्त्रविशारदेन विविधैरङ्गैरभङ्गोज्ज्वलै-
रन्वीतं रसनिर्भरं विदधिरे येन प्रबन्धाः शतम् ।

स सर्वविद्याश्रमवेदिनीनां गोपायिता गूर्जरचक्रवर्ती ।
व्यधत्त सङ्गीतसुधाकराख्यं प्रबन्धमालोडितपूर्वशास्त्रः ॥

कदाचिद्रङ्गनाथस्य भोगिपर्यङ्कशायिनः ।
चरणाम्बुरुहद्वन्द्ववन्दनोत्सुकमानसः ॥
चोलानलङ्करोति स्म हरिपालः सुरोपमः ।
श्रीरङ्गे विहितावासं शृङ्गारैकनिकेतनम् ॥
एनमभ्यर्थयामासुर्नटनर्तकगायकाः ।
नृत्तं धर्मार्थकामानामाकरं सागरोपमम् ॥
... ...
एवमभ्यर्थितस्तैस्तैर्हरिपालमहीपतिः
प्रबन्धमात्मविहितं स संगीतसुधाकरम्
सर्वलक्षणसंपन्नमशिक्षयदनुक्रमात् ॥

Melody and Harmony

BY

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IT has become more or less a fashion in India that any big person, whenever called upon to speak a few words on music, makes it a point to begin or end, and sometimes to begin and end, his observations with a platitude that Indian Music *wants* the European Harmony, and fancies that he has thereby done a very useful service to the music-world. One of such persons was an ex-Governor of Bombay, Lord Sydenham. Once he happened to address the students of the Bombay Gandharva Mahalaya (now defunct) thus : " In the direction of Harmony, the West has gone much further than the East, and is still moving. India *cannot* adequately realise the exaltation of spirit, the excitement, and the vivid impressions which are created by the noble choruses of a Handel's Oratorio, by the symphonies of the European masters, and even by the choral singing of a regiment on the march or of a gathering of Welsh holiday makers. I confess to my mind this seems to be a want in the music of India."

Melody consists of a succession of single and agreeable notes ; while Harmony consists of a simultaneous sounding of a multiple of agreeable (or even disagreeable) notes. Melody encourages individualistic music, and asserts the superiority of voice over the instrument ; while Harmony leads to concerted music and drowns the voice in the ocean of instruments.

Jean Jacques Rousseau remarked on the point: " Music is not really improved by the use of Harmony which is used with a view to compensate for its poorness and divert the attention of the hearers from perceiving the barrenness of genius." Long after, Captain Willard added : " Our boasted Harmony with all its fine accords and numerous parts, paints nothing, expresses nothing, says nothing to the heart, but gives more or less pleasure only to the senses. No reasonable man will seriously prefer a transitory pleasure which must soon end in satiety or even in disgust, to a delight of the soul."

While, thus, the Europeans arraign themselves in opposite camps with regard to the subject of *Melody* vs. *Harmony,* to which of the two should India give the palm ?

In answering this question we should remember that Indian Melody is a sad want in the music of Europe. Why was Lord Sydenham more anxious to thrust his harmony into India than to take in our melody into his country ? Did his Lordship ever adequately realise the exaltation of spirit, the excitement, and the vivid impression created by a Maha Vaidyanatha Aiyar's *Raga-Alapana* or a Kunrakku^i Krishna Aiyar's *Pallavi Niraval,* or Patnam Subramaniya Aiyar's *Krti-singing,* or Gopala Krshna Bharati's *Klrtana-singing ?* The truth is, the ex-Satrap quite forgot that the Indians had intuitively perfected their natural melody, while the Europeans have disregarded the melodic system, clean jumped over it, and developed a foreign structure of harmony, and that the Indian system remains fully true to Nature, while the European system leans more and more to artifices. An ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, Sir T. Muthusvami Aiyar, diluted the ex-Satrap's one-sided dictum in his own way : " By mutual contact, both systems may gain from a scientific point of view." With this half-hearted method of meek submission, Mr. A. M. Chinnaswami Mudaliar was displeased ; and hence he opposed the ex-Judge and observed : " The laws of modern European Harmony, which recognise no *Ragas* at all and permit the interpolation of accidentals foreign to the melody-moulds, are quite ill-suited for oriental music." A host of other musical scholars, both Indian and European, have agreed *to* the views of Mr. Mudaliar, not inconsiderably. A few striking instances will, I think, do. Sir Rabindranath Tagore observes : " Indian music is like the night, pure, deep, and tender ; while the European music is like the day, a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments. They both stir us. Yet the two are contrary in spirit. But that cannot be helped. For, at the root, nature itself is divided into day and night, unity and variety, finite and infinite." Elsewhere he observes : " Hindu music, is not devoid of Harmony even in its limited sense ; for, the first note, when sounded, ever blends really with successive notes into a harmonious relation so as *to* create pleasure." But the idea of harmony in Europe is the practice of singing by different persons with different instruments, and even in different registers, mixed up with a thunder here and a motor-crash there.

Do we want that kind of harmony in our music ? That is the question.

Mr. A. M. Chinnaswami Mudaliar furnished us with an adequate answer : " Considerably greater attention has been paid to the development of modes in Indian music, to the construction of characteristic melody-moulds, and to the merciless multiplication of mixed measurements, so much so that no two men could be expected to possess the

same degree of proficiency in every branch of the science. Considering the solo character of the music itself, the prominence necessarily given to particular notes in a Raga and the emphasis laid on them to bring out its peculiar features ; the simultaneous vociferation of other notes by a number of other singers could not but be regarded as intrinsically incohorent and wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the system itself. In the majority of entertainments, greater importance would be attached to the extemporaneous *dldpana* than to the rendering of definitely fixed melodies. This practice (which alone keeps the Indian music alive) would render every kind of harmony and accompaniment on such occasions absolutely impossible."

In fact, from the point of language and climate, Indian music is destined to be mainly metrical rather than rhythmic, vocal rather than instrumental, individualistic rather than concerted, and *melodic rather than harmonic.* Hence to complain that there is no harmony in Indian Music is tantamount to complaining that there is no Sun in the night; and, as between melody and harmony, to glorify the one and vilify the other must be attributed to ignorance or arrogance.

Much of the vexed nature of the question will disappear, if we but understand that the word ' Melody ' means one thing in Europe, and another in India, and that the cry of the superiority of harmony to melody applies more to the European than to the Indian music.

Melody as such has never been developed in Europe ; and hence it lies buried there underground in the same raw state as it was even centuries ago. Instead of working it up, developing and polishing it into a gem, the whole of Europe has chosen to cover it with a foreign structure, and suffocate the real charm and soul of music amidst a mass of complicated foreign structure which is brimful of disharmony and which, strange to say, goes by the opposite name of harmony. As Mr. D. K. Roy of Calcutta spoke to the very face of his Switzerland audience in 1922 : " The Indian *melodic* music is as distinct from the European *melodic* music as the cheese is from the chalk. So the mere fact of the harmonic music of Europe being superior to her own melodic music does not make the former equally superior in evolution to the melodic music of India."

It is thus clear that the European harmony is superior, if at all, to the European melody but surely not to the Indian melody for the simple reason that the word ' melody ' in both the systems means two different things which are as poles asunder. And it is equally clear **that,** while the Indians perfected their melody, Europeans have disregarded it and buried it under a foreign system of soul-less harmony.

It is this soul-less harmony that Lord Sydenham desired to thrust into our country. His Lordship was obviously ignorant of the *Doctrine of Lakshya* which, as Mr. P. C. Buck pithily states, means that " the progress of music, or, for that matter, of any art, is never due to the inventions of the learned few imposed on the unlearned many ; but it is ever due to a summing up and organisation by the learned of those practices and usages at which the unlearned had arrived by instinct."

It is this doctrine that has been condensed into the maxim, *Laksya-pradhanam-khalu-Sastram.* If we interpret the question now before us in terms of the doctrine enunciated above, the learned few of India could not, even if they would, impose the European harmony on the unlearned many ; but they might well organise it, if only the unlearned many had instinctively practised it sufficiently long.

But, will the Indian instinct induce the masses of our country to practise the European harmony, unless there is an element therein congenial to the Indian aspiration ? While, again, a competent European authority himself blackmarks European harmonic music as " a bye-product of architecture, the structure of which is symmetrical, well-balanced, and even well-proportioned, but only *not alive,"* will an Indian take to it with pleasure ?

A History of the Indian Opera

BY

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OPERA is a musical drama. It is a play of any description set to music. In a drama there is ordinarily no music ; and even if there is music it is merely incidental. But in the opera the Music plays an important part and serves as a powerful commentary on the action. Music is an indivisible element in the Opera. It is unfortunate that, both in the Sanskrit and in the South Indian Vernaculars, there is not a word to correctly convey the idea of ' Opera.' *Natakam* is only pure drama. The term *sanglta-ndtakam* might perhaps be popularised as the equivalent of the ' Opera ' in the English Language. In German, we have the words, *Schauspiel* and *Oper* corresponding to the drama and opera. Opera is a form of Applied Music.

In the Opera, we find the happy consummation of all the fine arts. It requires special genius on the part of a composer to write operas. He must possess the genius of a playwright, insight into human nature, technical ability to compose successfully in the different musical forms, powers at effective characterisation, plenty of imagination, a fine gift of melody, sure dramatic instinct, talent at *Sahitya,* high proficiency in music, a natural gift to choose the appropriate Ragas for expressing the various shades of feeling, and finally the *mind's ear* and the *mind's eye* to see how the whole thing will look like when performed on the stage.

In the history of every country we find that the opera comes later than the drama. Since the former is an advance over the latter, it is but natural that it should be so.

The European opera had its origin about three centuries ago. It had its beginnings in Italy and since then has had a continuous development.

In India, operas in Sanskrit are older than the Vernacular operas. The idea that it was more *dignified* to write in the classical language in preference to the Vernaculars was perhaps responsible for this result. This again accounts for the fact that Musical compositions in Sanskrit are older than the musical compositions in the Vernaculars. The operatic forms of composition found favour with many Indian composers.

The germ or nucleus of the Indian opera is to be seen in the *"Gita-Govinda "* of Jayadeva (12th century), a srngara Maha-Kavya in Sanskrit. The work consists of twenty-four songs in 12 sargas. The characters figuring in the work are Radha, Krsna and Sakhi. There are also many slokas and prose passages here and there. Each song is called an astapadi, since it contains eight stanzas or *caranas.* There are a few songs in the work with fewer than eight *caranas,* and some with more than eight *caranas* also. The *kirtana* form, with the divisions : *pallavi, anupallavi* and *caranas* had not yet developed and the astapadi hymns may be considered to be the precursor of the later Kirtana. In the astapadi hymns we have the *caranas* and something corresponding to the *pallavi.* The several songs are sung by one or other of the characters mentioned above. The *Gita-govinda* of Jayadeva became so popular that many composers who came after him wrote similar works choosing parallel themes. Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati's *Sivastapadi, Ramakavi's Ramdstapadi,* the *Skanddstapadi,* the *Ganesastapadi* and Venkatamakhi's *Tyagardjastapadi* are examples.

The best opera in Sanskrit is the *Krsna-lild-taranginl* of Sri Tirtha Narayanaswami (16th Century). It is a long opera divided into 12 sections (Dvadasa-tararigas), and each section consists of several *kir~ tanas* interspersed with slokas and short prose passages. The theme of the opera is the Lilas of Krsna and ends with the marriage of Krsna and Rukmini. Many Pauranic characters figure in this work. We come across *Jatis*[1] (tala-solfa syllables) in some *kirtanas.* There are also beautiful musical dialogues. The Astapadis and Tararigas have been grouped under sacred music and one can hear them sung with great devotional fervour in every Bhajana Party in South India.

TELUGU OPERAS

The vernacular operas date from the 18th century in South India. Tyagaraja (1767-1847), the greatest of South Indian composers, has written three beautiful operas in Telugu : *Prahlada-bhakti-vijayam, Nowka-caritram and Sita-rama-vijayam.* The sterling devotion of Prahlada amongst the group of great *bhaktas,* had a great appeal to the father of the *Kriti* composition and he immortalised that Bhakti in his own characteristic style in his opera. *Prahldda-bhakti-vijayam* does

1. *Jati,* the name given to the solfa syllables : *taka tari kita naka* jonu, *dimi ta tin gi na torn,* etc., used in musical time. The art of drumming is peculiar to Indian music and takes at least four years for a person to attain a fair degree of proficiency in the same. There are set graduated exercises involving the use of these tala-solfa syllables. It should be noted that in an Indian concert, the drummer provides a regular cross-rhythmical accompaniment and plays right through **the** concert.

not deal with the story of Prahlada as such, but, as the title itself indicates, deals with the several aspects of his Bhakti. The opera consists of five acts, and in all 45 songs figure in them. In many songs, Prahlada addresses his prayers to Sri Rama. This may sound an anachronism, but it should be remembered that to Tyagaraja, Sri Rama was *Parabrahmam* itself, and whenever Prahlada addresses Sri Rama, the reference must be taken to be to the *Parabrahmam.* The musical dialogues between Hari and Laksmi and the soliloquies of Prahlada afford interesting reading. The well-known *Curnika* in which Narada describes the greatness of Vaikunta belongs to this Opera.

The *Nowka-Caritram* consists of 21 songs interspersed with *padyas* and prose passages. It narrates the story of an excursion in a pleasure-boat on the Jumna. Krsna and the Gopis set out for the excursion, and this is aptly described in a beautiful *Klrtana* in the *Surati-raga.* For sometime everything goes on well during the boat journey, but soon a storm appears and gradually increases in intensity. The boat is tossed furiously, and the distressed Gopis appeal to Krsna for help. To add to their misfortune, the boat springs a leak, and the water rushes in. The Gopis are made to remove their garments and patch up the holes. Suddenly by some *mdya* the storm vanishes, and the gopis find themselves back again safely on the banks of the Jumna. The story itself has no basis in the *Bhagavatam,* and is a pure creation of Tyagaraja's fertile imagination. Apart from the musical value of this opera, it is worth studying as a piece of literature. Tyagaraja has rendered signal service to Indian Music by immortalising many folk-tunes in his operas.

TAMIL OPERAS

Coming to the operas in the Tamil Language, the earliest example is the *Rdma-ndtakam* of Arunacala Kavirayar (1711-1778) . This opera furnishes an instance of a composition wherein the *libretto* (sahityam) is by one person and the music (dhatu) is by another. Kavirayar wrote the songs while they were set to music by two of his disciples : Kodandaramayyar and Venkataramayyar. The theme chosen proved a handicap to the author in as much as it did not afford him much scope for the display of his creative and imaginative skill. The work opens with the usual invocation and gives the story of the Ramayana in the form of *Kirtanas* and *Viruttams.* There are also a few musical dialogues. The *kirtanas* are very long, consisting of not less than three caranas and the songs are typical *darus.* Words are too many in his songs, and many Tamil Proverbs and ethical sayings figure in them. The choice of Ragas which are in perfect consonance with the sentiments expressed by the several songs is the outstanding merit of this work. The work was given formal publicity for the first time in the

Srirarigam temple and soon became popular. The author was honoured with *Kanakabhisekam* by Manali Muttukrishna Mudaliyar, a distinguished patron of arts and learning in those days. Anantabharati followed Kavirayar, and wrote the Uttarakancla of the Ramayana on the same model.

The finest opera in the Tamil language is the *Nandanar-caritram* of Gopalakrsna Bharati. As a composition it is a masterpiece. Bharati's genius as a playwright, his imaginative skill, his gifts for original melody-making, the ease with which he composed in several musical forms, his remarkable powers of characterisation, and the vigour of his Sahityam are all striking. The sterling devotion of Nandanar had a great appeal to him in much the same way as Tyagaraja was fascinated by the ideal *bhahti* of Prahlada. From the meagre account given of Nandanar in Sekkilar's *Periya-puranam,* Bharatiar developed a story full of interest with the introduction of fictitious characters like the orthodox, obdurate, tyrannical landlord (the Vediyar), the venerable old man, etc. Gopalakrsna Bharati, like Tyagaraja, immortalised many folk-tunes in his works. He also gave new life to some of the forgotten musical forms like the "*Irusollalankaram",* *Nondichindu,* etc. His other operatic works are the *Iyarpagai-nayanar-caritram,* *TirunUakantha-nayanar-caritram,* and *Karaikal-aTYimaiydr-caritram.* Kavi Kunjara Bharati's (1810-1896) *Skanda-puranam* is another important Tamil opera, of the 19th century.

There are many things in common between the European opera and the Indian opera, like the arias, recitatives, duets, etc. But the fullest advantage has been taken of the orchestra in Europe, and the orchestral music provides a powerful commentary upon the action. Here in India, orchestral music is just coming into existence, and it should be possible hereafter to perform Indian operas to the accompaniment of regular Indian orchestral music, and thereby open the way for fresh possibilities in this direction. Indian operas might also be enriched by the introduction of *overtures*[2] and *leit-motifs?*

Since the beginnings of this century, no contribution of outstanding merit has been made in Southern India in the field of opera. Now and then a few dramas have appeared but their claims to posterity are doubtful. There are many more puranical themes with which splendid operas could be written. It is hoped that composers in future will exert their genius in this direction and produce operatic works of merit.

2. *Overture* is an instrumental introduction to an operatic composition. It is 8 beautiful example of absolute music and is a purely orchestral art-form.

3. *Leit-motif* is a musical theme associated with dramatic ideas or persons.

Art Tit-Bits from Ratnakara's Haravijaya

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INTRODUCTORY

KASHMIR, the land of beauty and of love, with its lakes and lotuses, erotic poets and charming women, with the snow-clad peaks of lofty mountains surrounding it on all sides, and with its atmosphere filled with the fragrance of the all-too-rare *kumkum* flowers, is indeed a heavenly spot, a haven of aesthetics, the right place and the fittest for the Muses to create for themselves an arbour to run races and gambol or to lounge and take rest. Such a beauty spot, a veritable Indian Helicon, has necessarily the potent power of influencing the veriest sluggard into realising and appreciating Nature's charms. In the case of poets endowed with a natural gift of insight into the beauties and truths of nature, the influence is all the greater. Thus we have the charming poets of Kashmir revealing in their works their aesthetic sense in a general way. But Ratnakara goes a step further, and gives us some technical tit-bits of art in his memorable and immortal work *Haravijaya.* Apart from lots of references to the technicalities of Natya, Sarhgita, Alarhkara and the like, we have his observations on paintings as well; and these form an interesting study.

BHtJLABHA

There have been enumerated in the *Visnudharmottara,* in the list of *Citragunas* as opposed to *Citradosas,* the factors of Sthana, Pramana, Bhulamba, and the rest. *Bhulamba* is generally translated as background. This translation need not be questioned since there can be no figure in a picture without a proper background, or to put it simply, ' ground'; and there is no word to connote the idea barring this one, in which the word 'bhii' (which is sometimes used even separately) corresponds exactly to the word *ground.* Whether the word *Bhulamba* is itself correct may be another subject of genuine doubt. Ratnakara calls it Bhulabha, and actually uses it as an essential in a picture, in his verse.[1]

1. Kavyamala, Edn. p. 166.

सम्मिलाभं शुभवर्तिरेखया मनोरमं मण्डलकार्यमस्खलत् ।
अशेषमुन्मीलयति क्षमाभृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितूलिका ॥
(XII. 30).

The commentator Rajanaka Alaka, an excellent expounder who enlightens us on many points, has unfortunately nothing to say on this ; and we are no wiser regarding the meaning of the word except for the difference in the latter part of the word as used by Ratnakara.

UNMILANA

This is one of the most important points that engages the attention of the artist in the production of a picture. In fact, there is no picture complete without having undergone the process of Unmilana. A delicate *vartika* is used finally by the painter to animate the picture by laying strokes that breathe life into it. The process of this work is so important in the production of a picture that there is scarcely a classical work in literature but generally mentions it when referring to Citra.

Apart from the verse of Kalidasa

s^ftfoá cjfef&r faï ^1#rf^r^i#^i
बभूव तस्याश्चतुरस्रशोभि वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनेन ॥
[Ku. I. 32.]

and the line of Bāna Rffi'l तदुन्मीलितं चित्रमिव चन्द्रापीडशरीरमवलोक्य[2]

we have references to it in other poets. Prominent among these can be mentioned Mayura, who makes use of the idea most beautifully in this verse of his *Suryasataka :*

ज्योत्स्नांशाकर्षपाण्डुद्युति तिमिरमषीशेषकल्माषमीष-
ज्जृम्भोद्भूतेन पिङ्गं सरसिजरजसा सन्ध्यया शोणशोचिः ।
प्रातः प्रारम्भकाले सकलमपि जगच्चित्रमुन्मीलयन्ती
कान्तिस्तीक्ष्णत्विषोऽक्ष्णां मुदमुपनयतात्तूलिकेवातुलां वः[3-4] ॥
[Sl. 26.]

Abhinanda, who similarly mentions it in his *Ramacarita,*

2. Kadambari. Kadambari, Nirnayasagar Press Edition, p. 548.
3-4. Kavyamala.

कैः शिक्षिता वर्तयितुं तदासीदुन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रम् ।
तरङ्गवत्तुङ्गशरद्घनालीविसंस्थुले व्योमनि बालसन्ध्या ॥

[III. 73.]
[III. 73.]

Haricandra who suggests it in his *Dharmasarmabhyudaya*[5]

अहो समुन्मीलति धातुरेषा शिल्पक्रियायाः परिणामरेखा ।
जगद्वयं मन्मथवैजयन्त्या यया जयत्येष मनुष्यलोकः ॥

[XVII. 18.]

and Vagbhata who introduces it in one of the verses of his *Neminirvana'*

रेजे दलच्चंपकचारुभासां यत्राङ्गनानां तनुरोमराजिः ।
शलाकयोन्मीलयतो विधातुर्मुखाच्च्युतेवाञ्जनवारिरेखा ॥

[I. 49.]

That Unmilana comes last is also pointed out by the order in which the various stages in painting a picture are stated. In the verse on *Bhulamba* or Bhulabha quoted above (p. 424) we have the Bhulabha coming first. The arrangement of the background finished, we turn to the figures composing the picture. Here the *Sabhavartirekhd* is mentioned. That preliminary sketching is done with the Vartika is well known to us from a perusal of the contents of the Silpa works giving directions for work to artists. The verse

पूर्वं तिन्दुकलेख्यं स्याद्यद्वा वर्तिकया बुधैः ।
आकारमात्रिकां रेखां विना वर्णं लिखेत्पुनः ॥

of the *Abhilasitarthacintdmani* and the dictum of the *Silparatna*

आलिखेत्किट्टलेखिन्या सुमुहूर्ते सुलग्नके ।
स्वस्थचित्तः सुखासीनः स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा पुनः पुनः ॥

(Kittalekhini is the same as Vartika, and its preparation is given in the text) are of the same purport. The *Mandalakdrya* (drawing of curvatures), characterised as *manorama* (charming) and *askhalat* (unerring),

5. Kavyamala Edn.
6. ***Ibid.***

is the next work. The sketches that are merely blocked are now rounded off at their edges, and a new grace is added to the figure by a more definite work. And lastly comes the *Unmtlana.* The best explanation of the term Unmilana is given in the verse

यस्याभियातिभवनेष्वसमाप्तचित्र-
सम्भारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।
उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदृशः समिद्धां
दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥
[XVI. 65.]

wherein Ratnakara shows that it is the final opening of the eyes, putting in the pupils, etc. with paint so as to give an animated expression to the figure.

ANGAVARTANA

The question of Vartana seems to be as puzzling as Bhulamba. Whether it is shading or mere position of limbs—the adjusting of the limbs in Karanas for postures and so forth—is a real food for thought. Vartana, the *Vi?nudharmottara* says, is shading. Though there is no specific meaning given that Vartana is shading, the explanation of the divisions and types of Vartana leaves no doubt as to what it is and the text makes itself intelligible that way. But Ratnakara's use of the word does not thiswise make the meaning clear. In the verse

श्लक्ष्णत्वं विरलविलेपनश्रियस्ता बिभ्रात्यो रुचिरतराङ्गवर्तनाभिः ।
सद्रूपाः सललितनाट्यचित्रभित्तीरालोक्याभिमतजनः पुपोष तोषम् ॥
''' [XVII. 96.]

wherein he talks of both dance and picture the first quarter refers to a distinct merit in painting—that of using the least quaintity of paint, a thin coating of colour to make the picture look bright and lustrous as opposed to loading with paint, the hall mark of vulgarity,—and this application of colours makes us suppose that the Sadrupa or beauty of form is brought out or set off, so to say, only by Angavartana, i.e., modelling of the form by means of shading. But again in the verse

विचित्रस्थानकोपेताः सुकुमाराङ्गवर्तनाः ।
नृत्ते चित्रे च दधतीमक्षिसहृदयाः स्त्रियः ॥
[xxxii. 3.]

the word Angavartana is explained by the commentator Rajanaka Alaka as Angavalana :

स्थानकमालीढादि वपुषः संनिवेशविशेषः,
चित्रेपि पृष्टागताद्यङ्गानां वर्तना तद्वेष्टिता या वल्ना[7] आसूत्रणानि च

So Angavartana is taken to be a process helping Sthanakas—the Arigasannivesa or happy position of limbs adding to the grace of the Sthanaka or pose. A careful examination of both the verses would reveal to the reader that the poet might have had both the meanings in his mind and the &lesa (pun) might be further split up and strained.

STHANAKA

The importance of pose in picture and dance is too well known to need reiteration. It is this important factor of pose value that connects Citra with Natya, and gives rise to such notions as embodied in the *Visnudharmottara* verses :

यथा नृत्ते तथा चित्रे त्रैलोक्यानुकृतिः स्मृता ॥
दृष्टयश्च तथा भावा अङ्गोपाङ्गानि सर्वशः ।
कराश्च ये महा (या ?) नृत्ते पूर्वोक्ता नृपसत्तम ॥
त एव चित्रे विज्ञेया नृत्तं चित्रं परं मतम् ।

It is the realisation of this fact that makes Ratnakara associate Citra and Natya wherever possible, specially mentioning Sthanaka as a common point. What the Sthanakas are is given by Rajanaka Alaka is the commentary quoted above. The importance of Sthanaka in Citra is clearly given out by the very significant passage in Trivikrama's *Nalacampu* referring to Sthanaka, etc., as indispensable elements in a picture. Citravidyamivanekakantakapatralatasthanakavisamam rjvagatatapasam ca (p. 164).

In this case the commentator, Canolapala, enumerates all the sthanas, and thus supplies us with very useful information.

REKHA

That beautifully drawn elegant lines form a distinct charm of any picture cannot be gainsaid. And in India the greatest importance has

7. In the Kav. Edn. (p. 414) there is a query mark after *valana* in the commentary, but it seems to be the correct reading. [V. R.]

been attached to fine line work. The *Visnudharmottara* specially praises line work in the verse:

रेखां प्रशंसन्त्याचार्या वर्तनां च विचक्षणाः ।
स्त्रियो भूषणमिच्छन्ति वर्णाढ्यमितरे जनाः ॥

Vulgar and coarse lines or lines of an uneven and overlapping nature have been always deprecated. Thin, continuous and even lines without any overlapping seem to have been drawn by the womenfolk ; and we have this evidenced by the Sldka in the *Viddhasalabhanjika* (Act I) :

अहो वपुश्रीर्लिखितुर्जनस्य स्वाकारसंवादि यदत्र चित्रम् ।
इदं च पौरन्ध्रमवैमि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकधारः ॥

Line work, such a great forte of the Indian artists and so popular with them, has thus been praised everywhere in literature, and poets have expressed an overfondness to comparing a good picture drawn in delicate and pure lines to an excellent composition couched in mellifluous chiselled language.

Ratnakara, in his verse,

कल्याणीं गिरमुल्लेखुं विरला एव जानते ।
सत्यां रेखां विलिखितुं चित्रकर्मविदो यथा ॥

[XXXII. 70]

which embodies this idea, deplores the paucity of experts in both cases—literature and art—capable writers of elegant composition and adept painters of figures in line. That this idea has been common amongst the Sanskrit litterateurs is well borne out by the line of Vamana in the *Kavyalankara-sutra-vrtti*,

[Adhik. I. Adhy. 13.]

wherein he makes an exactly similar comparison.

CONCLUSION

Ratnakara's keen observation of pictures is well borne out in his verse

सिंदूरराजिषु घनं स्फुरदन्यवर्णभेदेष्वलक्ष्यमधिमन्दिरभित्तिचित्रम् ।
भातिस्म निर्जितजरच्चुकचञ्चुशोणरागोल्बणच्छवि रवेः करचक्रवालम् ॥

[XIX. 17.]

wherein he shows how vermilion predominates in its lustre in a picture, wherein all the colours have been used mixed with *Niryasakalka,* or Vaj-*raletpa,* especially when the evening crimson-glow of the setting sun falls on it. The verse further shows us how Bhitti-citras (mural paintings) were executed in well-ventilated, open halls or halls provided with at least a number of windows and the like, to allow free play of sunlight on the figures, and not in recesses, dens and caves of monks. Lettering is a special capacity given to a limited few among artists. Certain forms of creepers, animals, limbs, etc., are also sometimes so drawn as to form letters. Sri Harsa has referred to some such letter-forms in his *Nai§a-dhiyacarita.* The component parts of the letter ॐ he compares, for instance, to the eyebrows, the tilaka, and the Vinakona of Damayanti.[8] Ratnakara discloses a similar skill of lettering by comparing the same letter to the elephant's trunk -

प्रतिहारभिः करिकरैरसकृत्परिपिण्डितैः समरभूमिभरात् ।
लिपिसंहतेः सुभटनामजुषः प्रणवैरिव प्रथममालिखितैः ॥

[XLII. 10.]

This comparison is so popular that the famous South Indian composer Diksita speaks of Ganapati as *Pranavasvarupavakratunda.* The profici-ency of the author of the *Haravijaya* in the science of iconography is also evidenced in his work. Though a devout Hindu and a Sivabhakta, he has shown himself to be an adept in Buddhist iconography as well, and traces the origins of Buddhist Murtis (images). There is no gainsaying the fact that the Buddhists and Jains who originally lacked independent Murtis for worship copied these forms from the Hindus. In Canto XLVII Ratnakara has some verses wherein he extolls Parvati as the goddess that Buddhists worship though in a different name. She is the mother (goddess) of the Jainas (si. 49), the main cause of Jina's enlight-enment (SI. 50), the enlightenment itself, i.e., wisdom personified (SI. 51), the director of the path of Astanga-parinirvrti, the path of Sugata (SI. 53). It is only Parvati, says Ratnakara, who is worshipped by the Buddhists in the Murti (form) of Prajnaparamita. In XLVII 52, he says :

अक्षुण्णमार्गयुगभङ्गदशाव्यतीत-
विस्पष्टमार्गगतिवर्त्मरथाधिरूढैः ।
त्वं कीर्तिताभयनिरात्मकतावलम्ब-
रूपा भवानि मतिपारमितेति बौद्धैः ॥

8. ' Sri Harsa on Painting,' J.O.R.M., Vol. VII. Pt. IV, p. 331,

Similarly Tara is another Buddhist form of the Hindu goddess, the spouse of Siva (Parvati). Says Ratnakara in XLVII, 54 ;

गर्भीकृतावधुतसंतमसानुबन्धसंवित्प्रकाशविषमोकृतयानमार्गैः ।
आर्यावलोकभुवि लोकितसंभवा च तारा त्वमम्ब कथिताब्जकुलप्रसूतिः ॥

In this connection the great mass of talk about Buddhist, Jain and Hindu arts as separate watertight compartments, dissociating the one from the other, and placing the first two over the last as the fountain-heads of all art in India, is most misleading, and lacks sufficient justification. Regarding the borrowal of Brahmanical icon concepts by the Buddhists, we have the candid remarks of the eminent iconographist, Benoytosh Bhattacharya : "As Buddhism was originally a religion of tolerance it incorporated many of the Hindu deities in the first stage " (Introduction, XX, Buddhist Iconography). " The Jainas and the Buddhists alike borrowed Hindu gods in their earlier stages, but in the Tantrie age, the Buddhist gods were commonly exploited " (Foreword I, Buddhist Iconography). It may here be remarked incidentally that the frescoes at Ajanta which are titled Buddhist need not necessarily be the work of the Buddhist monks. Some of the rabid Buddhists went even to the extent of condemning painting, as seen in the verse of Haricandra in *Dharmasarmabhyudaya,* XXI 148 :

वनकेलिर्जलक्रीडा चित्रलेप्यादि कर्म वा ।
एवमन्येऽपि बहवोऽनर्थदण्डाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Great impetus to art was given, as is very well known, by the Hindu monarchs of the Sunga, Gupta, Andhra, Vakataka and Chalukya dynasties.

The Melakarta—An Enquiry

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Tanjore.

HISTORY.

BEFORE the time of the great Tyagaraja, the musicians in the court of Tanjore used only the *rdgas* that were called *Rakti* and *Ghana,*—which is supported by the several compositions that we have inherited from them. It was left to the Great Tyagaraja—it is said, through the grace of Sri Ramachandra—to extend the scope of music by composing his immortal songs in *rdgas* that generally go under the name of *Apurva*, but are actually included in the list of *mgas* that are contained in the index of *janya* and *janaka rdgas* (viz., the seventy-two Melas beginning with *Kanakdngi* and ending with *Rasikapriyd* as well as the *janya-rdgas)*. The time of the Tanjore Maharaja, Chhatrapati Shivaji, formed the age of Tyagayya. He died in the reign of that Raja ; and he has left compositions in more than a dozen of *new Melakarta-rdgas,* and several *janya-rdgas,* showing thereby his originality in the field of music. Shivaji had a son-in-law, by name Rajasri Sakharam Sahib, who had in his employ a celebrated composer, Lavani Venkata Row, by name. This composer it was, that has written in Mahratti strains beginning with " Sri " and containing the names of the seventy-two Melas (Kanakangi to Rasikapriya) in honour of Sakharam Sahib. It was the fortune of the late Maha Vaidyanatha Aiyar that he was directed by Sakharam Sahib, in 1883, to set the strains to their appropriate music. It was ordered to be performed before an assembly of Vidvans, and was tested and found to be correct. This Melaragamalika, which was a further extension of the field of music beyond what had been achieved by the Great Tyagayya (who composed only in some of the Melakartas and not all), was transformed latterly into the Sanskrit Ragamalika, and taught by Maha-Vaidyanatha Aiyar to the pupils of his. The musicians in and around Tanjore used to be directly treated by this exquisite music of the seventy-two Melas. In 1901, in the pages of *The Hindu*, a controversy arose between Mr. A. M. Chinnaswami Mudaliyar and Mr. Subbarama Dikshitar of Ettayapuram, regarding the scientific origin of South Indian Music ; and it was concluded that the music system advocated by Subbarama Dikshitar belonged to a school different from the one that was in common use among the musicians of the South, the Great Tyagayyar included.

CONTENTIONS.

The *Pradarsini* says that the ChaturdanoMprakasika and Ragaprakarana, the two well-known works of Vehkatamakhin, declare that the Kanakambari nomenclature was in use in the south as against the Kanakahgi one. The State Vidvan, Mr. Nazir-ud-din Khan of Indore, sang four *druvpads* of Baij Nayak of Allauddin's time containing the very names Kanakambari etc., at the 1934 Madras Music Conference ; and it has to be concluded that this nomenclature was borrowed by Vehkatamakhin, perhaps, to introduce the same in the south as a novelty. Mention has already been made about the difference existing between his system and the system generally accepted by the musicians of the South.

Some experts in the South (e.g., the late Ponnuswami Pillai of Madura and others) have proposed a reduction in the number of seventy-two Melakartas to thirty-two. Their argument is based upon the objection that there is a double naming of the same half-note in the seventy-two-system. It has to be said, that this argument is also pressed by the northern musicians against the Melakarta system.

In reply to the above objection, it is contended, this defect has been practically conquered by the musicians of the South with their Avadhana-Sakti e.g. their skill in using the Shat-sruti-rshabha and Sadharana-Gandhara promiscuously, even in Svara-singing. It is needless to state that the late Mahavaidyanatha Aiyar achieved a more difficult lask, viz. singing the seventy-two Me las.

Mr. Nazir-ud-din questioned the propriety of giving two names to the same half-note—Of course, he was in concurrence with the late Ponnuswami Pillai. But Simha Bhupala, the commentator of the Sangitaratnakara, has, on page 63, dwelt at length on Avadhana or the practice of calling a particular note by a different name for Miircana purposes. Further, the " Sadharana-Prakaranam " in the Ratnakara has laid down that between two notes there could be an interval which has to be given two names according as occasions require it.

CONCLUSION.

From the above facts, it has to be concluded first that Kanakahgi nomenclature was peculiar to the South as against Kanakambari; and secondly it is no sin to use two names for the same half-note.

Muthuswami Dikshita's Art

BY

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THE recent widespread musical revival in this country has focussed attention on our musical forms and our musical system, and given birth to several institutions for promoting Indian Music. Though this movement has given a powerful impetus to our musical art, it has not been directed by a critical discrimination of values or a clear formulation of aesthetic standards, so that it has not resolved the confusion between conflicting musical tendencies and the contradictory and absurd views freely expressed both by experienced musicians and musical critics. The movement, therefore, is still in the stage of naive appreciation which precedes the critical and analytical stage wherein are formulated the fundamental principles on which musical criticism must rest in the last instance. Any detailed and penetrating criticism of Dikshita is therefore impossible at this stage, on account of the lack of accepted standards of reference or agreed principles of valuation. On the other hand, the careful study of Dikshitar itself supplies the much-sought lead in laying the foundation of the basic values in musical art; for, a genuine creative work of art is never constructed by rule of thumb to suit some previously formulated abstract system of values ; but being itself inspired, it explicates the values that it reveals, and these revealed values are at once seen to be primordial and eternal, and independent of the accident of their formulation.

But in trying to reach the fundamental musical values guided by the beacon-light of Dikshtar's work, we have first to clear the ground by cutting through the rank undergrowth of confusion that has sprouted up in the mind of the Indian of today. In seeking for the guiding principles of musical criticism, the instinct of the educated Indian during recent years has led him to look for help and elucidation from Western thought. Unfortunately, the musical values that have been evolved in this country are so unique and individual, that the uninstructed West could offer no real insight relating to them, but could only pass on some of its own slogans—like 'Art for Art's Sake', 'Art is the pursuit of Beauty',—for whatever they may be worth. It is indeed notorious that foreign goods of the cheaper variety find ready consumption in this country. These catchwords have accordingly been taken up seriously by naive Indians, and reacting on the indigenous intellectual atmosphere, have produced a mischievous brood of wrong ideas and confusion.

I shall therefore begin clearing the ground by saying that there are both Devas and Daityas operating in the world of musical value to-day. The Devas are beings of light born of Aditi—the Universal which holds its particulars as unsevered manifestations of itself; the worshipper of the Devas is led on by them through a broadening path to the regions of light, and to the enjoyment of the divine nectar whose womb is the Light. The Daityas are the sons of Diti—the deity of Separatism and Evil—and their worshippers are led by easy and gradual stages on the downward path of degeneration. In the world of mind, the Devas and Daityas take the form of certain mental and intellectual tendencies which clothe themselves in the form of a proposition or a principle. The principles which correspond to the Devas uphold the world of values and ideals manifested in social consciousness, and deepen and enrich it and raise it godward ; the Daitya principles, on the other hand, are aimed at the disintegration of value-structure. The war between the Devas and Daityas spoken of in the Vedas and Puranas is not a myth, but a fact of everyday experience, and today the Daityas have lost not a whit of their ancient cunning and their strength. The real form of the Daitya is horrible, and so he habitually clothes himself in a half-true proposition which appears unobjectionable and quite harmless ; in this form he gets accepted, and obtains a place in the mind-structure, where, like the worm in the bud, he works out in secret his nefarious purpose of degeneration. As the Puranas teach us, the Daitya can also deliberately clothe himself in a Daiva principle and appear in the guise of a Deva, and it would then require a keen eye to ferret him out. Any institution whose object is to uphold and enrich a particular realm of values must be always on the alert and watchful against the Daityas, and deal with them drastically whenever they appear, whether in proper person or in disguise.

The Daityas who are operating in the world of music have a large and influential following in South India, and it is easy to meet them any day. In describing these Daityas, it will be convenient to divide them into two groups ; the first group, though operating in the world of Art, is part of a larger confederation of Daityas whose objective is to subvert the Indian culture by attacking it on all fronts and uprooting its unique and integral standpoint. The second group is operating solely to the detriment of musical values.

The Daityas of the first group are of European extraction and prestige, and generally assume the form of certain affirmations about Art with the insidious purpose of undermining the foundations of Indian culture. They were all born long ago in Greece, when the Greeks cut into little bits the one Divine Mother, the Vakdevi, who is the creating-

manifesting movement of consciousness, and out of the *debris* fashioned the Nine Muses. Since then, they have grown and waxed fat and strong, and flourished in full-blown glory in the West, where one has not only a separate Sunday suit for Church service, but also separate pockets in one's working suit to accommodate Art, Science, Politics, etc. The first Daitya of this group is of an intellectual temperament, and under the form of the affirmation that Art exists for its own sake, pleads with the modern Indian that Art is surely an autonomous realm of values existing in its own right, and that the mystical, religious or other relations of a work of Art are merely incidental and have nothing to do with its aesthetic value as such. The second Daitya has the form of the definition ' Art is the expression of the Beautiful', and with a smirk and a wink whispers in the Indian's ear " What do you care for the technicalities of Art ? A piece of music or a work of Art must in the first instance give you *pleasure.* If it fails even to please, what value can it have ? If it pleases, is it not because it is beautiful and therefore Art ? " A third Daitya who is even more insidious, says: " Aesthetic value obviously does not relate to the content or the subject matter of the work of Art, but purely to its form. There is nothing transcendant or mysterious in aesthetic value, as the form can be analysed even to the point of indicating those elements which convey the impression of the exaltation, the *elan* or the special feeling embodied in the work." In answer to these special pleadings we must firmly invoke the Bharata-Mata, and reassert the one Supreme Value which she has built up through the centuries, and say: ' These definitions of Art may be true in other countries, but not here, in India. Here there is only one Supreme Value, negatively indicated by the term Mukti, whose positive content is the grand surge of Divine Caitanya which appears as inanimate and animate Nature, and which, self-conscious in Man, creates and aspires. This value which is the Universal Mother and is known by innumerable other names as well, is the source and repository of all other values ; She is both the content and the form of knowledge, both the subject-matter and the Beauty of Art. Art does not exist for its own sake, and is not an autonomous value ; because like all other human values it subsists in Her who is the one autonomous Value, and exists for Her sake. If the subject-matter of Art were the isolated particular, it would not be relevant to aesthetic value ; but it is never the particular as such, it is always the Universal manifested in the particular, so that the subject-matter of Art is no other than the Supremely Beautiful the Ineffable One in one of her innumerable masquerades. Enjoyment is certainly produced by the work of Art, but such enjoyment is not the pleasure of the senses ; essentially, however, Art is a form of knowledge, because *Art not only reveals value, but is an expression of the aspiration towards the Value which it reveals/*

The veteran Daityas of the first group have cross-bred with the beings of the Indian thought-world, and begotten two virile sons who have been deputed to work havoc in the world of indigenous music. The first of these is the Foe of Sarasvati, who, urged by an instinct of hereditary hatred, has sworn to cripple her form by severing the hand which holds the Veena from the rest of Her. This Daitya stresses on the distinction between Sarigeeta and Sahitya, and suggests that, just as the Pandit need not be proficient in Music, so the musician need not bother about the Sahitya. A rose when called by any other name would smell as sweet, and a Kirtana with the Sahitya replaced by any other Sahitya with the same arrangement of long and short syllables, would be essentially the same as before ; for, the *bhdva* and the aesthetic quality of a musical piece reside in the succession of musical sounds, and not in the Sahitya which is a dummy. This Daitya can also quote Scripture and point to the deformation of Sahitya due to the exigencies of Samagana. The brother of this valiant one is the Daitya of Musical Atomism whose efforts are directed against the unique musical value evolved in India, called the Raga. This Daitya says in effect : ' There is nothing very wonderful or mysterious in your Raga. Here are the twelve notes, or if you are inclined to be *very* scientific, you can take the twenty-two Srutis. You just put them in a box, close the lid, and shake thoroughly. Open, and you see before you—a Raga ! Close the lid, shake again, and open—and *hey presto* ! You have another Raga !' It is this Daitya who advocates absolute faith in the Avarohanarohana of the Raga. While it is easy for the conscious intellect to disparage these Daityas and disclaim them, it is very difficult to dislodge them from the subconscious mind ; entrenched there, they raise barriers against the musical Sadhaka ever reaching the stage of inspiration.

Against the Foe of Sarasvati, we have to invoke the Vakdevi Herself, and contemplate Her resplendent Form as *Vina-pustaka-dharini*, which hints at the true relation between the spoken word and the musical sound. The musical sound and the Word are related to each other as Nada and Bindu which, indissolubly united, constitute the true form of the Vakdevi, and therefore also the true form of the Creative Process. The vocal mechanism which is our instrument of expression seems to function in two separate levels—the *logical* and the *alogical*—corresponding to the Word and the Musical sound. But this is a pure illusion ; for not only does the Nada of a state of feeling invariably tend to consummate itself by achieving a Bindu of more or less logical self-expression, but the spoken word itself never exists apart from an aura of affective and emotive atmosphere which surrounds it. It is precisely through this aura that states of feeling are transmitted by the spoken word. In a piece of music it is the atmosphere of feeling which is the aura of the

logical part or Sahitya, that inspires and supports the musical expression —which indeed has no existence apart from such support. Where the Sahitya is rich and has powerful and universal associations, an impetus is given to the music to soar to undreamt-of heights of revelation of expressive Form. In substance, then, we may say that the Bhava in a piece of music has its seed and support in the Sahitya, but is moulded and shaped by the Raga which acts as the environment.

The answer to Musical Atomism must lie in the true concept of the Raga which will be indicated below. It suffices to say here that the Arohanavarohana of the Raga is *not* its *Svariipalaksharia,* but only its *Upalakshana* or *Tatasthalakshana* ; it indicates merely the direction in which the Raga may be sought. The actual finding of the Raga in the direction indicated depends entirely on the sensitiveness and aspiration of the Seeker.

Muthusvami Dikshita is the declared and uncompromising enemy of all the Daityas we have mentioned, and his work is a standing monument to the true and the eternal musical values. Indeed, the only way that I know of, to destroy and shatter utterly the arch-enemies of True Value, is to soak one's self in Dlkshita's Krtis, and allow one's mind and inner instruments to be moulded and shaped by influences emanating therefrom. More precisely, it is our thesis *that Dlkshita's work is classic in the se(nse, that it furnishes the fullest and the most integral manifestation and exemplar that we know of, of the values specific to Kamatic Music.* Before we can adumbrate this thesis, it is necessary to elicit the nature of Karnatic Music, and its relations *to* Western and Hindustan Music.

Western Music in its origin seems to have been inspired by the pleasantness of the pure or the musical note, and very much impressed by the mysterious phenomenon of resonance in which two or more notes ' unite to form a star.' It often aims at large-scale effects by increasing the volume of sound, and by the concerted action of a variety of instruments. It seems to have conceived of music only in terms of musical instruments, and to have had no suspicion whatever that the source and the contours of musical value must be sought in the utterance of the human organism, in reference to which alone *'expressivity '* has its primary significance. It has consequently no *Sruti,* as it does not see that the expressive value of a musical note is not determined intrinsically, but by its relation to the fundamental note or the normal pulse of utterance. It is needless to add that it is quite innocent of anything approaching the Raga. It seems as if the human vocal instrument in Western Music has surrendered its unique prerogative, and consented to follow the lead of Matter by reproducing its vibrations and taking on its rhythm.

Hindustan and Karnatic Music are based on the same Sastras, and accept the fundamental implications of the expressive character of the Musical art, in so far as they are based on the i->ruti and aspire to the Raga. But Hindustan music is only a half-way house, as it makes considerable mental reservations in accepting the lead of human utterance as the unique repository and the revealer of musical value. In the first place, it is unduly attached to the pure note, and admits only that class of *gamakas* which do not do too much violence to the pure note. The whole class of oscillatory *gamakas* which are not only natural to the human larynx, but are highly significant in point of expressive value, are therefore shut out from Hindustan music. Hindustan music is further unduly attached to the vowel sound and, in particular, to the open sound of the *Akara,* and does not appear to have exploited the consonantal *gamakas.* The result is that the Raga does not attain its full expressive possibilities, or reach its full stature. Such splendid Bhava-types as have been achieved in some of our ordinary Ragas like Mohanam, Sankarabharanam or Kamboji are beyond the reach of Hindustan music, even though it may have corresponding Ragas with identical *Ardha-Tuivarohana.* The second point in which it has failed to follow the lead of the vocal organ is the sense of rhythm. It has failed to intuite the extraordinarily refined and complicated stress-and-rhythm structure which supports the cadences of human utterance. Its sense of rhythm remains more or less as crude as that of Western music.

Karnatic music distinguishes itself from all its compeers in its utter surrender to the lead of the human larynx, and in taking all its values straight from their source in the precious instrument created by the Vakdevi herself for her manifestation. It is not unduly attached to the pure note, because the pure note is resorted to by the human voice only in certain well-defined situations—such as, when it expresses peace or calm, or as basis of movements of display, or occasionally in rapid movements analogous to fireworks. In every other case the human voice utters only *Gamakas* whose complete or even satisfactory translation in terms of pure notes is a sheer impossibility. These gamakas have an inter jectional or ejaculatory quality, and are the elementary innate expressions of the human mind of its feelings and emotions of aspiration iowards the supreme values. Karnatic music treasures up all these gamakas or crude units of expression, and builds them into the Ragas to which they belong. Each Raga is a well-defined universe of expression-feeling and expression-movement, which has been manifested through long musical evolution. Each Raga probably started as a definite musical phrase with a definite movement of gamakas, and continued itself in the manner described by me elsewhere.' The Raga connotes

•See the author's contribution 'The Genetic Theory of the Raga'.

a supreme value, because it marks a creation in the world of alogical expression, which is parallel to, and of co-ordinate status with, the *concept* or the *word* in logical expression. Both the Raga and the word have arrived by diverse routes from the crude unit of gamaka or interjectional speech. What the syllable or root is to the word, that the *gamaka* is to the Raga. The Raga has as much objective status, and is as much a unit of social currency, as the Word. Karnatic music has also isolated the value of *Laya* in the stress-and-rhythm structure of human utterance, and recognising in it the paramount principle of structural form in musical composition, has evolved many rhythmic patterns. The Laya is, as it were, the pulse of the musical movement, and exerts a secret inner compulsion which the form does not transgress, analogous to the secret compulsion which the Lord as Ku^astha, or Antaryami exerts on the apparently free world-movement. The aesthetic element expressed in *Laya* is the element of self-possessed calm and mastery, of a foundation of being which, unshaken by the musical movement, holds and possesses it with ease. This Isvara element of mastery, possession and enjoyment is, of course, behind all expression, logical, as well as alogical. To sum up, then, Karnatic music attempts to realise the form of the Vakdevi in all its integrality, and to exploit without exception all the values manifested through her instrument. This system of values is best expressed as a harmonious blend in the Krti form of composition, as there is a sacrifice of one or more of the individual values in other forms.

These specific values of Karnatic music are manifested in their starkest form, both severally and in their synthesis, in the Krtis of Dikshitar. It is indeed from the study of his Krtis that these values have been recognised and elicited, so that, though I have been apparently talking of Karnatic music and aesthetic values in general, I have really been talking of Dikshita. Dikshita indeed is the darling son of the Bharata-mata. He has a warm and abiding place in her heart; for it is of her inmost soul he has sung, of the passion of her aspiration, of her quest after the Divine through untold millenniums, of the paths she has followed, of the divine forms and values she found and established. His Krtis are in truth a condensed epitome of the spiritual record of India. His phrases and epithets have far-flung associations ; and on hearing them, the veil of Time often falls away, and opens to the imagination vistas of spiritual effort and conquest. In his songs one feels the atmosphere of the heights, and senses the vast cosmic spaces. One can easily infer that it is because Dikshita established himself in the One Universal Divine, because he had reached the Divine Vision and realised the world of sense and all forms and paths as the One, the Supremely Beautiful and the Ineffable, that the musical setting of his Krtis is so flawless and finished. If the subject-matter of his songs had not been the One, if there had been a

falling away from the Divine and the Universal in his mental outlook, if there had been in the logical part of his mind wrong ideas leading to passions, Vikaras or wrong emotional movements, then this would have been paralleled by an answering impurity in the musical movement as well; for, Sarasvati is one, and holds the book in her right hand and the Vina in her left.

To an artist who has established himself in the Divine Vision and the Divine Ananda, musical Bhava and Rasa well up from within in an inexhaustible stream. Whatever Raga Dikshita takes up, his treatment is always revealing, and has a considerable number of surprises in store for the listener. In his Krtis the Sahitya is never surrendered to the music by undue prolongation of vowels, by stop-gap musical intercalations, by wrong *padachcheda,* etc. On the other hand, the Raga in the form of the appropriate *gamakas* is worked into the spoken word, till it glistens like a pearl with the Ragabhava ; and the musical movement follows the natural lines of the utterance of the Sahitya. Nor is the music sacrificed to the Sahitya, for the Raga-movement and the gamakas constitute the perfect consummation and expression of the emotive ctmosphere of the Sahitya. There is no slipshod workmanship or slurring over in his Raga-presentation ; on the contrary he is quite at home, and squeezes the Rasa of the Raga from every part of the musical scale. It is a curious fact that it is easier to learn a new Raga from a Krti of Dikshita than from any other composition. The reasons for this appear to be : (1) He traverses over the whole scale, not rapidly but giving full value to each note and the gamakas associated therewith ; (2) He goes straight at the *Tnarmasthdnas* or the characteristic gamakas of the Raga and in a few broad and sweeping movements is able to display its general contour. Dikshita is, as may be expected, specially magnificent in handling the Ragas, which express power, majesty, grandeur, sublimity.

But to wield a rich and prolific Sahitya with universal and cosmic associations, and to utter it easily and naturally, inwrought with the graces and the bhavas, and instinct with the atmosphere of the Raga, implies a supreme power and mastery over the mental instruments. This power cannot escape expression. How is it expressed ? It is expressed in the *laya*—the stress-and-rhythm structure of the krti. The only power that can support and hold the creative movement without flinching or being pulled out of poise is the power of calm, peaceful, self-subsistent Chaitanya, which, though outside the movement, is yet somehow in its heart as its secret guide and control. It is precisely this inward rhythmic control of the creative movement which is figured forth in the Dancing Nataraja. Laya thus expresses the calm and peace on

which the musical movement is founded and established. The rapid tempo expresses the restlessness of Samsara, the slow tempo expresses the peace of Mukti. The laya-structure of Dikshitar's krtis is compact and finished without loose or weak parts. The external Ta]a corresponds exactly to the inner pulse of the expressive movement. The detailed working out of this correspondence would be a good subject for study and research.

The leading question for us to ask ourselves now is ' What is the state of mind which can put forth a work of the type of Dikshita's Krtis *V* The mind at its ordinary level functions through Vikalpa and Sahkalpa, that is, through the cycle of doubt, experimentation and certainty. This cycle recurs eternally, because the certainty reached is only relative, and therefore, is itself subject to doubt. The mental functions are in a general sense creative—because as Dikshita says, it is the Mother herself who has taken the form of the net of mind ; *Say'ikalpavikalpdtmakachittavrtti-jdld.* To be precise, mind is only creative in the second degree, because it has been itself created as the instrument of Sarasvati, and carries some of her Chaitanya. Now, the mind constructs by putting together bit by bit. If it is to construct the krtis of Dikshita, it would, by its cycle of Vikalpasahkalpa, first determine the Sahityam, then the Raga, then the successive musical movements for each word and phrase, and then the details of the Tala structure, all by the recurring cyclic process of Vikalpasankalpa. However clever the mind might be, there would be innumerable cracks and misfits in such production, which would betray that the whole had been put together laboriously. One has only to hear the krtis of Dikshita to be sure that they have *not* been produced thus, because each krti is a single, easy, natural rhythmic movement, and there are no cracks or artificialities even though the Sahitya is prolific and full. This would be specially clear in the Madhyamakala portions, when the surge of feeling reaches white heat, and piles surprise on surprise, and scatters pearls in quick profusion on the overwhelmed listener. It follows that the work could not have been produced by the mind at the ordinary level, but only in *the state of inspiration,* when Sarasvati herself enters the mind, and takes over the creative task from her deputies and, by a single integral movement of mind, herself manifests the whole work at one stroke. All artists have moments of inspiration which are responsible for their best work. But Dikshita appears to have stabilised the power of inspiration in himself in such a way, that any access of intense aspiration brought on the condition of inspiration. His Upasana, his other worldliness, his God-centred outlook,—all indicate that he sought and cultivated the power of inspired creation deliberately.

Every musician and every student of the musical Art is, whether he knows it or not, an Upasaka of Sarasvati. Therefore, his objective

avowed or unavowed is the vision of Sarasvati in her proper form—in other words, the experience of the inspired state. To achieve this consummation, he must order his mind and life properly. He must meditate on the form of Sarasvati as comprising in unsevered union the logical and alogical expressive 'movements of the mind. He must practice discrimination, and establish in himself right ideas and right conduct. He must strive ceaselessly after the true and eternal musical values, and enter into no compromise with the Daityas. He must purge his mind of low desires, passions and all vikaras, for Sarasvati will not enter an unclean house. Finally, he must sing continually the inspired creations, for the grace of Sarasvati is transmitted through the utterance of her handiwork.

Hindu Law in Java and Bali

BY

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THE legal system of Java was mainly of Hindu origin though modified by local conditions. There were written law-codes in Java and Bali, and these resembled, both in form and substance, the Indian Law-books,—Dharmasastras or Srutis,—to a large extent. How far these Law-books were promulgated by constituted authorities or represented the actual conditions of society, is a common problem both for India and her colonies. But the general picture afforded by these books may be taken, in either case, as a safe guide for obtaining a broad view of the state and society in the past. The variations of rules and principles noticed in the different law-books must be attributed, as in the case of India, to varying indigenous customs in different localities and in different ages. To this we may, perhaps, add the influence of the different Indian law books introduced, perhaps at different times, in Java.

Among the more important Law-books of Java and Bali which are known to exist at the present time, the following deserve special mention.[1]

1. Sarasamuccaya[2]—It consists mostly of Sanskrit verses, followed by an old Javanese translation. It begins with an account of Visnu who came to Mdang, ruled there as *rahyang tavkan dydvan* and had four sons.

2. Svara Jambu (probably corrupted from Svayambhu[8] is mostly the translation of the eighth book of Manavadharmasastra. Only the last part, written in later dialect, deviates from this source.

3. The Sivasasana, written in pure old Javanese, is referred to in an inscription of 991 A.D. and is associated with king Dharmavarhsa teguh Ananta Vikramdttungadeva.[4]

1. The list is given on the authority of Juynboll (B. K. I. 1 *Vol.* 71, pp. 568-569) It differs from that in Friederich-Bali pp. 93 ff. See further fn. (4a) and (5).
2. This is different from a Tutur work of the same name, though Friederich (op. cit.) took the two to be identical.
3. Jonker—Wetboek, p. 3.
4. For Nos. 3-5 cf. also Krom-Geschiedenis pp. 230-231.

4. The work generally known as Purvadhigama,' and designated at the end as ' Sivasasana-saroddhrta' may be regarded as a later reduction of No. 3.

5. The Balinese work Purva-agama is perhaps the modern form of No. 4.

6. The Devagama, also known as Krtopapati, quotes many rules from Manavadharmasastra.

7. The Kutara-manava is also largely influenced by Manavadharmasastra.

8. Gajah Mada—a law-book attributed to Gajah Mada, the famous prime minister of Majapahit. The existing text is undoubtedly more modern, but as Gajah Mada is credited with a knowledge of law in Nagara Krtagama (12 : 4), it is not impossible that he was the author of the original work.[4-a]

9. Adigama—This is one of the law-books now regarded as authentic in Buleleng (Bali). Like the preceding work, it is attributed to Kanaka, the prime minister of Majapahit, from A.D. 1413—1430. The date given in the Manuscript is 1401 A.D.

10—11. Kerta Sima and Kerta Sima Subak showing strong Balinese influence.

12. Pasvara—a comparatively recent Balinese law-book[5] in the form of a collection of royal edicts.

There are many collections of this kind.

4-a. For Nos. 8 and 9 cf. Krom,—op. cit. pp. 421-2, 445. No. 8 is not mentioned by Juynboll.

5. To this list we may add Agama, Dustakalabaya, Devadanda and Yajna Sadma by Friederich (op. cit. pp. 93-4) Darma Upapati (Dharmopapatti) and Uttara Manava mentioned by Van Eck, and Sastra Pasobaya cited by Jonker. (Wetboek p. 3.)

Among these Devadanda is described by Juynboll (Catalogue, pp. 182-154) and others and there is a Dutch translation of it by Blokzil (T.B.G. Vol. 18, pp. 295-309) . But although the older writers describe it as written in very old language, it is not borne out by the manuscripts catalogued by Juynboll. Of the other books, I am not able to say much, nor even whether they are all really different books from those mentioned above ; e.g. the ' Uttara Manava may be **the** same as Kutara-Manava.

Among the texts mentioned above, the Kutara-manava[6] (No. 7) which is now held authentic in Bali may form the basis of a detailed study of the Indo-Javanese law. This book was regarded as of the highest authority in the flourishing period of the Majapahit empire. This is indisputably proved by the Bendasari inscription[7] dating from the middle of the fourteenth century A. D. This is a record of a judgment in a civil case (dispute over the possession of land) and describes the way in which the judges came to a decision. There were six of them, referred to as ' *Dharmapravakta Vyavahdra-Vicchedaka* \ They heard the statement of both the parties and, in accordance with established practice, interrogated some impartial local people about it. Then they took into consideration the law, as enunciated in legal texts, the local usages and customs, the precedents, the opinion of religious teachers and old men, and ultimately they decided according to the principles enunciated in Kutara-manava \

That the Kutara-manava was regarded as of the highest authority also follows from another inscription, dated 1358 A.D.,[H] in which the judges, seven in number, are described as ' Kutara-mfmavadi-sastra-Vivecana-tatpara', i.e., persons skilled in the knowledge of [4] Kutara-manava and other law-books."

The antiquity of the law-book also follows from the total absence of firearms in the list of weapons, enumerated in section 59[9] by which a wo^nd could be caused. The language of the existing text of the Kutara-manava, however, shows that it is a later redaction of that work, though it is not easy to determine the nature and extent of the modifications introduced in later times. That the book underwent some amount of Balinese influence is also clear from a study of the existing text.[10]

The text, as we have it now, is a compilation from various sources, some of which are named in the book itself, and others are referred to in general terms, ' so say the wise people ', etc. The arrangement is also somewhat irregular, the same topics, even the same rules, recurring in different parts of the work, and sometimes even different rules about the same topics. This is more particularly the case with regard to rules about slaves, pledge, marriage-price, and adultery. The legal principles

6. Edited with a scholarly introduction and Dutch translation by J. B. G. Jonker (Leiden, 1885).
7. O. J. O. No. 85. Krom-op. cit. pp. 421-2.
8. O.V. 1918, pp. 108-112, Krom,—op. cit. p. 422.
9. Jonker—Wetboek, p. 34.
10. Ibid, pp. 34-35.

and detailed rules are mostly based on Hindu law-books, but slight modifications of these and the addition of new rules betray clearly the influence of indigenous laws and customs. The influence of indigenous law and variations from or modifications of Indian law are clearly much greater in the earlier than in the latter part, and this has given rise to the question whether the whole of the present text formed part of the original work. The unity of the language is in favour of the latter view,[31] But Brandes thinks that it really consists of two parts, the Kutara, inspired by Bhrgu, and the Manava inspired by Manu. Brandes also refers to a Malay chronicle according to which it was composed under Surya Alam, king of Demak.[11-a]

About the indebtedness of the *Kutara-manava-sastra* to different Indian law-books we find the following interesting passage in the book itself.

" A buffalo or a cow, given in pledge, is forfeited to the creditor, if it is not redeemed within three years. Thus says Kutaragama. According to Manavagama, the period is five years. One of these two must be followed. It is wrong to suppose, however, that one of these law-books is better than the other, both being authoritative. The Manavasastra is communicated by Maharaja Manu who was like god Visnu. The Kutarasastra was thus communicated by Bhrgu in the Tretayuga : he was (also) like Visnu ; the Kutara-sastra is followed by Parasurama and by the whole world, it is not a product of the present time, but. . . . . (121) ,"[12]

In many other sections (cf. art. 137, 143.) also, the different rules of Manava-sastra and Kutarasastra are placed side by side. There is no doubt that this circumstance explains the title of the law-book. References to Manu or Manavasastra are, however, more frequent.

What Indian law-book is meant by Kutarasastra, we do not know. The reference to Parasurama makes it plausible enough to derive Kutara from Ku^hara,[13] but that does not help us much in tracing the original work.

As regards Manavasastra there cannot, of course, be any doubt, that it refers to the famous Indian law-book Manavadharmasastra or Manu-

11. Ibid, pp. 1-35.
11a. Catalogue, S. V. Kutara-Manava.
12. The figures within bracket on this and the following pages indicate the section or paragraph of Kutara-Manava &astra.
13. Jonker—Wetboek, p. 15,

sarhhita. An analysis of the contents of the Javanese law-book shows that this work formed its chief course. Not only numerous isolated verses but sometimes a whole series of them are reproduced, with slight variations and modifications in many cases. These variations are sometimes the results of the misunderstanding of the original text, but are also in some cases undoubtedly due to an effort to bring the law into line with Javanese conditions. But the parentage is unmistakable.

In the passages quoted from Manu-Sarhhita, the order of topics, and also, generally speaking, of the individual rules, closely follows that of the original. It is, therefore, exceedingly probable that there was an old Javanese translation of Manu-Sarhhita or parts of it (notably chaps. VIII-IX) as e.g., Svara Jambu from which our author largely borrowed. The high authority enjoyed by this Indian law-book is proved by other evdences also. It is mentioned in Bhomakavya,[r>] and an old Javanese inscription refers to it in such a way as to leave no doubt of its authoritative character. The *Carita Parahyangan* says of King Niskala-vastu Kaficana that he did many good deeds for the holy persons, was dear unto the gods and strictly followed the law code of Manu." The Rsisasana also refers to Manu as law-giver[15-a] while Pratasti-Bhuvana and Purusadasanta refer to Manusasana.[15-b] All these references indicate the high honour in which Manu's law-book was held in Java, and it is, therefore, quite natural that the Javanese law book should take it as the chief guide. At the same time a close analysis of the Javanese text makes it abundantly clear that the Indian law books, other than Manu Samhita, were consulted by the Javanese author[1(i] For, in some cases, more than one Hindu legal principle is given, while in others, such as the use of 'documentary evidence\ 'Sahasa\ (assault), 'Sulka', (Marriage-price), etc., the rules given differ from those of Manu. It is not always easy to trace the origin of these rules, but a strong presumption arises in certain cases. The rule, for example, that rights over land are barred by limitation after 20 years (268) is now to be found in Yajfiavalkya, Vyasa and Kautiliya alone while the classification of interest for money (262) is given only in Brhaspati Sarhhita. It is probable, therefore, that some of these law books were known in Java, though the possibility is not excluded that the same rules occurred in other Indian law books, or different versions of existing law books, not known to us

14. K.O. No. 16.
15. Cf. Bk. III. Chs. 1, VIII.
15a. Pigeaud—Tanttu Panggelaran—p. 300.
15b. Ibid, p. 294, Juynboll 1, 211.
16. Jonker—Wetboek, pp. 17 ff.

at present. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that the Javanese law book contains several Sanskrit terms which cannot be traced in existing Indian law books (e.g., Pancasadharana, Jivadana, Devagama (for divya), etc.

While the Javanese law book clearly shows that not only were Indian law books known in general, but the Indian legal system was also transplanted in Java, it is equally clear at the same time that the latter underwent important modifications by indigenous laws and customs. This is quite natural and inevitable, specially in view of the fact that in the Manu-Sarhhita the local manners and customs are recognised as possessing legal authority. These modifications are met with in other law books of Java such as Devadanda or Sara-Samudaya, and it is probable that legal texts like these served, in this respect, as the source of Kutara-Manava Sastra. These modifications will be noticed in the course of explaining the detailed contents of the book, to which we may now turn ; these detailed rules may be broadly divided into two classes, Civil and Criminal, and each is dealt with under several sub-heads or titles of law.

The very first section deals with murder. Eight classes of murderers are defined : (1) he who kills an innocent man ; (2) he who incites another to kill an innocent man ; (3) he who wounds an innocent man ; (4) he who eats with a murderer ; (5) he who keeps company with a murderer ; (6) he who is on friendly terms with a murderer ; (7) he who gives shelter to a murderer and (8) he who renders any help to a murderer. The first three classes are liable to capital punishment, which, however, may be changed by the king to a fine of 40,000.[17] The last five are liable to a fine of 20,000.

Similarly thieves are divided into eight classes (21-28) on the above principle so as to include, in addition to actual thieves, those who instigate, help or befriend him. The man who actually steals is not only liable to capital punishment, but his wives (women) and children, together with all his possessions, become the property of the king. But a thief may purchase life by paying 40,000 to the king, and a compensation to the owner equivalent to double the value of the stolen goods. He who instigates another to commit theft is also liable to capital punishment. His wives and children may escape with a heavy fine, but if they are also guilty of joining him in instigating the crime, they are liable to

17. While giving the amount of fines, the law-book never states the unit coin it has in view. As for reasons explained below the value of this unit may be regarded as one-twentieth of that (pana) used in Manusamhita.

capital punishment. Other abettors of the crime are fined according to the nature and gravity of the offence.

The next important headings of criminal law are defamation and assault described in the Indian technical terms *Vakparusya* and *Danda-pdrusya.* Here for the first time we meet with that discrimination of law according to the caste of persons, which is a characteristic feature of Hindu law. In order to give an adequate idea of this, we may give in full the penalties for abuse or defamation. If the offender and the offended belong to the same class, the fine is only 250. The following table shows the amount of fines when the two parties belong to different castes.

Offender.	*Jended.*	*Amount of fine. Figures denote Penalty.*
Brahmana	Ksatriya	1,000
Do.	Vaisya	500
Do.	Sudra	250
Ksatriya	Brahmana	2,000
Do.	Vaisya	1,000
Vaisya	Brahmana	5,000
Do,	Ksatriya	2,000
Do.	Sudra	1,000
Sudra	Brahmana	*Death*
Do.	Ksatriya	5,000
Do.	Vaisya	2,000

The regulations exactly follow Manu-Sarhhita (VIII. 267-269), if we regard the unit to which the amount of fine refers, as one-twentieth of that used in Manu. The Javanese law book, however, gives a complete statement, and further adds that a Candala who defames a Brahmana should be put to death.

Similarly, the rules about assault closely follow those of Manu. The famous dictum of Manu that " with whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to (a man of the three) highest (castes), even that limb shall be cut off," (VIII. 279) is reproduced with the specification of the limbs. As a matter of fact many of the penal laws about assault, hurt, theft, robbery, plunder, cattle-lifting, damage or destruction of property, and adultery, are taken directly from Manu ; and the following passages from this law book are reproduced with little or no modification.

Manu Smriti—**Bk.** VIII. Verses 279-284, 286-288, 295-300, 320-23, 325, 328-330, 337, 350, 352, 356, 357, 361, and also probably 365 and 366.

All these penal laws provide a discrimination in punishment, according to castes, as in the case of defamation, and need not be described in detail. There are, of course, additional rules or illustrations in many cases, too numerous to be mentioned in detail.

Penalties are also provided for miscellaneous offences such as witchery (27, 173, 174, 178-182), quackery (274), etc.

Although the system of criminal law is evidently based on Hindu law and follows it closely, we may notice some striking differences which are presumably to be attributed to indigenous influence.

In the first place, the rules of murder and theft are more comprehensive than what we find in the Hindu law. They also introduce two new principles, viz.: (1) that the crime is shared by the abettors and friends of the criminals) and (2) even the family members of the criminal (in case of theft) and one who instigates the crime are liable to punishment.

Secondly, the penal law in Java shows that the old idea that offences were torts rather than crimes had not altogether died out. Although offences were usually regarded as crimes and punished by the king with fine and corporal punishment, the idea of paying compensation to the injured is more marked in the Javanese law than in the Hindu law books. For example, in Manu VIII, 295-296, the death caused by rash driving is considered purely as a crime, but the corresponding rule in Javanese law book (232) adds that a compensation should be paid to the blood-relations of the deceased, if he is a free man, and to his owner, if he is a slave. The same conclusions follow from the laws of adultery (134-8), in which the fine was chiefly a compensation to the injured husband, and the latter had the right to put the criminal to death if he were caught red-handed.

Again, the penalties imposed by Manu for theft include only in two specific cases (VIII—319-20) a compensation to the owner, equivalent to the value of the stolen goods. But the general rule in Java was to add to the fine, a compensation equivalent to double the value of the goods stolen.

Thirdly, while both Javanese and Hindu laws make discrimination according to castes in awarding punishments for various offences, murder and theft form an exception in the case of the former (cf. sections 1—2, 21—28). In other words all criminals in Java, accused of these two offences, were dealt in the same way, irrespective of the castes to which they belonged , while in India the consideration of caste prevailed even in these two classes of crimes.

The civil law throws a great deal of light on the social conditions in Java and, in particular, deals in great detail with two classes of persons, viz. : (1) Women and (2) slaves.

The marriage of a woman was preceded by the payment of *Sulka* or marriage-price by the bridegroom. The acceptance of this price by the bride's party created the legal obligation to marry the girl to the bridegroom. If the father marries the girl to another or connives at the girl's marrying another, he has not only to return to the original suitor twice the amount given by him, but is also fined 40,000 by the king. The girl and her husband also are each fined the same amount (18,111). If the bridegroom, after the payment of the price refuses, or fails to marry the bride within five months, the price remains with the bride as her own property (213-14). On the other hand if he violates the girl before the fixed date, he not only loses the price but is also fined 40,000 (192). If a bride dies after the payment of the price, the bridegroom cannot claim it back. On the other hand, if the bridegroom dies after paying the price, his younger brother *(devara)*, if any, may if he so desire, claim the bride as his own. (215)

But a girl was legally entitled to refuse to marry any one suffering from physical deformities or disabilities, bad diseases in hidden parts of the body, insanity, impotence, or epilepsy. In these cases she had simply to refund the marriage-price. The law lays down no restriction regarding the prohibited degrees of marriage except that one should be punished if he marries his step-daughter (149).[18] As regards legal formalities, a sort of registration by the village headman seems to be regarded as essential (191).

The grounds, stated above, on which a maid could refuse to marry a man, also entitled her to seek divorce even after the marriage was consummated. A woman could also seek divorce from her husband simply on the ground that she disliked him (19), and so could the father of the girl dissolve the marriage if he disliked his son-in-law (125) ; but in either case twice the marriage-price had to be refunded to him, and certain prescribed ceremonials had to be gone through before the marriage was legally dissolved. The relevant law runs as follows: " For a divorce four things are necessary : (1) Pronouncement of the divorce ; (2) the breaking of a coin while the husband makes the pronouncement ; (3) the giving of water to wash the face ; (4) the giving of rice. These serve as the evidences of the divorce. After all these four are performed, the marriage is legally dissolved, but not otherwise.

18. According to Vratisasana, certain relatives could not be married (Pigeaud —Tanttu Panggelaran—p. 296).

If a woman remarries without going through these formalities, the new husband will be fined 40,000 " (5).

This is clearly an indigenous custom which is not only without any parallel in Indian law books but directly contrary to the spirit and provisions of Hindu law. But the influence of the latter is clearly visible in another set of regulations. These prescribe heavy penalties for the man who takes to wife a married woman with husband living (17). The former husband can either put the new pair' to death, or accept a fine of 40,000. Those who were witnesses of such a marriage were also liable to heavy fines.

Further, a woman could divorce her husband, before the marriage was consummated, simply by repaying double the marriage-price, and evidently without any other formality (126). But in certain contingencies even a married woman, with husband alive, could take another husband after waiting for a prescribed period. These are described in a tabular form below (143, 254—256).

Condition of the husband.	*Period of waiting.*
1. Going abroad for performing sacred or religious duty, penance or some other good work	8 years.
2. Going abroad *to* learn the sastras.	6 "
3. Going abroad for commerce, sea-voyage or acquisition of wealth.	10 "
4. Going abroad to marry a second wife.	3 "
5. Making journey to distant lands.	4 "
6. If the husband is absent but not on any ground mentioned in 2, 3 and 5 above.	4 "
7. If the husband is mad, epileptic, impotent or destitute of manly strength.	3 "
8. If the husband is lost (i.e., missing), dies in course of journey, becomes a monk, or is impotent.	Nil.

Nearly the whole of these regulations is based on Hindu legal principles as enunciated in Manu (IX. 76-78) and Narada (XII—9766), and follow them closely. These are followed immediately by the single regulation which authorises a husband to discard a wife.

" If a wife dislikes her husband, she must wait for one year. After that, if the dislike still continues, she should return double the marriage-price. This is named ' rejection of sexual intercourse' " (257).

This is obviously based on Manu IX. 77. But it is to be noted that, while this and other Indian law books authorise the husband to discard his wife on this and sundry other grounds (cf. Manu IX—80-81), the Javanese law book ignores them altogether, save and except this one, i.e., on ground of dislike. But, then, it is to be remembered that the Javanese law book gives the same right to the wife, viz., to divorce the husband if she dislikes her. Again the Javanese law that a wife could marry again, if the husband was mad, epileptic, or destitute of manly strength, or that a Javanese maid could refuse to marry, or seek divorce from a husband suffering from diseases, physical deformities or disabilities, etc. finds no parallel in Indian law books. Rather, according 1o Manu (IX. 78) " She who shows disrespect to a husband who is addicted to (some evil) passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture." Further, Manu permits a diseased wife to be superseded at any time by another wife" (IX—80). When we remember that Javanese law book so closely followed the Manu-Sarhhita, the additions and the omissions leave no doubt that a woman enjoyed a far higher status in Java than in India in the age of Manu. In support of this view we may quote a curious provision of the law, that a man should be fined 20,000 if he quarrelled with a woman, the amount accruing to her husband if the woman were married. (142)

But while the Javanese law gives means to a wife to regain her independence, the husband seems to have complete domination over her so long as she remains in his family. The head of the family is to keep a strict vigilance on women, slaves and children, and even chastise them for doing wrong, by a cane or a wooden stick. But he must not strike them on the head, otherwise he should be fined by the king (131). This is obviously a leaf taken out of Manu's book (VIII—299,300). The dominance of the husband is also manifest from the following :

" Father alone has the control of children, not the mother. If a mother arranges the marriage of her daughter without the consent of the father, the father may dissolve the match, and the marriage-price has to be returned to the rejected suitor by the mother and the girl" (193).

Law permitted a husband to sell his wife to another (171). But even here it is noticeable that a man was liable to punishment if he purchased a woman without the permission of her husband and kept her as a slave. But if he purchased her from the husband and married her himself he was free from any guilt.

The higher regard for women and the dominance of a husband over the wife are both reflected in the laws of adultery which indicate some

peculiarity in Javanese conception. As stated before, many of these laws are taken from Manu, and on the whole the Javanese law resembles the Indian in regarding the offence of adultery as a serious one and penalising not only the perpetrators and abettors of the crime, but also actions which might ultimately lead to adultery, eg., speaking to a woman in loneliness, offering her presents, tempting her with money, etc. It recognises that human passions are different to control and, therefore, forbids all actions and movements which inevitably tend towards an illicit connection (139) ; but the penalties prescribed are less severe. The extreme penalty of death, or mutilation of hands, accompanied by branding and banishment, is reserved only for the male offender. Manu's direction that the king shall cause the female offender to be devoured by dogs in a public place, (**VIII**—371) has no parallel in Javanese law. The Javanese law mostly imposes fines, the amount of which varies with the gravity of the offence. But this fine is to be paid to the husband of the violated woman, and not to the king (134-138). In other words, the offence is regarded more as a private wrong done to the husband, than a crime against the State. A further illustration of this principle is furnished by the fact that the husband had also the right to put the criminal to death if he were caught red-handed (134).

Before leaving the topic of women, it is necessary to point out that, although the laws regarding re-marriage of women, and payment of *sulka* or marriage-price are based on Indian law books, the latter also contain regulations of exactly opposite character forbidding both. These are, however, entirely absent from the Javanese law book, showing thereby the strong hold of the customs which formerly prevailed but later fell into disfavour or disuse in India. Again, the right of a wife to divorce her husband is unknown to Manu and foreign to the spirit of Indian law and practice, though Narada (XII—16, 96) permits it in the case of certain physical disabilities of the husband. Lastly, to the general rule that pledged property vests in the holder of the pledge after a lapse of fixed period of time, there are some notable exceptions, viz., those belonging to married or unmarried girl, to the king and to a Pandita (206). These exceptions not only give a preferential treatment to women over men, but also supply another evidence that women could own real property. (206) In all these cases the divergence from Hindu law may be explained by a higher conception of the status of women among the indigenous people in Java.

Second only to the regulations regarding women, the Javanese law book contains elaborate regulations about the slaves. The following causes are enumerated as grounds for reducing a man to the status of a slave. **(169,270)**

1. Imprisonment in war (called *Dhvaja-hrta)*.

2. Born of parents who are themselves slaves. (Called *Grhaja)*.

3. Non-payment of debt or fine (called *Dandadcisa)*.

4. Willingly accepting the status of a slave for food and shelter (called *Bhakta-dasa)*.

A slave might change his master, by purchase or sale, gift and inheritance.

Now, the above closely follows Manu (VIII—415) but differs from Narada who enumerates fifteen kinds of slaves, including the above (V. 26-28). According to the Javanese law, all these slaves might obtain their freedom by payment of a requisite fee to their master (270, 166, 167). Manu is silent on this point, but Narada states definitely ' that slaves by birth or those obtained by purchase, gift and inheritance cannot be released from bondage, except by the favour of their owners.' In this respect, therefore, the Javanese law seems to be more liberal ; but except in the case of slaves belonging to class 1 (166) and 4 (167), it does not lay down detailed regulations about the mode of obtaining freedom. These two classes of slaves could free themselves by paying a sum of 8,000. Heavy penalties were provided for forcing a freed slave to work for his old master. (160, 162, 172)

The slave was regarded as the absolute property of the master. Not only were they to live and work according to his bidding, but he was also entitled to the property (128) and even the issues of his male and female slaves. If a male slave of one married the female slave of another, then their children, if any, were divided among the two owners, the male children going to the owner of the male slave and the female children to the other owner (10, 152, 153). Runaway slaves and those who helped them were severely punished (3). The murderer of a slave had to recompense the owner for his loss. (7) The slave could be given as a pledge, (101, 120) and such a slave was liable to capital punishment if he stole goods worth more than 100 from the owner of the pledge (118). A slave was, however, protected by law in many respects. He could be chastised, and even bound, by the master, but the latter was not permitted to strike him on the head ; (31 ; cf. Manu VIII. 299-300). If a master made an attempt to outrage the modesty of a female slave, she could run away and become automatically free. (165) So were the slaves of a thief automatically set free. (24) Any one who abducted a slave was liable to capital punishment. (157) A master could marry a slave, and in such a case their children inherited the property of the father if the latter had no children by wives of equal birth. (155) If one married the slave of another, the children would inherit one-

fourth of his property if he had other children, and the whole of it, if he had none by any wife of free birth. (158)

In addition to regulations about women and slaves, the Ku^ara-Manava-Sastra deals with many other important topics of civil law such as debt, pledge, property, inheritance, etc.

The rules of debt are very comprehensive and follow closely those of Narada and Yajfiavalkya. Six kinds of interest are mentioned as in Brhaspati (XI. 5). Detailed directions are given for preparing the necessary document (72), and three kinds of witnesses are laid down as sufficient to prove the transaction—viz., documents, witness, and enjoyment of interest (74). Failing satisfactory evidences, trial by ordeal is prescribed though no details are given. The debts are classified according as they are repayable or not by the debtor's children (79, 80), and judicial procedure for the recovery of debt is also laid down (81-84).

According to Narada, " The guarantee to be offered to a creditor may be two-fold : a surety and a pledge." Both these are referred to in the Indo-Javanese law book. It is interesting to note in this connection that only two kinds of surety are recognised, viz., that for the appearance of the debtor (88), and that for payment (89). In this and other respects it agrees with Manu-Samhita, but not with Narada and other law books which recognise a third surety, viz. : that for honesty.

The rules about pledge are also laid down in great detail and are based generally on the Hindu law. The use of a pledge without the permission of the owner is regarded as a grave offence as in Manu (VIII. 144, 150) and Narada (1, 127-128), but the punishment is more severe. He has not only to give to the pledge-giver twice the value of the pledge, but is also fined 20,000 as a thief (102). In connection with the laws about pledge we come acrose one important principle which has been the subject of serious discussion in this country. After saying that certain pledges (e.g., clothes, etc.), are forfeited after five years (99), it proceeds : " If some one pledges landed property, it is never forfeited, for the land is the property of the king, it only remains in possession of the creditor " (100). Thus it is clearly laid down that the ownership of the soil vests in the king, and no one else. Whether this rule is derived from an Indian law book, or whether it is an Indonesian modification, it is difficult to say. It may be added that a later section of the book lays down that a man loses his right over landed property, if another is in possession of it for twenty years, with his knowledge (268).

The rules of property (including prescription) and those of sale and purchase follow the principles of Indian law books, but the illustrations

given are mostly new. The rules of inheritance offer some striking novelty. If a man dies, leaving more than one child from the same wife, then the eldest son gets an additional share *(Uddhara)*, which varies according to the value of the property left. In the most extreme case, the eldest takes four-fifths of the property while the remaining fifth part is divided among his younger brothers (197). Now, some of the the Indian law books recognise the claim of the eldest son to an additional share deducted from the estate, also known technically as *Uddhara*, but both Manu and Visnu-Smriti reckon it as one-twentieth, and Baudhayana as one-tenth. There is no Indian authority, known to us, for such a heavy share as four-fifths. It may be due to indigenous custom or misunderstanding of the original text.

The rules of inheritance vary, if a man leaves children from wives of different caste. The children in that case obtain preferential treatment according to the caste of their mothers. A specific rule lays down that the property of a Brahmana with wives of four different castes should be divided into eleven shares (258). The idea probably is that the children should share in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1 according as their mothers belong to the Brahmana, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra castes, as laid down in Manu (IX. 153). But then the property is to be divided into ten, and not eleven shares. The extra share may belong, however, to the eldest.

A man may, however, formally discard a son (78), and then the latter cannot inherit the property of his father.

In these rules of inheritance it is not quite clear whether both sons and daughters, or only the former, are to be regarded as heirs ; for with a single exception quoted above the word used denoted children of both the sexes. Another remarkable point is that the children inherit the property of both the father and the mother, which is different from the Hindu laws. Another deviation from the latter is the total absence of all references to collateral descendants as heirs. Further, the word used for 'property' in these rules denotes always, at least if we take it in a literal sense, only movable property. As regards landed property, no rules of inheritance are clearly laid down ; but there are two sections which run as follow :

1. If any one puts forward a claim over a land, and this claim proves unfounded, then he is fined by the king 160,000. It is called " Falsely pretending to be a blood-relation." (132)

2. If any one does not permit his blood-relations to use the land, he is fined by the king 160,000, and is named " repelling his blood-relations." (133)

These two rules seem to indicate that land was regarded as the joint property of the family, and did not admit of divided ownership; but there are no clear statements on this point.

There are no definite rules about the inheritance by wife. But there is one rule, unfortunately fragmentary, which may be quoted in this connection. It runs as follows : ' If a married couple have no children, and one of them dies, then by the death of the wife the whole household property. . . . .' (195). Jonker thinks that the missing portions referred to the right of the husband, but it might also include the corresponding right of the wife in case of the death of the husband. This view is strengthened by the regulation that immediately follows. It states that five years after marriage, but not before that, the household property of the husband and wife, together with what each of them had obtained at the time of the marriage, shall be mixed up and regarded as common property inheritable by each in the case of the death of the other (196). The same rule is laid down in another section where the period of interval is set down as 12 years, but it is distinctly laid down that the marriage-gift of the pair after that period shall be the property of the survivor, in case of the death of either the husband or the wife (123). It may be noted here that this merging of the property of the husband and wife is altogether foreign to Hindu law and must be regarded as an indigenous custom.

The right of the king to inherit the property of one who has no legitimate heir, with the exception of a Pandita, whose property belongs to God (202-3) also closely follows the Indian legal principle, but the expression ' Deva-dravyatmaka' used in the Javanese book cannot be traced to any existing Indian law book.

In connection with the inheritance we get a list of twelve classes of sons (lit. children). The list is expressly referred to Manu, and indeed closely, though not fully, agrees with that given in Manu-Sarhhita (IX. 158—160).

The twelve classes are (259).

(1) The child of a wife, who was engaged with a man from her infancy and was afterwards given in marriage to him by the parents.

(2) The child of a re-married woman if her character is pure, and if the marriage had taken place with the permission of the parents.

(3) A child given by kinsmen.

(4) A child obtained from another.

(5) A child begotten on one's wife by another with his permission.

(6) A child cast off by his father.

(7) The child of an unmarried girl and whose father is unknown.

(8) The child of a woman pregnant at the time of her marriage.

(9) The child of a woman who divorced her husband, re-married another husband who died shortly, and then returned to her first husband.

(10) The child who is bought.

(11) The child who offered himself as such.

(12) The child of a slave-woman of low birth, accepted as such.

Of these the first six alone are entitled to inherit the property of their father, but the last six are not regarded as heirs (cf. Manu IX. 158).

The Suvarnabhumi and Suvarnadvipa

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ONE of the most obscure and confusing problems of Indian historical geography concerns the Suvarnabhumi or 'the Gold Country' and the Suvarnadvipa or 'the Gold Island'. The Ramayana[1] refers to the Suvarnadvipa as well as the Yavadvipa in the course of the description of the islands and cities beyond the seas which the monkeys had to visit in order to search for Sita. The salt ocean is first referred to, and beyond it, the Yava, Suvarna and Rupaka Dvipas, and beyond them in succession on the Sisira mount, the Lohita or Red Ocean, the land of Kutasalmali or silk cotton tree, the Milk Ocean, the 'Rishabha Mount', and the Fresh-water Ocean with the submarine fire, the Udayagari Mountain, the Sudarsana-loka and the Devaloka. It is believed that Yavadvipa refers to Sumatra or Java, the Suvarnadvipa to Burma and Malaya, and the other lands to the volcanic regions in Malacca and the Archipelago. The Jataka literature[2] also refers to the Suvarnadvipa occasionally. The Sassondi Jataka refers to the voyage from Barukaccha to the Golden Land. The Sarikha Jataka says that a Brahman, of Benares, who exhausted his wealth on account of charities set sail in the high seas for the Suvarnabhumi. The *Kathasaritsdgara* has several passages indicating Indian acquaintance with it. In one of these,[3] caravans are said to have proceeded to it by sea as well as land, and the town of Kaiichanapura was an emporium in it. In another[4] it is described as a place lying on the sea-route from Kataha, an island market for jewels, to Tamralipta (in Bengal). In a third passage,[5] Suvarnadvipa is mentioned in an itinerary which names Jalapura (in Eastern coast of India?),

1. The Kishkindha-kanda, Chapter 50. It may be pointed out that the Kosakara land referred to in the passage has been identified by some with China. The Janadvlpa and Jaladvlpa referred to in some readings are apparently misreadings for Javadvlpa. See Gorrosio's edition.

2. Jataka Nos. 360 and 442 *in* Cambridge edition, Vol. VI. There are also several passages of a general character in the Jataka tales referring to sea-voyages.

3. Chap. 57 in Tawney's Trans., Calcutta, 1884, Vol. II, pp. 5 *et seqq.*

4. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 87, 92, etc.; and Vol. II, pp. 44 and 598.

5. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 551-2.

Narikela Island (Nikobars), Kataha Island,[6] Karpur Island,[7] Suvarnadvipa and Simhala.[8] Again, the king of Suvarnadvipa is said to have been the brother-in-law of the king of Kataha, indicating them to be chiefs near each other.[0] Further, a city of Suvarnadvlpa is said to have been Kalasapura[10] identified with Kelasa near Bilin in the Shwegyin district on the Peguan coast, near which is a temple called Kelasa *(Kelasabha-pabbata-chetiya)* of the Kalyani inscriptions[11] of Dhammacheti (A.D. 1476). The capital Golamattikanagara was to the north-west of the temple, and it has been suggested that it *might* be the same place or another a little farther than the Kelasa Peak.

These and other references of later times indicate that Suvarnabhumi and Suvarnadvipa were lands with which the ancient Indians were closely acquainted. Some scholars have identified 'the gold country' with the *Ophir* of the Hebrew Texts, and taken it to be, in consequence of its figuring in connection with the acknowledged products of India, 'at first sight somewhere on the Indian coast.'[12] None denies that India was from time immemorial a gold-producing country and that gold could have been an article of traffic. But then India has always imported this precious metal, and never exported it. It is quite possible to imagine, however, that the abundance of the metal in India gave her that name. It is in consequence of this that scholars identified the Hebrew Ophir with some place or other in India. Lassen,[13] for example, identified it with the *Abhtra* country, and T. Benfey[14] with Suppara, Sopara, Surparaka (or Surat), in the same region. Some bring it further down to the Malabar coast[15] on the ground that in Wynaad and other

6. Kataha has been identified with various regions,—Burma, Sumatra, Malaya, *etc.* The question is discussed elsewhere.

7. Either the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, or West Sumatra, or West Borneo.

8. Ceylon. See Rawlinson's 'India and the Western World,' pp. 147-51 for a summary of the notices of the island by Western writers.

9. Tawney, II, p. 599.

10. Ibid, I, 530. Gerini's *Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia* (1909), pp. 568 ff.

11. Ibid, p. 569. In the *Ind. Antiquary,* 1893, pp. 29, 85, etc., the Kalyani inscriptions are noticed by Taw Sein-Ko. A Nepalese Ms. of the 11th century to which Foucher refers in his *Iconographie Bouddhique de VInde* (Paris, 1900) mentions Kalasavarapura.

12. Rawlinson: 'India and the Western World' (1916), p. 11. *Sophir* is a term applied in Coptic to Southern India.

13. *Indische Altharthumskunde,* I, 538.

14. In the article *Indien in* Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopaedia, cited by Rawlinson.

15. Sewell: 'Antiquities' (1882), p. 240.

places in South India gold has always been available. But the argument that India has always received gold in return for her goods is really strong, and the view that the gold country was outside India and that voyages or journeys to it were common is found in all periods of Indian literature.

But as amongst the scholars who locate the gold country outside India there is considerable difference of opinion. These views can be divided into two broad types, those that place it in the West, that is, beyond the Arabian Sea, and those that place it either in the Eastern Sea (that is, the Bay of Bengal) or beyond it. Among the former some locate it in the East coast of Africa, at some place or other from Madagascar to Somaliland.[10] Others identify it with some place in the coast of Arabia or the Persian Gulf. Rawlinson, for example, observes that " it is much more probable that Ophir was an *entrepot* on the shores of Arabia, where Indian and Phenecian alike brought their wares and bartered them. . . . . .Ophir was probably at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, on the coast Oman. Hither came for export the gold from the rich fields of southern Arabia which has made Ophir famous."[17]

Whatever might have been the case with regard to the Hebrew Ophir, it is certain that from the time of Alexander onward the gold country known as either Khyrse or the Khersonese, was taken to lie to the east of India art' not the west. Classical writers, Indian traditionists, Chinese and Malayan writers, Burmese chroniclers, and Muslim travellers and recorders, have all been practically unanimous in representing it as an eastern land or island, though owing to their indefiniteness a veritable mass of conflicting and perplexing literature of controversy has arisen in connection with its exact identity. It is not possible to enter into the pros and cons of every theory which has been advanced on the subject; but it is necessary to make a brief mention of each in order to understand the significance of the subject.

First of these is the identification of ' the gold country' with the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Yule, for example, observes : " It would be difficult to define where Ptolemy's Chryse (Chryse Chora aut Chryse Chersonnesus) terminated eastward, though he appears to give the names a special application to what we call Burma and Pegu. . . . . .Chryse

16. Later writers like Edrisi refer to the trade between Zabej (Sumatra) and Zanjibar (Zanzibar or Ariguya) and Sufala. Madagascar has been ethnically and linguistically also connected with the East Indies and Malaya. See Gerini, pp. 570-*X.*

17. Rawlinson: 'India and the Western World,' p. 12.

then, in the vague apprehension of the ancients. . . . . was the region coasted between India and China. It is most correctly rendered by *Indo-China."*[18] This identification is nowadays believed to be too vague.

A second view has been to take it as Burma, the Ramanfia-desa and the Suvarnabhumi of Buddhistic traditions.[1!>] We shall see presently that there is ample justification for this, though the exact relation between Burma and the Malay Peninsula in regard to the question was not properly understood till recently.

A third view is in favour of its identification with Sumatra, the historical geography of which is a bugbear to the historian of Greater India. No part of the ancient world in the East has given rise to greater speculation than Sumatra. It is not denied that the Island was rich in gold. It is also certain that the Sri Bhoja empire which existed in it in the early middle ages and which was opulent, is distinctly described as rich in gold. But one objection there is against the identification of the island proper with the Golden Khersonese. The *Kathdsaritsdgara*[2i)] records the traditions of caravans reaching the Suvarnadvipa both by land and sea, which would seem to indicate that it was a peninsula rather than an island. The Arab writers do indeed speak of *Zabej* (Sri Bhoja) or Sumatra as *Serendib* (Suvarnadvipa), but this was due to a shady knowledge of the exact topography of the island. In any case, Sumatra under the Sri Bhojas included the Malay Peninsula as well, and the early Arab writers did not often distinguish the two.

Another identification of the Island of Gold is with the Andamans[2'] which were not distinguished by the early writers from the Nicobars. The Arab and Chinese writers of the 13th century and the early European writers (like Nicolo Conti and Dr. Geriri) have made this mistake. They refer to the search for this island of El Dorado even by the men of the king of Malabar in the 13th century. This only indicates the mystery which came to surround the island even in those days.

The most commonly accepted view at present is that the Suvarnabhumi and Suvarndvipa were entirely different regions and that the former is Pegu or the hinterland of Lower Burma and the latter the Malay Peninsula. By the time of Ptolemy (A.D. 150) this distinctness

18. Quoted in Gerini, p. 65, footnote.

19. *Ind. Antiq,* 1893, pp. 13 and 16 ; Beal's Bud. Rec, of the W. World, Index, p. 362.

20. See note 3 above.

21. All evidences in connection with the historical geography of the Andamans and Nikobars are given and elaboratively reviewed in Gerini, pp. 379-427 ; ibid, pp. 29, 38, 72, 640 and 700.

is patent in the two forms of the Gold Khryse Khora and the Gold Khersonese. We do not exactly know whether Megasthenes knew and mentioned Khryse, but as Pliny mentions it in the passages he has taken from the *Indica,* it is probable that the ambassador of the Mauryan court was aware of it, and made mention of it (for the first time). In any case Eratosthenes,[22] Dionysius, Perigetes, and Pomponius Mela (about A.D. 42) refer to the Khryse or Gold Land as well as Argyre the Silver Country. Pomponius Mela says that the Khryse Island was near Tabis Promontorium which has been suggested to be the southern headland of the Malay Peninsula. Pliny (A.D. 77) gives a fuller account of the two islands. He says that that they were beyond the mouth of the Indus *(sic)* and rich in metals though he could not believe what was asserted by some writers, namely, that their soil was impregnated with gold and silver. The author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 89) speaks of Khryse and not of Argyre, but he refers to the former in a double form both as the Indo-Chinese mainland and as an island. He says that, for voyages from the West coast of India and further to the Ganges and Khryse, large vessels were employed, and that then they reached the Ganges and the extremity of the continent towards the east called Khryse. He then observes that it was ar. island of the ocean near the Ganges and lay directly under the rising sun and at the extremity of the world towards the east. He adds that the finest tortoise-shell was found there in all the Erythraean Sea. Then comes Marinos of Tyre and Ptolemy who speak of the Golden Khersonese as distinct from Khryse.

The identity of Suvarnabhumi with Lower Burma is universally accepted as the evidences are quite clear on the point.

We understand from some of the later records[23] of Pegu that Suvarnabhumi or Ramannadesa comprised the three provinces of (1) Kusumamandala by which name Bassein or the hinterland of Lower Burma was

22. A reliable Alexandrian writer who lived in the time of Selucus Nicator (B.C. 300, *circa)* and on whom Strabo depended in the main later on. For a summary of Eratosthenes, based on Strabo, see Rawlinson, p. 93. Dionysius was the ambassador of Ptolemy Philadelphus to Bindusara. His geographical account was written a little earlier than that of Eratosthenes. It was considered by Strabo to be superior to that of Megasthenes. Pomponius Mela, a contemporary of Emperor Claudius and the author of the *De situ orbid libri III.* was the only noteworthy classical geographer before Pliny. His work was first translated from Latin by Arthur Golding in 1585. The latest authoritative translation is by Philipp (1912). Marinos of Tyre wrote a little before Ptolemy on the basis of a traveller named Alexander, and Ptolemy was much indebted to him.

23. Kalyani Inscrns. of King Dhammacheti, Pegu, A.D. 1476. See *Tawn Sein Ko's* paper in the *Ind. Antiq.* 1893.

known ; (2) the Hamsavati-man4ala or Pegu proper ; and (3) Muttima mandala or Martaban, the maritime region between Cape Negrais and the mouth of the Salwin. Gerini identifies the Suvarnabhumi Khryse with the first of these regions alone.[24] He points out that it was the land of gold where the Ramayana locates the city of Timira, the Sonaparanta of literature being the area between the Lower Iravati and the Chindwin. Both the hinterland (Khryse Khora) and the country of the Zamirai or Dabasai in Upper Burma were in those days rich in gold mines.

According to the Burmese chronicles, the history of Burma is divisible into four periods,[25] the two earlier periods (down to B.C. 483) when Tagaung and old Pagan on the Upper Iravati were the capitals, and the later two periods (483 B.C.—84 A.D. and from 84 A.D. to 1279 A.D.) when Prome or Sri Kshetra and New Pagan were respectively the capitals. The chronicles are inaccurate in their chronology and their ethnology. They ignore, for example, the part played by the Mongolian and Mon-Khmer races ; but they are quite correct in tracing all Burmese culture, religion and creed to India. It is clear from them that there were two types of Indian culture introduced into Burma. While the Burmese and the Shans of the Upper Iravati received their culture from North India, the land of the Aryas, and by land, the Mon Talaings (and the Arakanese) got it from South India, the land of the Aryo-Dravidians, and by the sea. " In the former case a ruler came with followers to establish a dominion; the aborigines were subjected and a name for the united tribes adopted, which included the conquerors, and in time became permanent and national. In the south the original settlers were traders. Though they probably came to the coast with no other object, yet gradually they converted and civilized the savage tribes around them. They became rulers ; but there was an absence of original purpose of consolidation, and the native name of the race they found or some designation other than their own, has been continued in the language of the people ——In the north the physical difficulty of the intervening country prevented continuous communication with the fatherland, and the fall of Buddhism in Gangetic India severed religious connection between the

24. *'Ptolemy's* Geography,' p. 65.

25. Phayre's 'Hist, of Burma.' See also G. E. Harvey's 'Hist, of Burma' (1925), chap. I, pp. 3ff. He divides the races of Burma in the 7th century A.D. into (a) the Talaings of the south, (b) the Arakanese, (c) the Pyu and allied tribes of the centre, and (d) the Shans surrounding the above three. See Map on p. 20. The former two belonged to the Indonesian Mon-Khmer stock, and the latter two to the Mongolian stock from Eastern Tibet. The Pyu are now extinct, and believed to be the chief ingredient in 'what afterwards became the Burmese.'

two regions. With Southern India and Pegu, on the other hand, constant intercourse was maintained by sea." For this reason the history of Burma is essentially the history of the struggle between the Tibeto-Burmese of the Higher Iravati and the Monkhmer or the Talaings of the Lower Iravati, the latter of which, unlike the former, was primarily subject to colonisation on a large scale from South India.

It is certain that Ptolemy's Khryse was the same as Old Prome or 6ri Kshetra,[26] founded according to Burmese traditions about B.C. 483. The dynasty ruling over it lasted till about A.D. 95 when the last king fled to the bends of the Ma-htun (Mathura ?) River and founded a city called Meng-dun or Bhumavati which he subsequently gave up for Lower Pagan about A.D. 108. The city of Mareura Metropolis which Ptolemy mentions in this region is apparently either Old Prome or Meng-dun (Bhumavati). The apparent discrepancies in the names " disappear as soon as it can be demonstrated that Mareura Metropolis means the Maurya's or Mayura's capital." The dynasty which reigned at Old Pagan claimed descent from the Maurya or Mayura monarchy of Magadha. It " settled first at a place east of the Iravati, which it named Maurya, situated in about long, 96° 35', lat. 23° 55', between Tagong and Bhamo. The northern part of the Kubo valley, in the Upper Chindwin district, which is the direct route from Manipur towards Burma by which the founders of that dynasty must have arrived, is likewise, according to Sir A. Phayre, called Maurya ; and is referred to as a district under the name of Mweyin, its Burmese equivalent, in the Po-U-Daung ' Inscriptions.' Every subsequent dynasty that reigned in Burma claimed descent from the Mauryas or Mayuras through the princes who founded Tagong and Old Pagan; hence the Burmese kings placed the peacock (Mayura) on their coat of arms, and this bird became the national emblem of the country Burma. It appears, therefore, natural that Old Prome, being founded by a scion of those princes who, only some fifty years before, had settled at and given their name to Maurya, should be called the Mauryas' or Mayuras' capital, which Ptolemy recorded as *Mareura." (Ptolemy's Geography,* pp. 66-7). Gerini concedes that the objection may be raised against this identification of Mareura with Old Prome, the capital of ' the Mayura kings ' of Burma, on the ground that it was given up in 95 A.D. and superseded by Mengdun or Lower Pagan in A.D. 100 and 108 respectively ; but he points out that, on account of the difficulty of obtaining information in those days of difficult communication, the change to the other two places might not have been known to Ptolemy.

26. She Sirikhettarama. For the topographical history of the place in **early** times see Ind. Antiq. 1893, p. 6.

The latter might, he says, " at best have received intelligence of the removal of the capital to the neighbouring Mengdun on the Mahtun River, which would explain the alternative name *Malthura* (Mathura ?), which Ptolemy gives as a later addition." Gerini also suggests that Mareura was connected with Maramma'-[7] or Mranma, the name of Burma and its people. He dismisses Phayre's derivation of Burma from *Brahma* as untenable, and believes that *Mra* must have been the original name of the Burmese race indicating a Mon-Khmer affinity. The Mon or Talaing country of Ramanna or Suvarnabhumi extended along the coast from Cape Temala (or Negrais) to the Mergui Peninsula, the Berabai[28] of Ptolemy. This maritime region, says Ptolemy, was inhabited by the cannibalic ' Besyngeitai' and the dog-eating people of ' the Sarabaric, Gulf of Martaban. The name *Sarabaric* has been traced to *Saravari, Sarvdri,* and *Sarasvati* as the Salwln to *Saravarin* and *Sallavarin.* The inhabitants were called dog-eaters because they were ' Rakshasas \ The chronicles of Martaban show that, before it was founded in A.D. 576, it had been the seat of forests. The head-hunters who now live up the Salwin might have been Negritos like the present Andamanese.

Another interesting name of a place given by Ptolemy in this region is the mart of Sabara.[29] This place has been located a little to the westward of the Rangun River. Here was situated the ancient city and State of Utkalapa (Pali Ukkalaba), the capital of a Talaing kingdom which included the delta of the Iravati. Sabara was apparently on the site of the modern Twante, which is very near the site of ancient Utkalapa. Near Twsinte is a place called Khabeng which has been traced to ' Kappunga-nagara ', and the king of which built, according to tradition, the well-known Shwe-tshandaw pagoda on the neighbouring Meruda Hill Sabara probably came to be so called, surmises Gerini, because of the early settlement in this region by ' the Sabaras ' or wild tribes of the Kolarian stock from the opposite shores of Utkala (Orissa), a circumstance which would have also led to the formation of an Utkalapa in this region besides the well-known linguistic affinities between Kolarian and Mon (Talaing). The *Chu-po-* or *Shu-po* of the Chinese writers

27. The old belief that *Burma* was derived from *Brahma* or Ramanna and therefore of Indian origin is not nowadays so popular. The word has been derived from the Mon *Maramma* or *Mranma.* A Cham inscrn. of 1207 calls the Burmese *Maral* or *Marat Man.* The Lao Shans call them even now Mans or Maras. The Burmese pronunciation of Mranma is Myanma, Byanma, and Bamma. A variety of it was *Mien.* See Gerini, pp. 68-9 ; Harvey, p. 3, footnote I.

28. Gerini, pp. 70ff.

29. Ibid, pp. 72ff.

evidently referred to the same kingdom or people, and it was further corrupted into *Piao kuo* or kingdom of the P'iao (Pyu), from which the name *Pegu* was eventually evolved. " Even admitting with Mr. E. H. Parker that *P'iao* designates the *Phyu,* a tribe said by the local tradition to have settled since 484 B.C. in the country of which Old Prome was the capital and elsewhere identified by me with the *Pru, Bru* or *Brao* branch of the Mon Khmer race, the term *Paio-kuo* would still apply to Lower Burma, the region which, from its having formed part of the ancient Trikalinga empire, early became known as the Talaing (Tri-linga, Telinga), changed afterwards into Pegu kingdom, while its people, Mon Khmer by blood, were thereby designated *Talaings* and *Peguans* as they were called *Mon* or *Man,* and *Raman (Rdmanna desa)* from Ramanna-desa, the name applied later on to their country or the part of it which skirted the Gulf of Martaban." Again : " Once the fact established that *P'iao* embraced in the early days the region at present known as Lower Burma, it is not illogical to infer that the whole or part of this region was originally occupied by a people probably of Kolarian race, identical or nearly so, with the Sabaras or Savaras of Orissa, and whose name was rendered by the Chinese.... either *Chu-po* or *Shu-po.* This people, driven towards the Gulf in about 484 B.C. by the Phyu advancing from Kale and Prome, may have founded near its shores a settlement named after them, which is very likely the one recorded by Ptolemy as Sahara. "[30] Harvey, again it may be pointed out, observes that " Ussa the old name for Pegu, is the same word as Orissa, and Pegu was colonised from Orissa." *(Hist, of Burma,* p. 6).

The P'iao (Pegu) kingdom had dealings with China as early as the 3rd century A.D. It was conquered by Nan-chao (Yunnan) in 755-7, and once again in 832, or 781 according to the Talaing chronicles. The country was divided into petty principalities often subject to the Shan (Thai) rule till it was conquered by the Burmese king Anavrata in 1057. During the period of the Shan supremacy, which extended over most part of North Indo-China, the king of Piao occasionally sent embassies to the Chinese emperor apparently with the approval of his suzerains. From 1057 to 1281, the country remained under Burmese power, when Wareru, king of Martaban, declared independence. His descendants, however, eventually succumbed to the Thai race which overwhelmed the whole of Burma, Upper and Lower.[31]

Another place of commercial importance in this region (referred to by Ptolemy) is the town of Besynga on the Besynga[32] River. The latter

30. Ptolemy's *Geography,* p. 75.
31. Ibid., p. 74.
32. Ibid., pp. 75-7.

has been identified with the Rangun River (Iravati) or its eastern branch known as the Hlaing. The name *Besynga* has been connected by some scholars with Bassein ;[M] but it is traced by Gerini to Srihga or Siriguttara Hill of Rangun though it is often difficult to distinguish the topography of the Salwin region from that of the Iravati in the accounts of the early writers. The ancient *Singuttaracheti* of Rangoon, which has eventually developed into the Shwe Dagon pagoda, and other places in Rangun owe their importance to the domination of the hill; and the latter was, for this reason, probably known by such name as *Vara-Srhga,* the splendid peak, from which Ptolemy's Besynga apparently derived its name.

One of the most interesting places in the Suvarnabhumi was Golamattikanagara,[34] identified with Ayathima in the Mergui Peninsula and with Kunlun of the Chinese records, and Ptolemy's Taikkula on the coast of Pegu. The term Gola is regarded by Prof. Forchhammer as the Pali form of Gauda, and he attributes a North Bengal origin to the place ; but Gerini suggests that *Gola* is a corruption of *guld* or *kula,* a term applicable to the ' dark people of Malabar and Coromandel', and that it was " a foundation of these Kolas or Cholas from Southern India who had established colonies all over the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, as well as a very powerful kingdom at Palembang in Sumatra which exercised a nominal suzerainty over them all." This region of Golamattikanagara had incessant wars with the Nanchao kingdom in Yunan in the 9th century A.D. Once the Nanchao[3r'] forces advanced in the Kunlun country and were drowned in a stream cut off by the enemy. The survivors are said to have been deprived of their right hand at the wrist before they were sent back to their country. In 885 the Kunlun kingdom sent a very handsome girl to the Nanchao king showing that they were now friends. Again, in 1103 the three kingdoms of Mien (Burma), Po-sz (a neighbour of Burma on the west), and K'un lun offered white elephants and perfumes to the king of Nan-Chao. The perfumes here alluded to included a large portion of costus, the best of which came from K'un lun according to Chinese writers. The Taikkula, or Golamattika or 'Ayethema' on the coast of Pegu has multifarious waterways ; and the cutting of the dams across them and their bores and tidal waves, was a common strategical device in war.

33. Rawlinson, p. 132.

34. Golamattikanagara is mentioned in the Kalyani inscriptions (Taw Sein ko, p. 6) and as having been so called because it originally contained many mud and wattle houses, resembling those of the 'Gola people'.

35. Gerini, p. 819.

It has been already mentioned that the Golden Khersonese has been identified with the Malay Peninsula. Gerini points out that the southern end of the Peninsula was not properly formed in Ptolemy's time. He notes the interesting fact that the traditions refer to the voyage of ships across the Peninsula when the land had not yet been formed there by the obstruction of sands ; and this peninsular formation took place, he suggests, about the middle of the first century A.D. Gerini further identifies the Malay Peninsula with Salmalidvipa of the Puranas, the Puranic *Sura* Sea bounding it on the west side being another name for the *Lohita* Sea of the Ramayana, the *Shelaheth* of the Arab geographers, and the present *Selat* of the Malays. The term *Selat* or ' Sea of the Straits ' is used in slightly different forms by the later Portuguese writers and denotes the sea to the south in Malay. The term *Salmall* must have been applied to the place on account of the abundance of the silk cotton tree (Salmali or *Bombax malabaricum)* in its low coastal jungles. But it is more probably, in Gerini's view, a corruption of *Suvarnamdli-giri,* if we are to believe the Siamese legend that the Buddha left his footprints on that shining mount; for Suvarnamali-giri is located by him in Tenasserim which he identifies with the Kuta Salmall on which the Ramayana places the abode of Vainateya or Garuda. The term *Malaiyadvipa* mentioned in Pegu records, was an alternative name of later times to Salmall and Suvarnamalidvipa and, Gerini suggests, was probably introduced ' from the Malaya district of South India and Ceylon by the dark Negritos or descendants of the Rakshasas and their Dravidian successors' who colonised Indo-China and Malaya on account of Aryan aggression. Ptolemy, it is obvious, was very hazy in regard to the terminus of the Malay Peninsula. He shortened it by one-third, and gave it a rounded shape, making some rivers rising in unnamed mountain-ridges to the north of it unite and flow through the Peninsula, and detaching in succession the three streams which he calls Attabas, Khrysoanas and Palandas. Ptolemy's commentators carried much confusion into the subject on account of their failure to understand this haziness on the part of Ptolemy about the local orography and hydrography.

The first city with which Ptolemy begins his description of the Golden Khersonese is Berabai. It was a place situated on Cape Berabai (Boyce's Point), which is much more to the north of the region with which Ptolemy believes that the Golden Khersonese began. This inaccuracy is due to the fact that he did not sufficiently allow for the northward extent of the upper part of the Gulf of Siam (Lestai). Berabai and the Cape beyond it which, according to Ptolemy, were included in the Golden Khersonese are for this reason, further north. Berabai has been identified with Mergui, both on geographical and philological

grounds. Mergui is a very ancient town figuring in history in much earlier times than Tenasserim, of which it became eventually the chief sea-port. Captain J. Butler, the author of the *Gazetteer* of the Mergui district, traces its name to the word *Myat* or border ; but Gerini believes that the more correct derivation is probably from the Siamese name *Marit,* which in his view represents the Sanskrit *mrtsa* or *mrttika,* and the Pali *Mattika,* or earth. " There is not the slightest doubt as to this being the correct derivation of the name for Mergui; but I shall go a step further, and suggest that the above is but its abridged form, and that it should be identified with the seaport *Rakta-mrttika* (red earth) mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription found in the northern part of Province Wellesley, and translated by Dr. Kern,[3n] who fixes its date at about A.D. 400. The eminent scholar was inclined to recognise in that name the port called *Ch'ih-t'u* by the Chinese, which name also means *Red earth,* and is generally taken to denote Siam, or some ancient harbour on the Siamese coast. I do not contest this view, but as there are several places named in the same manner, both in the Gulf of Siam and the Malay Peninsula among which I might mention *Tanahmerah* (the Malay name for red-earth), a point on the West coast of the Peninsula a little to the north of Koh or Pulo Lantar—I hold on to my identification of *Rakta-mrttikri* with Mergui, also because of the latter being situated on the same side of the peninsula as Province Wellesley, where the inscription was found, and not very far from it. There is, moreover, evidence of other places on the same coast having names of which the word *mrttika* or its pali equivalent forms part. As an instance I might point out *Gola-mattika-nagara* (the present Ayethema), mentioned in the Kalyani inscriptions[37] of Pegu as having been so called because it contained ' many mud and wattle houses resembling those of the Gola people.' All evidence, including the red appearance of the soil, seems, therefore, to be in favour of Mergui; hence I take the latter to be the ancient and famous harbour of *Raktamrttikd,* or, at least, Mrttika, the origin of its present name, *Mrit* or *Marity*™ The island of the Mergui Archipelago opposite to Mergui is known as *Pa-ree-kywon,*™ that is, *Pari* island. This name, Gerini thinks, must have arisen out of the Sanskrit name *Pari-abhaya* or *Paryabhaya,* the vulgar *Parabhaya,* corrupted into Berabai. Even independently of the name of the island Pari, he explains Ptolemy's term as *Parabhaya,* that is, the place ' on the

36. 'Essays Relating to Indo-China', I, pp. 224-5, 234.
37. Taw Sein Ko's Edition, p. 6.
38. Ptolemy's *Geography,* p. 83.
39. 'British Burma Gazr.', II, p. 477.

other side' to which ships could go for safety from the opposite coast of India or the Mergui Archipelago itself. Gerini also suggests that *Vard-bhaya* of *Bardbhaya* might be another plausible original form, and he sees conformation of it in the Varavari kingdom referred to as a tributory State of Siam in the Palatine Law Code of Ayuthia (A.D. 1360), and the *Pa-lo-'pei* kingdom which sent tribute in the form of precious articles in 1274 to China. The Puranic *Paribhadra* in &almalidvipa probably indicates the same. The *European* name of Mergui (in its numerous corrupted forms) has been traced by Gerini to the town of Mirgira or Mergi found on the opposite coast of the Peninsula in the 16th century. The main line of communication between Mergui and that coast, he points out, was suitable for bullock carts till the end of the 19th century.

The next place mentioned by Ptolemy is Takola beyond Cape Berabai. There are several places of this name along the West coast of the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. One is near the present Ayetthema in the Sittong Sub-division of Shwegyin district. This was the Gola-mattika-nagara of the Kalyani inscriptions and the Tagalla of Portuguese maps, to which reference has been already made. A second Tagala is in Tavoy district, referred to by Barros as a seaport in Malay Peninsula. This place has been identified with Thagara-myo (Sagara ?), built in 751 A.D. by the Talaings on the West bank of the Tavoy river, 19 miles off the present town of Tavoy. There is a third *Tagal* on North coast of Java. But Ptolemy's Takola is more plausibly identified with the harbour of Takopa in the Pak-chan inlet near the Kra Isthmus. The whole of the West coast of the Malay Peninsula south of that Isthmus, in fact, is called Takola in Siamese and other early records. *Takua* means a black metal like lead or tin, and derived from South Indian terms like *kdla*[40] and *kola* used to denote those metals. Even to-day the tin works of the Peninsula are well known in the forms of *Kdlin, Kalien,* etc., and the Arabs use the term alkali or *alkalli* to denote the same. The town of Kollam is known in some late French records[41] as Plumbum, and Gerini notes a possible reference in this to a kind of plumbago or lead. Ptolemy's Takola, therefore, he concludes, signifies a mart and a district rich in tin, and most appropriately appli-

40. *Kdla is* the Sanskrit term for tin or lead. It was apparently the source of the Malayan name for the tin ore, the *galena* of the West, and the *lien* of the Chinese.

41. Gerini quotes from De Backer's *L'Extreme Orient an Moyen-Age,* p. 99, in connection with 'the French relation of Oderic of Friuli.' See Ptolemy's Geography, p. 88, text and footnote.

cable to the Malay Peninsula which has been famous for tin-mining throughout history. It was further the same as Abu Zaid's *Kalah-bar*- or the peninsula of *Kalah* midway between Arabia and China and forming the centre of the trade for aloes, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, alkali (tin), ebony.[42] Abu Zaid says that Kalah was in his time a dependency of the kingdom of Zabedi (Malay Archipelago) ; and this indicates a possible allegiance to Palembang in Sumatra where the Sri Bhojas had their empire. Takola has also been connected with the Malabar *Kolavara* from which the Arab *Kalah-bdr* was derived. The region of Kalah-bar has been located by some (e.g., Walckenaer) in Kedah (a principality in the north-west corner of the Malay Peninsula), but Gerini places it further north, and further suggests that Kalah-bar denoted the whole of the West coast of Malay Peninsula, between the mouth of the Sal win and Junkceylon Island and extending up to the Gulf of Martaban which is identified by him with the Kalodaka Sea of the Ramayana, next to which lay the Lohita Sea (bounding the West coast of Salmali). On all these grounds Takola is located in the neighbourhood of the present Ranong at the mouth of the Pak-chan inlet which had a splendid harbour in those days, which was the terminus of a land route across the Kra Isthmus, rich in tin traffic. Even before Ptolemy's time it had become a great emporium ; for the *Milinda-Panhd* (VI. 21) refers to shipowners traversing the high seas and going to Vanga, Takola, China, Sovira (Surat), Suvarnbhumi, etc., Rhys Davis[43] identified Takola with some 'Karkota' on the coast of India, but Gerini infers from the very order of the seaports that it was Takola in Malaya. It is clear from the same passage that Suvarnabhumi was further north in the coast of Pegu. The *Pall* word *Kakkola,* a plant producing a perfume, has been philologically connected with Takola, but as has been already said, the more probable view is that it was derived from the place named Takkala, the ancient name of the Takopa district. The important seaport of Takola which was thus well known even before the Christian era is referred to in later Chinese records ; and it is inferred from them that embassies from China to India did not traverse the southern end of the Peninsula but went in small skiffs or overland to Chumphon, and thence across the Kra Isthmus to the mouth of the Pak-chan, to embark at the famous port of Takola on its journey to India. " This is no doubt the usual route that was anciently followed by a great part of the trade between India and the Gulf of Siam, in order to avoid the difficulty and dangers of a long sea-navigation through the Straits. The Kra Isthmus was the most northern point of the

42. Reinaud, I, pp. 17, 93 and 94.
43. See Preface to his edition of the work, p. xliii.

Malay Peninsula at which the latter could be most easily and speedily crossed; hence it was chosen as the point of transit and shipment of merchandise from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Siam, and *vice versa;* and the two harbours which formed the termini of the navigation on both sides, as well as the overland route that connected them, must have in consequence acquired great importance. And they must have retained their prominence for a long period until the advent of the Portuguese, and the introduction of more improved methods of navigation. But notwithstanding all this, we find trade routes across the Malay Peninsula at the Kra Isthmus, and further north at Mergui, much frequented up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The causes that contributed to their being abandoned after that date were, in the first place, the stoppage of trade brought on by the continuous Siamo-Burmese wars that raged up to the beginning of the present century, having mostly for theatre the northern part of the peninsula ; and secondly, the final absorption into the British dominions and loss to Siam of the province of Tenasserim, which severed the bonds between the two latter countries, and prevented any continuance of the former intercourse between them being renewed."[44] The Papra Strait means the strait ' or mouth of the saint', and is suggested to have risen out of some legend of the Buddha or a statue of his having passed through it.[45]

Another place mentioned by Ptolemy is Kokkonagara. This has been identified with Kakadvipa referred to in the *Mahavamsa* in the account of a Ceylonese expedition against Pegu in A.D. 1180. Gerini places it to the south-east of Korbie Bay, just opposite Pulo Lantar, and suggests that it was the same as Khlong Kasei (Kasai), Cassai, or Prakasai. *Korbie* stands for the Sanskrit Kapi (and the Siamese Kabi) or monkey. Apparently Korbie, which had a good harbour for ships and whence there was easy track to the opposite coast of the Peninsula, was known as the Monkey-city probably on account of the settlement of a branch of the aboriginal Vanaras from the opposite coast of India, or in *some* way connected with the monkeys in legends. The names *Guru, Kora,* etc., are corruptions of the Sanskrit *Nagara.* Kokkonagara was thus apparently an early colony of India. Ancient remains of the place show this. One of the local historical relics is a brass statue of the Buddha discovered about 1855. It bore on its back a plate with a *chakra* and the inscription *Ye dhamma* in North Indian Pali of the third century. Ptolemy's Kokko might represent the Sanskrit kaka (or crow),

44. Ptolemy's *Geography,* p. 94.
45. Ibid.

koka (a goose, cuckoo or the date-tree), or kukkura (dog). An impression of a dog's foot has been found in Junkceylon Island, and the dog was probably an object of worship amongst the local peoples. Apparently. Kokkonagara was so called because of its colonisation by Indians connected with *kdka, koka* or *kukkura,* and it might indeed be that they were connected with the Kukkuras of the Epics.

Next to Kokkonagara Ptolemy mentions the Khrysonas River. It might be the Lungu or Trang River, but there are many other watercourses with similar names.

A place mentioned by Ptolemy among the inland towns of the Golden Khersonese is Palanda. This has been identified with the ancient capital of Perak. It has been suggested that, if the name is of Sanskrit origin, it might stand for *Palandu* (onion) ,[40] or for *Pralambha* (tin). A linguistic connection has also been traced between *Perak* and *Palandos* (Palanda). It was situated on the upper part of the Perak river, somewhere about Kwala Kangsa, the present seat of the government of the district. " The territory of Perak was, in former times, undoubtedly more extensive than at present, and probably stretched as far as Kedah, embracing the whole of the present Province Wellesley. Ancient remains as well as Pali and Sanskrit inscriptions were found in the latter, which attest the existence, at a very early period, of Indu settlements along its coast. The *simd* slab, inscribed with the *Ye dharma* stanza and a few additional lines recording its erection by ' the great shipowner Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamrttika '—already mentioned in the paragraph devoted to Berabai as having been assigned a date not later than the fourth century—was found in the northern part of the province ; while seven Pali inscriptions on a granite rock and monograms on bricks were discovered by Captain Low near the centre of the province at Tokun, in about lat. 5° 27', or almost directly east of Pinang town. An inscribed slate stone was found yet lower down, near Bukit Mertajam, in about lat. 5° 23'. Though I am not aware of any equally ancient remains having been discovered as yet in the present district of Perak proper, I have not the slightest doubt that some important settlement existed here from a very early period, corresponding to Ptolemy's Palanda." Again, " according to the *Malay Annals,* Perak, or part of it, was formerly called *Manjong* and was an ancient and great country,

46. The place of *Pdl&ndu* or onion *(Allium capa)* and garlic in the early commercial history of India is dealt with in my ' Economic Ideas, Institutions and Reconstructions in Vedic Times' (Sir S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Lecture, Madras University) and Mercantile Activities of South India from the Earliest Times to the 14th century' (Sankara-Parvati Lecture, Madras University), to be published shortly.

that gave Achin its first king. One of its chief cities was Gahga-nagara, situated on a steep hill, with a fort on the bank of the Dinding River. This city was taken by Raja Suran of Bijnagar in about 1030-1050 A.D." (Leyden's *Malay Annals*, p. 9).

The town Tharrha, mentioned by Ptolemy a little to the east of Palanda, has been identified with Trengan or Tringano, from which the district east of Perak has been named. The name has been traced to the Sanskrit *Taranga* or wave, or *Tarangini,* a river. The appropriateness of this derivation has been maintained on the ground that this name could well have applied to the stream flowing through the present Trengan valley. Other identifications have been made with places like Tarrana, Trong, Trang, Drang, etc., in the Malay Peninsula and the Gulf of Siam ; but these are not regarded as so plausible in the light of the data afforded by Ptolemy.

Another town which is described by Ptolemy as a mart in Golden Khersonese is Sabana. It has been identified with Selangor, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Malay Peninsula. It has been derived from *Seinbah*, the Malay word for obeisance or worship, and connected with the Sanskrit *Sevana* which has the same sense.

Ptolemy next mentions Cape Maleu Kolon. As has been already mentioned, Ptolemy had a wrong notion of the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, and made it terminate abruptly at Palanda or Perak on the western side and Cape Meleu Kolon on the eastern side. The latter term is regarded by Gerini as of South Indian extraction. He connects it with the Tamil terms *Malai* and *Kola,* or *Kola,* and he sees in it a proof of the transplantation of South Indian names by the dark Negritos whom he regards as the descendants of the so-called Rakshasas of old, and by their Dravidian successors who were displaced by the Aryan invaders. The Chinese name for the people of Malaya and the Archipelago, *Ku-lun* or *Kun-lun,* indicates the same. The numerous South Indian place names connected with *Kolam, Kola, Cola, Malai,* etc., thus obviously indicate pre-Aryan, South Indian, Negrito and Dravidian elements ; and in Ptolemy's Maleu Kolon Gerini sees a term similar to *Malai-kurram* on the Coromandel coast, and he assumes that Ptolemy really meant the head-land of Tanjong Kuantan a few miles north of the present termination of the Peninsula of which Ptolemy was, in his opinion, not aware.

The town of Koli referred to by Ptolemy in this region has been identified with Kelantan or Kalantan. Gerini suggests that the name was probably introduced from North India and connected with a local dialectical form like *Thana* or *Anta* (boundary), giving rise thereby to the com-

bined form of *Kalanta.* He further suggests that it was the country of *Ko~lo* or Ko-Zo *Fu-sha-lo* of the Chinese records of the Tang era (618—907) and earlier annals. The latter Chinese name is traced by him to the combination of *Koli* and *Badara,* the Pali and Sanskrit designations for the Jujube tree with which Koli in North India is legendarily associated. That Ko-lo was known to the Chinese from the time of the Han dynasty (B.C. 206—A.D. 221) is clear from Ma Tuan lin's statement to that effect. Kalantan was a powerful kingdom in Malaya, apparently with abundant natural resources and minerals, and therefore a principal seat of trade on this coast.

The next place, Perimula,[47] has been plausibly identified with Ligor (100° E. and 8° 23'). The old city has been suggested to have been further south, however, than the present one, and have had the two other towns of P'hattalung and Singora, that is, Sankhala or Sunkhala, in its neighbourhood. It was formerly accessible from the sea, and connected by overland route with the marts on the West coast of the Peninsula like the other two towns ; but all have now lost their importance as accessible ports owing to the silting of the harbours and the formation of sand-bars blocking them. Ligor is an inland town accessible only to small boats by a tidal creek ; P'hattalung is reached by light vessels through a land-locked inland sea encompassed by the island of Pulo Tantalum ; and Singora is situated at the outlet of the same inland sea, and is still a maritime town though running the danger of becoming an inland city in the near future. The Siamese records make mention of the two latter places only in the 13th century ; but they existed with Ligor as Hindu settlements, observes Gerini, prior to that period. As regards Ligor it is mentioned as an independent kingdom under the name of Nagara Sri Dharmaraja in a Pall chronicle of Lamp'hun (Labong) about 924. Its king is said to have moved with a fleet to attack Lophaburi or Lavapura. It is next mentioned in a Sukhothai (Sukhadaya) inscription dated in S. 1214 (A.D. 1292), now preserved in the royal temple Wat Phrah Keu in Bangkok. The foundation of Ligor is ascribed by tradition to Prince Dantakumara who, with Princess Hemamala, emigrated from Dantapura on the Indian coast near the mouth of the Godavari in 310 with the tooth-relic of the Buddha, and was wrecked on the ' Diamond[48] sands' of the Malay Peninsula where Ligor is now situated. The tooth-relic is said to be enshrined in a Chaitya called Varadhatu[49] in the centre of the city. Were this the case, it would be

47. See Gerini, pp. 106 ff.
48. Mahavamsa, Ch. 27.
49. Known as Wat Na Phrah That.

one of the most ancient relics in Siam. Vulgarly the story is told that a descendant of Dharmasoka, driven by pestilence from Magadha, set sail with a few people in a golden junk, and was wrecked on ' the Diamond Sand' or the plain on which Ligor now stands. The natives, therefore, call the place even now *Vajra-vdluka* (Saiphet). " A large body of Brahmans," says Gerini, " still live in the city remaining distinct from the Siamese, and yearly performing the Swing Festival and other propitiatory ceremonies. They are commonly reputed to be the descendants of those that came with the founder of the city. The above is nothing more than one of the many Buddhist traditions transplanted on Siamese soil from India ; traditions which, when their origin remains undetected, may lead astray searcher after the ancient history of this country. It is well known that the ' Diamond Sands' of this legend are to be found not at Ligor, but on the coast of India, at or near Dharanikota, in the neighbourhood of the present Masulipatam. In that country, inhabited by Nagas, a relic casket containing one of the original oight divisions of Buddhist remains existed enshrined in a costly stupa. It was according to Mahavamsa, carried off thence to Ceylon in the fifth year of the reign of Dutthagamani, i.e., B.C. 157, and enclosed in a great stupa at Ruanwelli. But, according to other accounts, in A.D. 310, when prince Dantakumara fled from Dantapura, and was wrecked on the Diamond Sands of Majerika, these same relics were still preserved there, being removed to Ceylon three years later, that is, in A.D. 313, which date General Cunningham thinks more correct. A gorgeous, magnificent stupa existed, in fact, on the sands of Majerika between the Godavari and Krsna, as ascertained by General Cunningham; and there stood also the city of Vengi-pura, the capital of the country, which we find recorded in Ptolemy under the name of Malanga." Gerini points out that there were early relations between Vengi and the Malay peninsula and Siam, as evidenced by the Vengi character of the inscriptions of the Phrah Prathom stupa in Lower Siam. The legend of the relics was transplanted into Siam after the introduction of Buddhism there. In the eighth or ninth century Ligor was given the name of Nagara Sri Dharmaraja. This was popularly curtailed into Nagara and pronounced in Siamese as *Nakhon.* From this, *Lakhon* and modern *Ligor* have been derived in course of time. Sometime in the 10th century Perimula changed its name to Ligor. " A few centuries later on we find Ligor referred to in Japanese accounts as *Rikkon, Rokkon,* in imitation of its vulgar Siamese name, *Lakhon."*[50]

50. Gerini criticises Prof. Keane in his view that Ligor was founded four centuries ago by the king of Ayuthia (in his *Geography of the Malay Peninsula, Indo-*

Another town mentioned by Ptolemy along with Kokkonagara, Tharrha and Palanda as an inland town of the Golden Khersonese is Balongka. Gerini locates it on the Kra Ithmus of the Malay Peninsula. In fact he identifies it with Chumphon, the eastern terminus of the ancient overland route across the Peninsula at that point. Chumphon is the same as *Jumbara,* corrupted from the Sanskrit *Udumbara ;* but it became well known only later on, the port of Kra being better known in earlier times. The term *Kura* means land-tortoise in Malay, and it is well known how this neighbourhood was famous for tortoise-hunting from the earliest times to the present day. The natives even to-day keep trained dogs for the purpose, and they pursue the tortoises, and capture them after throwing them belly upwards. The Sanskrit name for tortoise is *Paldmga,* and so Ptolemy's Balonga has been identified with a probable port and district of the name of Palanga in the Isthmus of Kra. It was apparently the same as the Prong of Siamese records, and *Lang kia, Lang-chia-hsu,* or *Lang-ya-hsiu,* of the Chinese writers of the Liang and Sui dynasties in the sixth century A.D. These writers say that an embassy from this region visited the Chinese court in 515 with a letter, in the course of which it was stated that the precious Sanskrit was generally known in this land. This letter refers to the establishment of the kingdom 400 years previously, thus indicating that Palanga existed in Ptolemy's time. Gerini further believes that, after the sacred relics from Dantapura were localised to Ligor, the name Palanga was vulgarised into Balanga and Malanga or Vehgipura, the capital of the Nagas of Majerika, and that, together with the word *Kra,* it came to be called *Kamaldnga* or *Kamalahka* referred to by Hieun tsang (about 638 A.D.) under the name of *Kia-mo-lang-kia* to the south-east of Sri Kshetra or Prome *(Shih-li-Cha-ta-lo).* This kingdom of Kamalanka or Kamalanga, it has been pointed out, originally occupied the region of the Malay Peninsula above the Pak Chan inlet and the Kra Isthmus and

China, etc., p. 17). He points out how the Kata Mandirapala (Kot Monthieraban) or the Palatine Law of A.D. 1360, enacted by the king who founded Ayuthia, already enumerates Nagara Sri Dharmaraja (Ligor) among the states which paid allegiance to him. Further, as shown above, Siamese records show that it existed in 924. Gerini further points out that this is not identical with Samarade as McCrindie thought on the score of the resemblance of the name with Dharmaraja. He believes that the latter is the Samarattha (Siam) in the 7th case. From an examination of the nature of the soil in this region he points out there must have been a canal across the Malay peninsula between Kontani, the chief town of the Trang district, and Ligor, and that through this canal, which has been obstructed through sands in later times, ships must have passed in olden days in the course of the trade between India and this part of the country. The traffic in slaves in this period is **referred** to in my *Mercantile Activities of South India* in detail.

conterminous **with** the district **of** Takola on **the** south. **Northwards it** extended as far as the Salwin. It is called *Kun-lang* in a Chinese encyclopaedia ,and it was probably the Kalah-bar of the Arabs and Camelan of the later Portuguese writers. It might be also the kingdom of Kammalani (present Kamanlay on the Salwin to the north of Martaban), referred to in a chronicle of Pegu (preserved in Siam) as a conquest of Wareru, the chief of Martaban, in the end of the 13th century. The name of this chronicle is *Rajddhirdja.* Kamalanga was thus a very extensive kingdom. Gerini further points out that, according to a Peguan work, the Buddha and his disciple Gavampati Thera travelled through Indo-China and Malaya, visited Achin in Sumatra, crossed over to the Malay Peninsula and sat on a stone bench or *Pallanka,* and that this place came to be known as Palanka. Gerini identifies Balongka with this place, and a holy footprint traditionally existed on the Suvannamali mountain. The talented writer also points out that trade passed from Pak Chan across the Kra Pass to Chumphon particularly after the disappearance of the sea passage between Trang and Ligor about the beginning of the Christian era. It was this that made the kingdom of Kamalahga important. Remains of ancient temples and ramparts in the vicinity of Kra show this. Adjoining Kra district on the north was a province named Lan-ya in Siamese records, and this was probably another linguistic relic of the old kingdom of Palanga, Lang-kia or Kamalanga. It was in its bay that the seaport of Lang-ya-hsiu visited by Chinese traders existed.

Such was the geographical configuration of the Suvarnadvipa or Malay Peninsula which was one of the most flourishing colonies and trade centres of Indians in the early history of South India.

South India and the Eastern Archipelago
A Study of Culture Migration

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I. SUMATRA AND THE SAILENDRAS

IT has now been generally accepted that both Java and Sumatra had been Hinduised even before the end of the third century A.D. Sumatra was less accessible to invaders from the West than the more distant Java. The appellation, Svarnabhumi or Svarnadvipa, has been deemed to be more applicable to Sumatra than to Java ; and the name Svarna-karamanolita, has been deemed to be applicable to Sumatra. It is also, perhaps, the Zabadieu of Ptolemy, the Zabaj and the Zabej of later Arabic writers.[1] Owing to its inaccessible coast and impenetrable jungles, as well as its unhealthy climate, Sumatra has been singular in its isolation, among the great islands of the Archipelago ; and neither the Hindus, nor the Arabs nor the Europeans have established their influence therein in the same thorough manner as in the case of Java. Its archaeological monuments are neither numerous nor prominent and are relatively not of great worth.

It is presumed that Hindu colonists might have settled in the island probably even before the beginning of the Christian era : and according to Chinese annals, the kingdom of Palembang which was a Hinduised one, flourished in the island in the fifth century A.D. When Fa-Hien visited Sumatra in 414 A.D., he did not find therein any traces of Buddhism.[2]

1. The term Yavadvlpa which occurs in the Ramayana and the Zabadieu of Ptolemy are supposed to refer either to Sumatra or to both Java and Sumatra. The Ramayana does not clearly distinguish between the two islands. Sugriva's direction to his troops, in the search for Sita, describes the isle with the wall of gold, and Yavadvipa " adorned with seven kingdoms, the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold ; then beyond the isle of Yava is the mountain Shishira." Ptolemy put between India and Zabadieu, a series of islands inhabited by cannibals, which included certainly the Nicobars.

2. " After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days, they arrived at a country called Ya-ba-di, where various forms of error and Brahmanism are

According to G. Ferrand, writing on the history of the Sumatran Empire of Sri Vijaya, Yavadvipa sent tribute to the Chinese court in 132 B.C. ; and the Zabadieu of Ptolemy and the Yavadvipa of the Ramayana, which may be attributed to approximately the same epoch, and the *Sobok* and *Jdvaka* of the Chinese ambassador who visited it in 245-250 A.D., all refer to the same region, *i.e.*, the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya lying on the direct sea-route from India to China. Ferrand, it may be pointed out, is also of the opinion that the already Hinduised Malays of Sumatra colonised Madagascar on the other side of Indian Ocean early in the Christian eara.

In the seventh century A.D., the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya was known after its capital Palembang, a very important place on the sea-route between India and China, and quite naturally suited for being the capital of a great maritime empire. The kingdom comprehended the middle and southern portions of Sumatra and the neighbouring island of Bangka. It was ruled by the royal family of Sailendra which, in the next century, extended its dominions over Java and a good portion of the Malay Peninsula. The Sailendra monarchs built, in honour of Tara, a deity of the Mahay anist pantheon, the shrine of Kalasan, near Prambanam in Central Java, in 771 A.D. Prambanam might have then virtually served as a capital of the extended Sailendra empire. About this time the Sailendras invaded the coast of Annam, and penetrated into the heart of Cambodia.

Several missions were sent by Sri Vijaya to the Chinese empire in the century between 640 and 740 A.D. Ftsing found in the fortified capital of the kingdom more than 1,000 Buddhist priests who were intent on sacred learning and on good practices, and whose subjects and methods of study followed those of India. The form of Buddhism prevalent was, for the most part, the Mulasarvastivada School, besides the Sammitiya.'--® He used the name Bhoja or Sri Bhoja indiscriminately for the kingdom, and called it the Chiri-Chou (Gold Isle). The capital (Palembang) was the chief trading port with China ; and a regular service of ships was conducted between it and Kwangtung *(in China)* by a Persian merchant, the distance being covered in a month, or within twenty days if the winds were favourable. The capital was fifteen days' sail from the town of Malayu, on the southern shore of the Straits of Malacca, where the pilgrim stayed two months, and from which he went

flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of." Legge—*Fa Men's Record* o/ *Buddhist Kingdoms* (1886)—p. 113.

2-a. In the kingdom there were a few who belonged to the Mahayana.

to Ka-cha, near modern Achin—the country of the Naked People *(Insulae Nudorum)* being about ten days' sail north from the last mentioned place.[3] There were very many dependent states on Palembang; and Dr. Takakusu holds that there are several points which show that the people were of Hindu origin.

The Indian monk, Vajrabodhi, visited Sri Vijaya on his way to China in 717 A.D. The merchant, Sulaiman, an Arab traveller of the 9th century, who wrote an account of his travels in 851 A.D., described at length the kingdom of Zabaj, as well as the kingdom of Khmer. It was in Sri Vijaya that Atissa, the famous Buddhist teacher of Bengal, met Acharya Chandraklrti, about the beginning of the eleventh century ; and, in the opinion of the former, Sri Vijaya was the chief centre of Buddhism in the East. Dharmapala, the head of the famous University of Nalanda, was born in the South Indian city of Kanchlpura, as the son of a high official of that place. He rose to be the greatest of the scholars of his age and is said to have spent the last years of his life in Sumatra. Dharmapala's headship of the Nalanda University has been attempted to be fixed during the early years of the seventh century A.D. ; for when Hiuen Tsiang visited Nalanda about 635 A.D., Silabhadra was the then head of the University and, consequently, Dharmapala who had become the abbot of the monastery when Silabhadra came to Nalanda, was probably then dead or had retired[4] As we saw above, I'tsing, in a later generation, took the southern sea-route from Canton in 671 A.D. to Sri Vijaya where he stayed a few months and learned Sanskrit; he reached Tamralipti, the port of Bengal, in 673 and visited Nalanda, Gaya and various other important places where he studied the Buddhist Vinaya. He left India from Tamralipti in 685 A.D. ; came back to Sri Vijaya in 689, worked

3. These isles were certainly the Nicobars, the Lanjabalus or the Lankhabalus of the Arab navigators of the 9th century, and the Nakvaram of Rashidu'ddin, which, according to Yule, may be connected with Naga. Marco Polo calls one of these islands, situated about 150 miles north of Java the Less (=Sumatra) as Necuveran or Necouran. The group of the Nicobar Islands was called the Land of the Rakshasas in the history of Fang (618-906)—pp. xxxviii-xxxix of J. Takakusu's *A Record of the Buddhist Religion, etc.,* by I'tsing—1896.

4. According to Taranatha, Dharmapala became the Pandita at Nalanda after the excellent Chandraklrti, and his tenure of office was very short; he being succeeded by Jayadeva. The generally accepted version is that Silabhadra succeeded Dharmapala, having already refuted a heretic of South India who had dared to raise his head against the great master himself. (Watters—*Yuan Chwang,* Vol. II, p. 228—Hwui li's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*—tr. by S. Beal; and Sankalia's *University of Nalanda,* p. **109.**

for several years in Ceylon, and returned to China in 695. It was in Sri Vijaya that I'tsing found the most favourable land for his literary activities and for his getting the help of Sanskrit scholars. Among his other literary activities, it may be mentioned that I'tsing translated into Chinese, the *Suhrllekha* (Letter to an Intimate Friend) of Nagarjuna, which was dedicated to his old Danapati, Jetaka Satavahana, a king of South India, probably an Andhra ruler.[5]

Sri Vijaya was in close touch with Magadha and Bengal, and must have derived most of its Mahayanism from those regions ; and the same blend of Buddhist and Tantric doctrines is found in Sumatra and Java as in Bengal. The earliest Mahayana inscriptions of the Sri Vijayan kings are written, not in the South Indian Grantha characters, as is the case with the earlier Javanese epigraphs, but in a North Indian script almost exactly like that of the 9th century inscriptions discovered at Nalanda.

A great landmark in the history of the Sailendras is the Leyden Grant, engraved in the Chola-Grantha characters. Part of it is in Sanskrit; this grant is to be distinguished from the smaller one of the same name, of *circa* 1084 A.D. It records the grant of the village of Anaimangalam in the Kshatriya-sikhamani-vajanadu, by Rajaraja the Great of Tanjore, in the 23rd year of his reign (1007-8 A.D.) to the Chudamani-padma vihara at Negapatam built by Srimara Vijayotturiga-varman, King of Kataha, and of Sri Vijaya of the Sailendra line, who was probably his feudatory. The script is similar to that of the Tirup-puvanam grant. The first five plates are in Sanskrit, and the remaining sixteen are in Tamil. The former portion is very important as containing the *vamsdvali* of the Chola dynasty. Sri Vijaya is written as Sri Vishaya. Srimara Vijayottunga-varman, was the son of Chuda-mani-varman, who by virtue of his own wisdom, was " a Guru to the gods, and a Sun to the lotus-groves of the wise, and a *kalpavriksha* to the needy." Dr. L. Finot who asserts the identity of these rulers with the kings of Palembang, writes that, "should any doubt still remain, it would disappear in view of the following facts:—The History of the Song gives as kings of San-fo-tsi (Palembang) in A.D. 1003-08, Sse-li-cu-lo-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-hua, (Sri Chudamani Varma Deva) and Sse-li-ma-lo-pi (Sri Mara Vijayottungavarman) ,"[6]

5. See P. K. Mukherji's *Indian Literature in China and the Far East*, pp. 273-4 ; Wenzel has given the entire translation of the *Letter* from the Tibetan version in J.P.T.S. of 1886.

6. *The Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. I (1925)—p. 621—in the course of L. Finot's paper on ' The Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China.'

Rajendra Choja, the son and successor of Rajaraja, warred against the Sailendra king, Sarigrama Vijayottungavarman, and annexed a part of his territories, as a sort of supplement to his own victorious expeditions in the country of Orissa, Bihar and the Lower Gangetic basin. This overseas Chola expedition is dated 1025 A.D. ; and the details given of it in the Tiruvalarigaclu Plates and other records of the reign are believed to show that the actual starting point of the naval expedition should have probably been in the coast region of Kalinga, and that the conquests include, among other places, Manakkavaram (the Great Nicobar) and Takopa in the Malay Peninsula set over against Sumatra and the Nicobars. The Chinese annals mention a mission from the Chola monarch to China in 1015 which was followed by others in 1033 and in 1077. The Tiruvalarigadu Plates do not give the name of the Sumatran ruler ; but the Kataha of the Leyden Grant *(Chart of Leide)* has been equated with Kadaram ; and its ruler described as the king of Kadaram and Sri Vijaya. Virarajendra Chola is said to have achieved the conquest of Kadaram, and to have generously restored the conquered realm to its defeated king. This was possibly the expedition with which Kulotturiga was as prince associated. References from the Chinese annals, ranging from 1077 to 1106 A.D.—all of which fall within the reign of Kulotturiga Chola I—indicate that the Chola realm became " tributary to Sri Vijaya." The probable inference to be made is that the outlying imperial possessions of the Cholas which lay in the region of the Malay Peninsula fell off from allegiance some time in the reign of Kulotturiga. His reign was, indeed, a period of great internal prosperity in the Chola kingdom proper ; and it even witnessed the conquest of Kalinga. But except for the conquest of Kadaram which was, likely enough, an achievement of Kulotturiga, as prince, there is no positive evidence available to show that his empire expanded overseas either to the islands round Sumatra or to the region of the Malay Archipelago. The references to the Chola in the Chinese records were probably only references to their overseas possessions ; and the statements contained in them probably mean that the Chola possessions in the Archipelago came to be transferred to the ruler of Sri Vijaya.

The Smaller Leyden Grant of the twentieth year of Kulotturiga Chola (1090 A.D.) issued an edict to " the crest-jewel of the assembly of the earth-rulers " that some lands at Anaimangalam, Munjikkutfi, etc., were given to the temple by being transferred from the old owners, and that various taxes were remitted, and refers to a grant made with the sanction of the Chola monarch by the ruler of Kadaram, whose name is not mentioned, but who is specifically stated to have built or repaired two *viharas,* one of them called after Rajaraja and the other after Rajendra Garigaikorujla. The former *vihdra, Rajarajapperumballi*

appears from the record itself to be but another name for the old vihara, built in the reign of Rajaraja and called formally Sri Sailendra Chutfamani vihara ; and this renaming of it after the Chola sovereign should clearly indicate the recognised continuation of the subordination of the ruler of Katfaram. Two of the ambassadors of the latter ruler are named in the grant itself as Raja Vidyadhara and Abhimandttunga. It was on their application and with the approval of the Chola Foreign Minister, Rajavallabha Pallavaraiyan, that the grant of the required piece of land was ordered to be made.

It is clear, from the above references, that the Great Chojas enjoyed a reality of control over the overseas adjuncts to their empire which were brought back into allegiance, after their probable defection, apparently as a fruit of the victorious expedition of Rajendra Chola ; and they seem to have continued in that allegiance till some date in the reign of Kulottunga Chola ; and it is also obvious that the Sailendra monarchs were able, in course of time, to reabsorb these Chola possessions into their own kingdom, while the Chola power neglected or was unable to reassert its authority. From this it appears that "the expedition of Rajendra Chola across the seas was a warlike act and not a peaceful mission sent out towards the east."°~[a]

According to the high authority of Dr. N. J. Krom, Central Java asserted its independence of Sri Vijaya, under Hindu princes from East Java, early in the tenth century, and completely vindicated it only after Sri Vijaya had to yield to an invasion from South India in the time of Rajendra Chola. But the new Javanese kingdom could only expand eastward over Bali and other islands. Java and Sri Vijaya were the two great important commercial regions of the Archipelago in the twelfth century.

Al Masudi wrote of Serandib (Ceylon) as being a dependency of Zabaj (Sri Vijaya) in his " Meadows of Gold" which describes the

6a. *Journal oj Indian History;* Vol. II, p. 356—Rajendra Gangaikonda by S. K. Aiyangar. According to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami *(Indian and Indonesian Art),* " these evidences, supplemented by others in the *Mahavamka,* would prove a comparatively late survival of Buddhism in Southern India; and the occurrence, at Conjeevaram, of Buddha images of a late type is significant as it shows 'the flame-like projection above the *usnisa,* an iconographic peculiarity of Farther Indian origin/'

state of the nations of the east and the west as they were in his age *(cir.* 950 A.D.) Chau Ju Kua, a Chinese customs officer, who wrote on the Chinese-Arab trade in the thirteenth century, and whose book was translated in 1912 by Hirth and Rockhill, devoted one full chapter to an account of Sri Vijaya and its kings who were perhaps of Naga origin, and to the Arab settlers in the kingdom. According to him there were fifteen dependencies of Sri Vijaya including Kedah, Pahang and other places in Malaya as well as Sunda (Western Java) ; and, curiously enough, with Al' Masudi, Ceylon was included among the dependencies of the Sumatran realm.

Towards the end of the 13th century a Javanese expedition conquered Jambi in Sumatra, and established Javan supremacy in the heart of the island. By 1377 Sri Vijaya had fallen finally under the Majapahit power of Java. The new conquerors did not settle in sufficient numbers in Sumatra, but entrusted the administration to the Chinese settlers who were attracted to Palembang in large numbers. The Chinese colony at Palembang made " piracy and plunder their chief business." The land was uncultivated, and the country fell into general decay. Central Java had flourished under Sumatran rule which was responsible for the construction of the beautiful Chandi Kalasan and other noble shrines, in the latter part of the eighth century. Shortly afterwards, was built *Barabudur,* " the most wonderful stupa in the world/' in whose ascending galleries orthodox Mahayana legends are depicted in bas-reliefs in a harmonious whole. These reliefs are based on the *Lalita-Vistdra,* the *Jataka-Mala* of Aryasura and the *Ganda-vyuha,* though the artists have given a local touch. According to Professor Krom, the stupa form of architecture was introduced into Java by Sumatran architects, and it is represented only by Barabudur, whereas in Sumatra several stupas are found even in ancient monuments. It has also been held that Kashmir, whose prince, Gunavarman, was presumably the source of Sumatran Mahayana Buddhism, also gave the Archipelago the idea of pyramidical structures.

From Sri Vijaya Hindu and Indian influences penetrated even to Funan in the 8th century. Shortly afterwards, there was a reaction in the latter land—Kambojadesa ; but Chau Ju Kua mentions, among the dependencies of Sri Vijaya in the thirteenth century, Kia-lo-hi, lying alongside the southern border of Cambodia. In a later century the Thais, coming from the interior, captured the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, while even before that time Ligor had passed into the hands of the kings of Sukhodaya. In the fifteenth century the Siamese contrived to get hold of the whole of the Malay Peninsula as far as the Straits of Malacca.

Professor Kern has drawn attention, in connection with Indian influences in Sumatra, to an interesting paper[7] on certain funeral ceremonies of the Merga Symbiring (Black Tribe), one of the five tribes of the Karo-Bataks who are settled round Lake Tobo in the west. The sub-divisions of the Symbiring tribe are Choliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, Depari and Pelavi (Melawi, i.e., Malay?). The first three names are well-known ethnic ones in South India and clearly point to the Dravidian origin of the tribe in question. The name Meliyala is evidently identical with Malayalam ; and " it would be extremely interesting if Pelawi could be identified with the name Pallava."[7a]

II—THE KOETEI INSCRIPTIONS OF BORNEO

These consist of four inscribed stones, the inscriptions being in Sanskrit, discovered in the native state of Koetei in East Borneo. The inscription on the fourth stone has been almost completely obliterated. Professor Kern, who edited the three other inscriptions, gave special attention to their chronology, as it could be determined from palaeographic evidences ; they were further studied by Professor Vogel. The first furnishes the names of three rulers Mulavarman, his father Asvavarman and his grand father Kundunga, the first two of these names being evidently of Indian origin. Indian civilisation was, according to Kern, introduced in Eastern Borneo under Kundunga, He was, perhaps, only a Hinduised native, and not an immigrant from India ; and he and his successors were, therefore, Hinduised, rather than Hindu, princes. Mulavarman was evidently named after an asterism, like the Suriga-Pushyamitra. The stones of the records represent sacrificial posts and were erected in the place of wooden posts on the spot where sacrifice had been performed. The record tells us that their erection was due to the assembled priests to whom Mulavarman had given rich presents. The second record mentions *Vaprakesvara,* perhaps the proper name for the sacred place or sanctuary which witnessed Mulavarman's gifts, and probably a Saiva shrine, as several other images of the Saiva pantheon have been secured in several localities in the island. The name Vaprakesvara is also met with in old Javanese records.

The sacrifice performed by Mulavarman[7b] was called *Bahu Swarnaka,* which, perhaps, was a special form of Soma sacrifice. The

7. *Dravidische Volksnamen op Sumatra* of H. Kern (Verspreide Geschriften—Vol. VII.

7-a. Among the other tribes of the Karo-Bataks, the Kling (Kalinga) origin of the Simbirings is a recognised fact.

7-b. Attention is drawn to the title of *Varman* which marked but few of the earlier North Indian kings and the wonder-tree (kalpa-vriksha) noted in the records.

form of the lettering of the Koetei records bears a certain resemblance to that of the cave inscriptions of Mahendravarman Pallava found at Mahendravacli and at Dalavanur. The verses are arranged on the stones in such a manner that each *pdda* occupies one line ; while the usual practice in India is to arrange the lines without any reference to the verses. According to both Kern and Vogel, they disclose a fair acquaintance with Sanskrit and a considerable prevalence of Hindu culture. The alphabet employed in the early records of the Pallava rulers, shows, according to Vogel, the nearest approach to that of the Kcetei and other contemporaneous Javanese epigraphs, which used to be called the Vengi Alphabet. Dr. Burnell was the first to hold that the source of the primitive Hindu culture in Java must be looked for in the northern Tamil coast, rather than in Kalinga proper or in the Telugu littoral, and that it was not at all possible *to* seek it in Bengal and in Western India. Dr. Buhler would hold that the earliest Pallava Sanskrit inscriptions down to the time of Narasimhavarman I marked the first stage in the development of the ancient *Grantha,* the literary alphabet of the South of India, and that this first archaic stage is also met with in the rock-inscription from Jambu in Java. No stone record, contemporaneous with the Kcetei epigraphs, has been found on the Coromandel coast in India.[8] They are said to fill up a gap in the epigraphical history of South India. Dr. Vogel has finally concluded that these inscriptions are perhaps the earliest specimens of *grantha* used in stone records and the archaic type of the *grantha* alphabet used by the early Pallava rulers seems to be very closely related to them. As there is a close affinity between the Kcetei inscriptions and those of Bhadravarman of Champa (first half of the fifth century A.D.), the latter perhaps representing a somewhat earlier stage of writing, while the Tjaroeten rock-inscription of Purnavarman of Western Java exhibits a more advanced style of writing, so that we arrive at " the chronological succession—Bhadravarman, Mulavarman, Purnavarman,"[8a] the intervening period in each

8. "On the other hand, the absence of stone inscriptions of so early an epoch in Coromandel imparts the Koetei inscriptions with a peculiar interest for the history of South Indian epigraphy. It is in the distant islands of the Indian Archipelago and on the coasts of Indo-China that we thus find the prototypes of that remarkable group of lithic records which Coromandel owes *to* the Pallava kings of the seventh century. We may see that the Archipelago and Champa have preserved the earliest examples of archaic Grantha, carved in stone, of which no specimens are now extant in the mother-country." (J. Ph. Voegel—*The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman, jrom Koetei (East Borneo),* p. 222.

8-a. Three records found in West Java describe in Sanskrit the glories of Prince Purnavarman, a follower of Vishnu, who had his capital at Taruma. One of them calls the king the Lord of Tarumanagar and tells us of the construction of two canals,

case to be roughly estimated at half a century, and the Kcetei records being datable *cir.* 400 A.D.

III. JAVA—THE AGASTYA CULT AND SOUTH INDIAN INFLUENCES

Ever since Sir Stamford Raffles brought pointed attention to bear on Javanese antiquities and history as early as 1817, research has been very actively extending the field of knowledge ; and the labours of scholars like Dr. Kern and Dr. Krom have shown that Indian civilisation was in obvious evidence in the island even in the fifth century A.D. As already remarked, the term, Javadvipa, occurring in the most ancient texts, might have been either Sumatra or both Sumatra and Java. Gunavarman of Kashmir is supposed to have preached Buddhism in Java in 423 A.D. Professor S. Levi finds mention of Java in a Chinese Buddhist work of 392 A.D. as *Cho-yi.* Aryabhatta, the famous astronomer of Ujjayani, wrote of Java thus, at the close of the fifth century. " When the sun rises in Ceylon, it is mid-day in Yavakoti (Java) and midnight in the land of the Romans."[9] In the Tamil work, *Manimekalai,* the town of Nagapuram in Chavakana<Ju is mentioned, as well as two rulers of that place, Bhumichandra and Punyaraja who claimed descent from Indra. Fa Hien is said to have touched Java in the present district of Rembang, where, according to native tradition, the first Hindu settlement arose. Chinese annals notice the kingdom of Lan-ga-su, one of whose princes was exiled to India and returned to occupy the throne with an Indian queen. The annals of the Tang dynasty speak definitely of the kingdom of Kaling in Central Java, the inhabitants of which had some knowledge of letters and astronomy, of several embassies which proceeded to China from this kingdom and from Bali in the period 637—649 A.D., and of the presence of Arab traders in it.[10]

An inscription of S. 654 (A.D. 732) found in Kedoe, in Central Java, praises king Safijaya, son of king Sanna, and contains an account

Chandrabhaga and Gomati. On two of these, the foot-prints of Purnavarman himself were evidently carved.

9. In the *Surya-Siddhanta* (which can be dated in the 6th century), we read: " At a quarter of the circumference of the earth eastwards, in the land of Bhadrasva, the eastern division of the earth, is the famous Nagari Yavakoti, with golden walls and gates." Fa Hien's *Ya-ba-di* has been noted above, as containing many heretics and Brahmans, but marked by very little prevalence of the Law of the Buddha.

10. In 674 A.D. the people of Kaling took as their ruler a queen named Seema, whose administration was so just that even things dropped on the road were not picked up; and an Arab left a bag of gold at a particular spot which remained intact for three years. It was then inadvertently stepped over by the Crown Prince for which offence his toes which had touched the bag were cut off.

of the dedication of a linga, as well as invocations to Siva, Brahma and Vishnu. The script is Pallava-Grantha, and the language is Sanskrit; and both closely resemble the corresponding features of the Han-Chey inscription of Bhavavarman of kambhoja (cir. middle of the sixth century A.D.). The record refers to the reconstruction of a Siva temple, on the model of a celebrated shrine in the holy land of Kunjara-kunja which has been equated with the Kunjara-Kona, a Sanskrit rendering of the Kanna^a name. Anegondi, situated to the north of Hampi, on the other side of the Tuhgabhadra in the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam. The cult of an Agastya migration from the north to the extreme south of India and across the Bay of Bengal to the Malayan Archipelago has been gaining increasing support. According to the *Vdyu Purdna* Agastya paid visits to Barhinadvipa (perhaps Borneo), Kusadvipa, Varahadvipa, Sankhyadvipa, and Malayadvipa as well as to Java ; an Agastya is said to have lived on a hill called Mahamalayaparvata in Malayadvipa, as distinct from the Malaya-parvata of South India. There is an important mountain in Sumatra still known as Malayu. It is argued that the legend of Agastya's visit to the Archipelago was perhaps a relic of the earliest wave of Brahmanical culture from South India that preceded and prepared the ground for the later Indian cultural migrations. We have evidence of a Siva temple supposed to have been built by Agastya in Java,[12] and of the descendants of the Agastya-gotra a clan[13] of South India which had a settlement of their own in the island. Agastya should have developed into " a culture-hero, if not an Heros Eponymos, of the Brahmanic civilisation in Indonesia." The figures and icons of Agastya in Java were first made of sandalwood and then of stone and were actually worshipped and made the subject

11. According to Dr. Kern's reading, the sanctuary of Siva at Kunjara Dhari (Kunjarakona) was the prototype of the first temple in Java, *vide* O. C. Ganguli, in the ***Q. J.*** *M. S.,* Vol. XVII; No. 3 (January 1927). He thinks that there are sufficient reasons for this identification ; and Kunjara Kona was one of the homes of Agastya who had erected at the place a temple ; and a clan from the Kunjara Konadesa migrated to Java and built a temple in the island on the model of the original temple on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Varaha Mihira's *Brihat Samhita* mentions Kunjara as being in the far south of India.

12. An inscription in the shrine says : —" Kalasaja (Agastya) having founded the God's house called *Vadraloka,* may all his descendants obtain in this house a resting place. May they achieve their wishes ! "

13. The *Asvalayana-Grihyasutra* includes the Agastya-Gotra amongst the forty-nine Brahman Gotras. Mamulanar, the Tamil Sangam poet, claims to belong to the Agastya-gotra; while Ailapabhafta who built a Saiva temple on the Tungabhadra was also of that Gotra, according to a Tamil **record of 1524.**

of a cult. Even at the present day Agastya's name is actually used in all formulas pronounced by persons put on their oath. Only, Agastya is known by the Malayasian name of Valaing. The form of the oath is as follows :—"So long as the Sun and the Moon last in our heavens, so long as the earth remains girt by the four seas, so long as the wind runs to the ten quarters, so long will reverence, last to the name of Valaing."

An old record in the Kawi language reads :—" Hail to you, Harichandana Agastya Maharishi !" It is known that earlier images of the saint were made of sandalwood, from an inscription of Dinaya in Eastern Java, dated 6 682, which refers to a ruler who replaced the old sandalwood image of the hero by a new figure carved in wonderful black stone. Thus the worship of Agastya, who was essentially a South Indian culture-hero, had become an established cult in Java before the .seventh century A.D. The images of Agastya are found equipped with his usual marks, *jatamakula* (matted locks), a corpulent waist, the *kamandala* (pitcher) and the *akshamdla* (rosary of beads). He was known as the Siva-guru or the Bhattaraka-Guru, and looked on as the source of the cult of Siva ; and members of the *Agastya-(jotra* were the spiritual preceptors of many rulers. A mythical king, named Aji Jaya Baya, dictated the poem, *Bharata Yuddha,* (i.e., the Mahabharata) by order of Deva Bhattara Guru (Agastya) who was thus " the transmitter and, dictator of the great Indian culture saga which became the national epic of Java."

We also find, in association with Agastya, sage Trinavindu, the son of Jamadagni Maharshi, who is known in South Indian tradition as the collaborator of Agastya in the spreading of Aryan culture, and is also identified with the great Tamil grammarian Tolkappianar. There are a few Javanese stone-sculptures in which the two *Rshis,* Agastya and Trnavindu, are in close association.[14] The recent fmd of a number of

14. Traditionally, Agastya has been looked on as the President of the First Sangam at Madura and as having had 12 disciples, the chief of whom was Tolkappianar. He is supposed to be eternal, invisible to mortal eyes, in the Podiyil Hill, near Cape Comorin, and shines in his new form, as the Star Canopus in the Southern Sea. He drank off the sea, i.e., carried on Hindu culture across the ocean to the eastern lands. He carried on his old hobby of temple-building to Java and Champa, and is reputed to have founded a royal dynasty in Cambodia apparently after marrying a local princess, Yasdmati. An Angkor Vat inscription says :—" The Brahman Agastya, born in the land of the Aryans, devoted to the worship of Siva, having come by his psychic powers to the land of the Cambodians, for the purpose of worshipping the **Siva-lihga known as Bhadresvara, and having worshipped the**

Paiichaldka images of the South Indian type, some actually carrying on them Tamil inscriptions, in Siam makes it obvious that these must have been the actual handiwork of Tamil *sthapatis* of South India and must have been carried to Siam or Cambodia from South India " when the cult of Siva formed a connecting link between these two regions." A detail is noticed in the *Skanda Purana,* which is significant in this connection that the Pantfyan prince who denied the shrine at the Sona Hill rode on a Kambuja-/iai/a, a Cambodian horse.[15]

Local legends of Java indicate that numerous families and princes must have gone in successive waves from Kalinga to Java ; and one legend tells us that Bhattara Guru—Agastya is even considered superior to the Trimurtis in Java—sent one Gutaka from the mountain Sawila Acala in Kling, to become the ruler of Giling Vesi, at the foot of Mount Sumera, the highest peak in Java. Agastya thus, " is not only the Aryaniser of Dravida Desa ; but also the titanic architect, the great builder, of a Greater India, beyond the seas."

Near the earliest Siva temple of Java, built in the Dieng Plateau of Central Java and referred to in the inscription of Sanjaya, there are stone images of Ganesa and Durga, which savour of a South Indian origin. Among the Hindu remains at Prambanam, there occur a few fine statues of 6iva, Vishnu, Brahma and the Trimurti, which are said to recall the style and iconography of South Indian images of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. In his book on *South Indian Bronzes,* Mr. O. C. Gangoly traces the undoubted evidence of the actual transport of a South Indian icon of the Uma-Mahesvara type. According to him the

god for a long time, attained to beatitude." (Bergaigne : *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Champa, and Cambodia,* 1893, lxv, p. 380).

Another inscription from Cambodia, dated Saka **811,** attributes to Agastya th? ancestry of King Yasovarman (889-910 A.D.) who founded Angkor Thorn and built the great Siva temple of Bayon, and whose inscriptions are both in the South Indian and North Indian scripts. It tells us that " the Brahman, famous as Agastya, versed in the Vedas, who came from the land of the Aryans, married Yasomati of the Mahasiddha family and begat a son who came to be known as Narendravarman." According *to* Dr. B. R. Chatterji, there might have been a common origin for the Agastya cult of Java and the cult of Bhrgu Rishi and the cult of Hiranya-dama in Camboja.

15. V. Chockalingam Pillai, in his work—The *Origin of the Indo-European Races and Peoples,* Vol. I (1935)—says that what he calls 'the Velan epic' is the nucleus .of the Sanskrit *Skandapurana* and that it originated from the Tamils. According to him the *Skandam* is a highly mixed product, unlike the 'genuine' **Velan epic. (pp. 73-75).**

Hindu-Javanese pantheon does not reflect the later elaboration of the South Indian pantheon; and " both in the state of their iconographic development and their simple and dignified types, they are related to the early South Indian sculptures or Pallava or early Chalukyan style of the Eastern school." But the Buddha images " certainly recall similar images in the Pallava temples." The style and iconography of the images at Prambanam recall, in the details of the ornaments and dress, in facial types and coronets, the style of the South Indian school ; and for these it is " impossible to claim any Javanese contribution from the land of native local genius." Generally speaking, it may be said that the art of Prambanam, though not very closely related to the art of the Pallavas, bears " singular affinities to it

Similarly, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami *(History of Indian and Indonesian Art),* points out that the antiquities of the Deing plateau, dating from the 7th or 8th century, indicates that the spot was a place of pilgrimage like the Jain temple-cities of Palitana and Girnar, and show clear analogies with those of the Gupta, Pallava and Early Chalukya models. The Chandi Bhima has a definitely pyramidal roof which resembles that of the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara in Orissa.

Barabudur, built between 760 and 847 A.D. and, most likely, in the latter part of the 8th century is " a monument of Sailendra culture, rather than of Buddhist devotion." It is like " a ripe fruit matured in breathless air ; the fulness of its form is an expression of static wealth, rather than the volume that denotes the outward radiation of power." Dr. Coomaraswami would not admit that the whole building should be regarded as a *stupa,* no other *stupa* having been found in Java, or in Cambodia before the epochs of Siamese domination. He cites Kashmir parallels for terraced pyramids supporting temples as in Barabudur.

In the Saiva temple of Chandi Bandn are found fine images of Agastya and of Vishnu, while the Buddhistic and Tantric metal images exhibit a relationship with those of Magadha and Ceylon. Chandi Loro Jongrang is the greatest Hindu monument in Java, and consists of eight temples situated on a walled terrace surrounded by smaller chapels. The reliefs of the balustrades surrounding the temples illustrate the earlier part of the Ramayana and the cycle of Krshna legends. The reliefs are deemed to be superior to those of Barabudur and to be more dramatically conceived ; and the whole place which served as a royal mausoleum as well as a temple, is marked by a more masculine aspect.

The great Javanese ruler firlangga (1010 to 1042 A.D.), has not left any great monument. His rule witnessed the development of a

national Javanese culture, " based indeed on the old Indian tradition, but Indonesian in essence, idiomatic in expression, and, in the truest sense of the word, original." Kawi now became a fitting vehicle of classical epic literature ; and the first shadow-play of *Arjuna Vivaha* dates from Erlangga's reign. The accession to rule of the dynasty of Singasari and of the Majapahit, towards the close of the 13th century, marks the advent of a new age of art in which the purely Indian tradition becomes submerged and the Indonesian strain becomes prominent.

The island of Bali was originally Hinduised, directly, without the intervention of Java whose influence and political domination came only after the twelfth century. It is only in Bali that there still survives " that mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism which we have so often observed in classic and post-classic Further Indian and Indonesian art."

In the island of Bali which was javanised in the 8th and 9th centuries and consequently received its Hinduisation second-hand there were even evidences of the transportation of direct influences from India, like the South Indian Pallava-Grantha script which a modified form was in use (See Stutterheim—*Indian Influences in Old Balinese Art*—1935, p. 13. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra in his work—*Expansion of Indo- Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule,* p. 57) would hold that the culture of Further India and Indonesia bears an unmistakable stamp of Pallava influence and would justify even the assumption that the Pallavas might have extended their authority even over those far off countries and built up an extensive colonial empire of which they formed the centre and the nucleus, though the Pallava records do not contain the slightest indication of such a state of affairs.

The technique of the typical Javanese textile, the cotton *batik ;* is held to be of South Indian origin.

APPENDIX

A Chronological Bibliography of the Writings of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar

1900. May.	Mysore under the Wodeyers. (Thesis for the M.A. Degree) Madras Review. (1900.)
1901. April.	The Chola Ascendency in South India. (1901.)
1902. January.	The Chola Administration. (1902.)
1902. July.	The Third Tamil 6angam. (MCCM. 20 ; 26-30.)
1902. September.	Kamban and Jayamkondan. (MCCM. 20; 138-43.)
1903. December.	India and Imperial Protection. (IR. 3 ; 760-2.)
1904.	Ramanuja, His Life and Times, Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly. (Republished in book form by Messrs. G. A. Natesan.)
1904. April.	The Age of Namalvar. (MCCM. 558-62.)
1904.	The Age of the Last Seven Patrons of Tamil Literature. (Madras Review.)
1904. December.	The Making of Mysore. (S. I. A. Lecture.)
1905. November.	The Agnikula ; The Fire-Race. (IA 34 ; 261.)
1906. May-Sept.	Historical Connection between South India and Ceylon. (S.T. 4; 346-54, 388-96, 476-83 ; 522-31.)
1906. June.	Self-immolation which is not Sati. (IA 35 ; 129-31.)
1906. July.	Brhat Katha. (JRAS 1906 ; 689-92.)
1906. August.	Tirumangai AZvar and His Date. (IA 35 ; 288-33.)
1907. November.	Lessons from Ancient India. (IR 8 ; 809-22.)
1908. May.	Yatirajavaibhavam of Andhrapurna. (IA 38 ; 129.)
1908. August.	Celebrities in Tamil Literature. (IA 38 ; 227-43.)
1909.	The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature. (T.A 5 ; 23-54.)
1909. Aug.-Dec.	Ancient India in Tamil. (ST 6 ; 471-518 7 ; 42-92.)
1909. October.	History of South India. (QJMS 1 ; 3-9.)
1910.	The Chola Empire in South India. (JSIA 1 ; 30-117.)
1910. January.	India at the Dawn of the Christian Era. (JSIA 1 ; 30-117.)
1910. April.	Cold Mining in Ancient India (QJMS 1 ; 111-3.)
1910. October.	Fire-Walking Ceremony at the Dharmaraja Festival. (QJMS 2; 29-31.)
1911.	Ancient India, containing a selection of the more important of the above.
1911. April.	The History and Commerce of the Indian Ocean. (QJMS 2 ; 71-82.)
	A note on the Diamonds in South India. (QJMS 3 ; 129-40.)
1914. Jan.-Feb.	The Mahavarhsa and South Indian History. (IR. 15-20; 114-9. QJMS 4 ; 127-40.)
1914. Oct.-Dec.	The Chank in Ancient India. (QJMS 4 ; 160-2.)
1914. June-Dec.	Landmarks in South Indian History. (JSIA 5-85-99.)
1915 Feb.-March.	The Aivars, and their Times. (QJMS 4 ; 169-72.)
1915 April.	The Dynasties of the Kali Age. *{IR.* 15-297-9.)
1915 October.	Social Legislation under Hindu Governments. (Reprinted as a book.) (IR 6 ; 47-7 and QJMS.)
1915.	A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History. (Reprinted as *a* book.) (QJMS 6-61-109.)
1915. September.	Research in South Indian History. Educational Review. (Presidency College Union Society, Inaugural.)
1916.	The Age of the 6angam Literature, (Pachaiyappa's Historical and Tamil Societies.) Inaugural (Pamphlet.)
1916.	Agniskandha and The Fourth Rock Edict of Asoka. (JRAS 1915; 521-7. IA 44-203.)
1917.	The Yet-Remembered Ruler of a Long-Forgotten Empire ; Krishnadevaraya. Lecture to the Maharaja's College Union Society, Mysore. (Hindustan Review. 1917.)
1917 May-April.	The Antiquities of Mahabalipur. (IA 46 ; 49-57, 65-73.)
	(Revised and reprinted in Notes on the Seven Pagodas by Sir R. C. Temple and others ; Issued as a separate reprint. IA 1929.)
	G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's Dravidian Architecture. (English Edn.)
	Virupaksha II of Vijayanagar Corn-Ess. Presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Memorial Volume. (255-64.)
1918.	The Beginnings of South Indian History-
1919.	Sources of Vijayanagar History. (Edited.)
	Asoka's Satyaputras and Satyavratakshetra. **(JRAS 1919; 581-4.)**

A mediaeval Kerala Ruler, Ravi Varman Kulasekhara. (Ernakulam College Magazine, July 1919.)

1919. May. The Hun-Problem in Indian History, <IA 48; 65-76. Christian College Union Society Inaugural.)

1920. The Origin and the Early History of the Pallavas of Kanchl. (JEH 2-20-66.)

1920. Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (Readership Lectures, Calcutta University.)

1920. October. The Foundation of Vijayanagar. Part of a Course of Lectures to the Mysore University. (QJMS 11-13-32.)

1921. South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. Lectures to Madras and Mysore Universities. (Oxford University Press.)

1921. October. Greater India ; Expansion of India Beyond the Seas. (QJMS 1210-44.)

1921-22. (1) A Scholar King of Tanjore, Raghuniitha Nayaka.
(2) Jatavarman Sundara Panclya.
(3) Educational Foundations in Mediaeval India. (Everyman's Review.)

Hindu India from Original Sources. (Parts 1 and 2.)

A Short History of Hindu India.

1922. January. The Age of Perundevanar. (ABI 3 ; 57-65.)

1922. April. Tirumangai Alvar and Dantidurga. (QJMS 2 ; 261-7.)

1922. The Satvatas, an important Folk-Movement. (Proceedings of the Indian Oriental Conference. Calcutta.)

Glimpses of Mauryan Invasions in Classical Tamil Literature (I.O.C., Calcutta 1922 and ST 319 ; 33.)

The Early History of Vaishnavism in South India. (Paper presented to First Indian Oriental Conference, 1919, published as a book, Oxford University Press.)

1923. Apl.-July. Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagar Empire. (QJMS 13-C21-7, 742-54.)

Tirumangai Alvar and Dantidurga. (QJMS 13-6'J5~8.)

1923. September. Rajendra, the Gangaikonda Chola. 1925 (Calcutta University Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume III, 2-541-88). (JIH 2; 317-69.)

1923. October. The Kosar of Tamil Literature and the Satyaputra of the Asoka Edicts. (JRAS 609; 13.)

1923. December. Samudragupta. (Mysore University Magazine.)

1923. December. Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. (Publication by the Calcutta University.)

Introduction to R. Satyanathan's History of the Nuyaks of Madura. (Madras University Historical Series.)

1923. December. Foreword to Mr. A. Madhavayya's English version of Manimekhalai.

1924. Madurai-Talavaralaru (An Account of the Temple of Madura.) (IHRCP 6-104-16")

The Vakatakas ;|id the'ir Place in the History of India. (ABI 5; 31-54.)

1925. February. The Konkan and the Konkani Language. (IA 54 ; 37-8.)

Penugonda. (Written specially for presentation to H.E. Lord Wiliingdon on the occasion of his visit to the place.)

1925. April-May. Introduction to Gopala Aiyar's Edn. of Perundevanar's Bharata-Venba.

The Bakhair of Ramaraja. (IHR C.P. 7-54-63.)

1926. January. The Vakatakas in Gupta History. (QJMS. 15-153)

1926 December. Forgotten Episodes in the History of Medi.eval India. (JIH 5; 313-30.)

Introduction to Rasanayagam's Ancient Jaffna.

1926 December. Vyagra, the Feudatory of Vakataka Prithivisena. (IA 55 ; 223-7.)

1926-28. Vikramaditya (Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, 143-163, Patna University.)

The Buddhism of Manimckhalai. (Contribution to Dr. B. C. Law's Buddhistic Studies.)

1927 April. The Gurjara Empire in North India. (JIH 6 ; 1-14.)

A Tamil Treatise on Buddhist Logic. Bk. xxix of Martimekalai. Vasanta Silver Jubilee Volume in honour of Principal A. B. Dhruva.

1927 August. Studies in Gupta **History. (JIH 6; 1-14.)**

1927 November. **Mailarpu (Mylapore). (IA 56; 197-8.)**

Pjmcharhahasabda. (J.Bo. Br. R.A.S.)

1928. A School of South Indian Buddhism in Kanchi. IOC, 4th Session, 807-30.)

1928. Introduction to R. Gopalan's The Pallavas of Kanchi.

1928. Bappabhatti-Charita. (J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.)

1928. Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting.

1929. An Incident in the relation of the Governor of Poonamallee with Fort St. George. (IHRCP 92-99.)

Introduction to V. R. R. Dikshitar's Hindu Administrative Institutions.

1929. Nov.-Dec. Kalabhra Interregnum : what it means in Indian History. XVII International Congress, Oxford. Published in J.A.S.B., (Vol. I, 1935, No. 3. pp. 361-76.)

1930. August. Mahabharata (Book Notice.) (IA.)

1930. The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A, Nilakanta Sastri. (Book Notice.) (IA 188.)

1930. Raja Desing of Gingce. (IHRC, Gwalior, and JIH, Vol. IX, part i.)

1930. The Rise of the Mahratta Power in the South. (JIH, Vol. IX, p. 173.)

1930. Gollapallee Diamond Mines. (IHRCP, Patna, and JIH Vol. IX, p. 361.)

Notes on the Term " Dainati" in a Mackenzie MS. (JIH Vol. IX, ii, VII.)

1930 December Sir Streynsham Master's account of the Gollapallc Diamond Mines. (IHRCP, Vol. XIII, p. 43.)

1931. April. In Memoriam (R. C. Temple.) (JIH Vol. X, part i, pp. 77-81.)

1931 July Pui-a-Saddha Mahannava (Prakrita Sabdha Maharnava) (Book Notice ; Vol. LX, 140.)

1931. August. Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministcxs, Madanna and Akkanna. (JIH, page 43.)

193J. The Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India (Sir William Meyer Lectures to the Madras University.)

1931. Presidential Address to the First Historical Congress, Bombay.

1931. Introduction to two parts of the Best short stories of India Messrs. Taraporewala Sons, Bombay.

1932 May Panchavaravariyam. XVIII International Congress of Orientals, Leiden, (IA Vol. LXI, p. 81.)

1932. June. The Mahabharata (Book Notice. IA Vol. LXI, 119.)

1932 A Note on the term " King of Vellore " by Travellers in India. (JIH. XI. i. 114-21.)

1932. Edition of Sewell's Historical Inscriptions of South India.

1932. Pancharatra in Tamil Literature (Contribution to Winternitz Memorial Volume.)

1932. Two Uttaramallur Inscriptions of Parantaka I—A New Study. (JIH. XI, Appendix.)

1933. Some Rajput Traditions in South India (Ojha Commemoration Volume.)

1933. March. The Tamil Sangam in a Pandyan Charter of the early Tenth Century A.D. (IHQ. Vol. IX, pp. 63-75.)

1934. June. Niagara, Vesara, Dravida, etc. (JISOA, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 23-27.)

1934. June. A Class-book of Indian History. (Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co.)

1935. June. Opening Address to the Historical Exhibition, Modern History Congress, Poona

1935. July-Aug. History of South India. (H.R., Vol. LXVII, pp. 1-6 and 86-94.)

1935. December. Presidential Address to the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore (to be published in their proceedings.)

1936. February. Current Trends in Indian Religious Thought. P.B. Feb., 1936, pp. 194-201.)

1936. February. South Indian Culture, Its Contribution to Indian Civilisation and Religion (in course of publication by the Ramakrishna Mission authorities.)

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1936. February. The Narayaniya in Tamil Literature (Dr. Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume in course of publication.)